

PRAISE OF KINGSHIP
ŠIRGIDA-HYMNS IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN LITURGICAL TRADITION

by
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ABSTRACT

Sumerian hymns to deities, sung by professional musicians in the framework of ritual, represent a significant portion of the literary record of the early second millennium BCE, corresponding to the Mesopotamian Old Babylonian period (ca. 2000–1500). Although the words of these hymns, along with the clay tablets on which they were recorded, represent one of the most direct sources of evidence for ritual practice during this period, the hymns' performative setting has only rarely been the focus of Assyriological scholarship. Instead, Sumerian cultic hymns are studied as works of literature, more closely aligned with compositions learned in scribal schools than with other liturgical material. Hymns are regularly classified according to criteria imposed on them by the requirements of modern scholarship, despite the fact they typically bear native labels (“subscripts”) classifying them according to features of performance. This dissertation aims to shift the scholarship on Sumerian hymns towards understanding their role as performed liturgical pieces, taking as a case study one group of hymns as defined by a native performative label: hymns classified with the label *širgida*.

A starting thesis of this dissertation is that (1) the significance of the text of Sumerian cultic hymns cannot be appreciated without taking into account their extra-textual, non-verbal elements of performance, and (2) consideration of such texts in light of their performative setting can offer important insights on second-millennium ritual. I test the hypothesis that natively defined hymnic groupings, such as *širgidas*, can be productively investigated as corpora, and that this approach will allow us to access otherwise obscure performative elements.

Investigating the *širgida* corpus, I present evidence for their general *Sitz im Leben*, clearly linking them to ritual performance and royal ideology (Chapter 2); identify patterns in the language of the hymns, considering their potential impact in ritual settings (Chapter 3); more fully explore

kingship in the *širgidas*, arguing that they directly involve the Mesopotamian ruler (Chapter 4); explore the implications of the *hymns*' references to material ritual elements (Chapter 5); and demonstrate that, in addition to kingship, the themes of prayer and offering play an essential part in the *širgidas*' performance.

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Committee Chair: Walter Stephens

Readers: Theodore J. Lewis, Yulia Frumer

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

Conventions for Transliteration and Translation

With the exception of compositions edited in this dissertation, line numbering follows ETCSL unless otherwise stated.

Sumerian text is set in boldface. Akkadian text is set in italics. Cuneiform sign names and Akkadian logograms are set in small caps.

In transliterations, half-brackets indicate that a sign is damaged, regardless of what part of the sign is missing (e.g., 'en' instead of [e]n or e[n]). Curly brackets ({x}) indicate a sign erased by the scribe,¹ angle brackets (<x>) a sign omitted by the scribe, and double angle brackets (<<x>>) a sign incorrectly added by the scribe. A superscript question mark in a transliteration or translation indicates that the sign itself is uncertain, while italicized font indicates that the translation is uncertain (used also for non-English terms: *me*'s, *šita*-rites, etc.).

When the textual sources for a given composition are listed with lines preserved indicated (e.g., in Appendix II.1.2), a left-facing square bracket (⌈) indicates that there are preceding lines now missing from the tablet, a right-facing square bracket (⌋) indicates that there are subsequent lines now missing from the tablet, and a vertical line (⌋) indicates that it is unclear whether there are preceding/subsequent lines missing from the tablet or whether the initial/final line of the tablet is preserved.

In quoting secondary literature that includes transliterated Sumerian, I convert accents to numerical indices (e.g. é → e₂, è → e₃) except in cases where there is a compelling reason not to do so (e.g., in older publications where the use of accents does not seem to follow modern conventions).²

¹ In the main text, curly brackets are also used to indicate Sumerian morphemes.

² Expanded font or any other style used to indicate Sumerian text is also converted to boldface.

Sign Readings

Unless otherwise stated, transliteration of Sumerian signs follows the readings provided in aBZL.³ My intention in adopting these conventions is not to attempt to represent the actual original sounds of Sumerian words, but rather to utilize a system of transliteration that is both as internally consistent as possible and can be looked up easily by the reader.⁴ I readily acknowledge that this solution is not perfect, as the evidence for many Old Babylonian sign values is itself inconsistent, but it is nonetheless worthwhile to aim at a system of transliteration that reflects consistencies in Sumerian pronunciation to the extent that they existed and can be recovered (e.g., reflecting the fact that the first consonant of **-ĝu₁₀** is consistent with the first consonant of **-ĝa₂**, a fact that is obscured in the older transliterations of **-mu** and **-ĝa₂**).

In contrast to the conventions of aBZL (as laid out on aBZL p. x), I follow Jagersma (2010, 214) and others in reading the third-person non-human possessive suffix as **{be}** (written **-be₂**), as well as in reading the third-person human singular possessive suffix as **{ane}** (written **(a)-ne₂**).⁵

In the case of proper nouns and well-known technical terms, I transliterate according to aBZL but translate according to English conventions (e.g. Sumerian **unug^{ki}** = “Uruk,” Sumerian **sul-gi** = “Šulgi,” Sumerian **^dĜAR-DU₂** = “Martu,” Sumerian **bala-bala-e** = “*balbale*,” Sumerian **ser₃-gid₂-da** = “*širgida*”).

³ For a defense of this system of readings, see Attinger n.d., 36–39.

⁴ In cases where the evidence for the reading of a sign is ambiguous—especially, e.g., where /e/ seems to vary with /i/ (e.g. **ge/gi**), where /p/ seems to vary with /b/ (e.g. **para₁₀/bara₂**), etc.—I adopt the conventions used in aBZL for the sake of consistency and look-up-ability.

⁵ Although OB lexical evidence generally supports the reading **ne₂**, it consistently points to **bi** rather than **be₂** for the non-human third-person possessive (see references in MZL p. 112 No. 358). In support of **be₂**, though, in addition to the evidence presented for earlier periods by Jagersma, note forms such as **ki-bi-eš** in Enlil A 167 mss N_{i-6}, X₁, Gilgameš and Ħuwawa A 161 [Delnero 2006 l. 154] ms K₁, and Anam A 22.

Grammatical Terminology

Because my understanding of the locative prefixes evolved throughout the writing of this dissertation, my usage of the terms “locative” and “directive,” the term “non-human dative,” and the terms “locative 1,” “locative 2,” and “locative 3” (as proposed in Zólyomi 2016, 141–157) is not entirely consistent. In addition, I am indiscriminate in my usage of the terms “*hamtu*” and “*marû*” vs “perfective” and “present/future.” These inconsistencies, along with a few others, such as “compound verb” vs. “phrasal verb,” will be corrected in future work.

ABBREVIATIONS

General Abbreviations

For the abbreviations used in this dissertation, see CDLI's list of "Abbreviations for Assyriology" at http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology. Additional abbreviations are provided below.

3N-T	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Nippur during the third post-WWII season of excavation
6N-T	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Nippur during the sixth post-WWII season of excavation
aBZL	Mittermayer, Catherine. 2006. <i>Altbabylonische Zeichenliste</i> . In collaboration with Pascal Attinger. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Sonderband. Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg.
ANL	Additional Nippur Letters, edited in: Kleinerman, Alexandra. 2011. <i>Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia: The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany</i> . Cuneiform Monographs 42. Leiden: Brill.
Ashm.	Museum siglum of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, United Kingdom
BLMS	Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/blms/index.html
CLAM	Cohen, Mark E. 1988. <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia</i> . 2 vols. Potomac: Capital Decisions.
Cohen Eršemma	= "Eršemma" in CDLI's list of abbreviations
DCCLT	Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/index.html
ESEM	= "ESEM" in CDLI's list of abbreviations
ETCSRI	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/index.html
Fs Bottéro	Faivre, Xavier, Brigitte Lion and Cécile Michel, eds. 2009. <i>Et il y eut un esprit dans l'Homme: Jean Bottéro et la Mésopotamie</i> . Paris: De Boccard.
FSB	Rudik, Nadezda. 2015. "Die Entwicklung der keilschriftlichen sumerischen Beschwörungsliteratur von den Anfängen bis zur Ur III-Zeit." PhD Diss., Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.
HES	Heidelberg Emesal-Studien (Wiesbaden 2014 ff.)
Hilprecht-Sammlung, aka Hilprecht Collection	Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena in Jena, Germany
IVR ²	Rawlinson, H. 1891. <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia Vol. IV: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> . 2nd edition. London.
Kenrick, aka Souvay	Collection siglum of the DePaul University Library Special Collections and Archives, Chicago, Illinois, USA
MS	Collection siglum of the Schøyen Collection, Oslo, Norway
P	Siglum for CDLI tablet numbers
RIAo	The Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online (RIAo) Project: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/
Schollmeyer Šamaš	= "Shamash" in CDLI's list of abbreviations
SEAL	Sources of Early Akkadian Literature: https://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de/
SEpM	Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany, edited in: Kleinerman, Alexandra. 2011. <i>Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia: The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany</i> . Cuneiform Monographs 42. Leiden: Brill.

University Museum, aka Penn Museum	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia, PA, USA
WAG	Museum siglum of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD, USA
Wilcke Koll.	= “Kollationen” in CDLI’s list of abbreviations

Sumerian Literary Compositions

The names of Sumerian literary compositions in this dissertation are generally those used in ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>), with exceptions listed below.⁶ For compositions not included in ETCSL, tablet numbers and/or publication information are provided in parentheses or footnotes.

Composition Name/ Abbreviation	ETCSL Number ⁷	ETCSL Composition Name
<i>Angim dimma</i> , aka <i>Angim</i> ⁸	1.6.1	Ninurta's return to Nibru: a <i>šir-gida</i> to Ninurta
ANL		(see table below)
CKU		(see table below)
Dialogue 1	(5.4.1)	A dialogue between two scribes
Dialogue 2	(5.4.2)	A dialogue between Enki-hengal and Enkita-lu
Dialogue 3	(5.4.3)	A dialogue between Enki-manshum and Girini-isag
Edubba' a A	(5.1.1)	Schooldays
Edubba' a B	(5.1.2)	A scribe and his perverse son
ELA	1.8.2.3	Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta
EWO	1.1.3	Enki and the world order
Gudea Cyl. A	2.1.7	The building of Ningirsu's temple, ll. 1–815 ⁹
Gudea Cyl. B	2.1.7	The building of Ningirsu's temple, ll. 816–1363 ¹⁰
LSU	2.2.3	The lament for Sumer and Urim
LU	2.2.2	The lament for Urim
Lugalbanda I	1.8.2.1	Lugalbanda in the mountain cave
Lugalbanda II	1.8.2.2	Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird
<i>Lugale</i>	1.6.2	Ninurta's exploits: a <i>šir-sud</i> (?) to Ninurta
SEpM		(see table below)
SP	6.1	Proverbs: collection
TH	4.80.1	The temple hymns

⁶ Complete lists of ETCSL composition numbers and titles, including for compositions not edited on ETCSL, can be found at <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/catalogue/> and, with publication information, in Cunningham 2007.

⁷ Parentheses indicate that no transliteration/translation is available on ETCSL.

⁸ Citations of *Angim* in throughout represent the Old Babylonian composite text with selected variants, unless otherwise noted. Line numeration follows that of ETCSL (i.e. the Old Babylonian version), with the corresponding line numbers of Cooper's edition indicated after a slash.

⁹ Line numbers for the Gudea Cylinders are provided according to columns (e.g., Cyl. A i 1 = col. i , line 1), with ETCSL line numbers provided afterwards, in parentheses or after a slash.

¹⁰ See previous note.

Sumerian Collections of Literary Letters

The following table provides a correspondence between the abbreviations for literary letters used in this dissertation and the compositions' ETCSL numbers. For editions of the letter collections, see Michalowski 2011 (CKU) and Kleinerman 2011 (ANL, SEpM), with selected translations also available at https://www.iaw.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/va_personen/prof_dr_attinger_pascal/index_ger.html#pane765518 (under “Übersetzungen”) by Attinger.

Composition Abbreviation	ETCSL Number ¹¹
ANL 1	3.3.20
ANL 2	(3.3.14)
ANL 3	(3.3.15)
ANL 4	(3.3.23)
ANL 5	(3.3.35)
ANL 6	(3.3.34)
ANL 7	(3.3.32)
ANL 8	(3.3.29)
ANL 9	(3.3.18)
ANL 10	(3.3.16)
ANL 11	(3.3.37)
ANL 12	(3.3.99)
CKU 1	3.1.1
CKU 2	3.1.2
CKU 3	3.1.3 + 3.1.11.A2a
CKU 4	3.1.21
CKU 5	3.1.13.1
CKU 6	3.1.6.1
CKU 7	3.1.5
CKU 8	—
CKU 9	3.1.6
CKU 10	3.1.4
CKU 11	3.1.11.1
CKU 12	—
CKU 13	3.1.7
CKU 14	3.1.8
CKU 15	3.1.13.2
CKU 16	(3.1.12)
CKU 17	(3.1.13)
CKU 18	3.1.15
CKU 19	3.1.16
CKU 20	(3.3.31)
CKU 21	3.1.17
CKU 22	3.1.18
CKU 23	3.1.19

¹¹ Parentheses indicate that no transliteration/translation is available on ETCSL.

CKU 24	3.1.20
SEpM 1	3.1.21 (= CKU 4)
SEpM 1a	3.1.5 (= CKU 7)
SEpM 2	3.2.1
SEpM 3	3.2.2
SEpM 4	3.2.3
SEpM 5	3.2.4
SEpM 6	3.3.1
SEpM 7	3.3.2
SEpM 8	3.3.3
SEpM 9	2.1.3
SEpM 10	5.7.3
SEpM 11	(3.3.13)
SEpM 12	3.3.4
SEpM 13	3.3.5
SEpM 14	5.7.a
SEpM 15	3.3.6
SEpM 16	3.3.7
SEpM 17	3.3.8
SEpM 18	3.3.9
SEpM 19	3.3.10
SEpM 20	5.7.2
SEpM 21	3.3.11
SEpM 22	(3.3.12)

Lexical Lists

The names of lexical lists generally follow the names used in Veldhuis 2014 and/or DCCLT, with publication information provided in parentheses.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Old Babylonian period of Mesopotamian history, spanning ca. 2000–1600 BCE, represents the most fruitful period of Sumerian literary and liturgical textual production. Although Sumerian, a language isolate spoken in southern Mesopotamia throughout most of the 4th millennium BCE, had died out as a spoken language by the early third millennium, it remained in use as a literary and liturgical language through the Old Babylonian period and beyond. Young scribal students learned to read and write Sumerian by memorizing and transcribing lists of signs, words and expressions, followed by proverbs and other short texts, such as model contracts, and finally longer works of literature, including narrative myths or legends and songs of praise celebrating rulers and deities. The educational process for liturgical specialists is less well-known, but it is likely that they, too, became versed in the Sumerian language at least in part by memorizing Sumerian compositions.

The preserved Sumerian liturgical corpus of the Old Babylonian period, recorded on clay tablets in the cuneiform script, can very generally be divided into two groups: the repertoire of the *gala*-musician, whose area of specialization included laments and prayers predominantly in the register of Sumerian known as Emesal, and the repertoire of the *nar*-musician, whose area of specialization included hymns and other pieces sung in standard Sumerian.¹² The textual remains of both repertoires are substantial, although they reflect only a small fraction of the total liturgical production of the period. Approximately 500 copies of Emesal laments are preserved from the Old

¹² Throughout this dissertation, “standard Sumerian” is the designation used for the main register of Sumerian, i.e. non-Emesal.

Babylonian period (Delnero, forthcoming a), and nearly 400 copies of Sumerian liturgical hymns (Tinney 2011, 585).

Assyriological study of the hymnic portion of this corpus is complicated by the fact that some compositions with hymnic qualities, that is, songs in praise of a particular king or deity, were also copied by scribal students as part of their literary education, rather than being actively used in Old Babylonian cult. The distinction between tablets recording hymns for use in ritual, on the one hand, and those recording hymns or praise poems for the education of scribal students, on the other, has only recently come to the fore in Assyriological scholarship, as is discussed further below.

The place of liturgical hymns in Mesopotamian society, especially the ways they were used in ritual to help shape, reinforce, or even challenge particular ideologies and societal norms, remains an understudied topic in Assyriological scholarship. Groups of hymns classified in antiquity with particular labels according the manner in which and/or the occasions at which they were sung have only rarely been treated as corpora, and none of these corpora has ever been the topic of a book-length study.

For this reason, this dissertation takes the form of a case study investigating one such corpus, namely the group of hymns designated with the label *širgida*. Specific research questions include: (1) What features, either verbal or non-verbal, might characterize this type of hymn? (2) What ritual goals might the singing or recitation of this type of hymn have served? (3) What types of responses might the singing or recitation of these hymns have encouraged in a ritual audience? The ultimate aim of the dissertation in addressing these questions is to lay the groundwork for integrating the *širgida* corpus into broader discussions of Sumerian liturgy and exploring the question of how these hymns fit into the broader socio-political and religious landscapes of the Old Babylonian period.

1.1 History of Research

1.1.1 Approaches to Sumerian Hymnology

The foundational figure in the modern study of Old Babylonian Sumerian hymns was Adam Falkenstein.¹³ In his critical editions of Sumerian hymns, published in numerous articles over the course of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Falkenstein laid the philological groundwork for Sumerian hymnology and introduced some of what remain the most critical issues: questions concerning genre and classification, the significance of rubrics and subscripts (on which, see below), and issues of musical performance and ritual settings. In his editions, Falkenstein generally distinguished between two types of hymns: hymns to gods (divine hymns), on the one hand, and hymns to kings (royal hymns), on the other. For him, the primary distinguishing factor was the presence or absence of liturgical notations: divine hymns contained liturgical labels known as “subscripts” and/or “rubrics,” while royal hymns did not. Royal hymns also regularly ended in a doxology making use of the Sumerian term **zas-mim** “praise,” which was absent in divine hymns. Falkenstein linked these two groups to separate ritual contexts: royal hymns, he suggested, were performed in ceremonies of the royal court, while divine hymns—both those that mentioned a king and those that did not—were performed in temple cult (Falkenstein 1952, 91).

After Falkenstein, the most influential figure in setting the course for how Sumerian hymns are studied today was W. H. Ph. Römer. In his 1965 monograph on royal hymns of the Isin period, Römer refined Falkenstein’s classification system and, for the purposes of modern research, established a more general category of “royal hymns” (*Königshymnen*) that included all hymns in which historical kings were named. Within this broad category, Römer applied Falkenstein’s finer distinction between hymns to gods that mention a king (assumed to be performed in temple cult)

¹³ Falkenstein 1950, 1952, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, in Falkenstein and von Soden 1953.

and royal hymns directly praising a king (assumed to be performed in the royal court) (Römer 1965, 5–6). Römer's broad definition of royal hymns allowed him to consider the entire body of hymns produced during the rule of a single dynasty, regardless of their original ritual context, and thus to productively analyze the specific royal ideologies reflected in the hymnic repertoire of that dynasty.

Daniel Reisman, in his dissertation on Ur III royal hymns (Reisman 1969), generally adopted Römer's broad definition of royal hymns, but he expanded it even further to include hymns to deities in which no king was named, but which touched on the relationship between the deity and the king. Reisman also challenged the assumption that cultic and courtly settings of performance could be distinguished on the basis of formal criteria, identifying two hymns that lacked the formal markings typical of divine hymns, but which were addressed solely to deities and probably belonged to the temple cult. Reisman even went so far as to suggest that, in the absence of reliable criteria for distinguishing temple and palace settings, it is perhaps better to assume a cultic context for all hymns (Reisman 1969, 40). Although Reisman thus made significant contributions to the discussion of royal hymns in their ritual setting, the focus of his work was not on royal ritual but on the hymns' thematic content. Like Römer, he was interested in what the content of royal hymns (in their expanded definition) could tell us about conceptions of kingship and other aspects of Mesopotamian society.

Another major contributor to the field of Sumerian royal hymnology has been Jacob Klein, whose 1981 edition of three Šulgi hymns (along with his many individual articles on the topic) exemplifies the methodological approach of examining hymns as sources for understanding contemporary aspects of Mesopotamian society. Through literary analysis of hymns belonging to a particular king, Šulgi of Ur, Klein was able to identify specific features of that king's royal

ideology and to highlight differences in the ways rulers of different dynasties portrayed themselves (Klein 1981b, 29–36).

Other important treatments of hymns belonging to a particular king or dynasty have included the works of Marie-Christine Ludwig, on the hymns of Išme-Dagan (Ludwig 1990); Steve Tinney, on the hymns of the same king, in his volume on the Nippur Lament and royal legitimation (Tinney 1996); Esther Flückiger-Hawker, on literature involving the king Ur-Namma (Flückiger-Hawker 1999); and Nicole Brisch, on court literature of the kings of Larsa (Brisch 2007). Each of these works examines the hymns of one king or dynasty as part of the literary production of the royal court, through which various aspects of royal ideology and legitimization can be seen. The focus of each treatment, with the exception of Ludwig 1990, is primarily on the content of the hymns and the messages conveyed by it, rather than on the settings in which hymns were performed. Some more general issues of hymnology are dealt with as well, especially the problem of classification, and all four scholars question the validity of applying rigid categories to Sumerian hymns.

1.1.2 Liturgical Hymns and their Ritual Context

In addition to these seminal works interpreting the contents of Sumerian hymns and their literary traits or ideological implications, a number of scholars have focused their efforts instead on performative aspects of the preserved hymns. The main works in this area have tended to focus either (a) on the hymns' ritual settings or (b) on their nature as musical pieces.

In a 1960 dissertation titled “Die Musik der sumerischen Kultur,” Henrike Hartmann presented a study of Sumerian hymns within the broader context of Sumerian musicology. In the introduction to this work, she argued that, in contrast to previous studies, the investigation of Sumerian music

should incorporate preserved liturgical texts recording hymns and laments, as there is no clear evidence concerning musical practice that lacked a vocal component or that took place outside of the liturgical realm (Hartmann 1960, 7, 13; cf. 184, 288). Her work thus included an extensive survey of the known repertoires of the *nar*- and *gala*-musicians, organized according to the classifying labels used in antiquity, rather than the pieces' semantic content. Along with this survey, Hartmann considered how various types of repetition employed in preserved hymnic texts may have functioned at the musical level (Hartmann 1960, 185–188), and she discussed at length a number of ritual occasions at which music—predominantly hymns and laments—was performed (Hartmann 1960, 257–286). These ritual occasions included, aside from daily offerings and prayers and regularly recurring monthly celebrations, the annual new year's festival, the construction or renovation of temples, and the funerary rites of important figures. While Hartmann's focus throughout the discussion of these rites was on the instruments used, she also examined several hymns and songs that mentioned particular ritual events and may thus have been sung at those events (Hartmann 1960, 266–268; cf. 188–190).

Another key figure in moving Sumerian hymnological research towards questions concerning the hymns' ritual functions was William W. Hallo. In a paper published in 1970, titled "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," Hallo asserted that it was time to move beyond the groundwork laid by Falkenstein and others in publishing and editing Sumerian hymns, stating: "we are now ready to raise some larger questions concerning this genre to see, if we can, what place it had in the life, and particularly the religious life, of the culture that produced it" (Hallo 1970, 116). Adopting Falkenstein's distinction between strictly defined royal hymns, with a probable setting in the royal court, and hymns to deities that merely mention the king, with probable cultic context, Hallo followed Römer in grouping both types under the broader heading of royal hymns. According to

Hallo, the ritual setting of all such hymns would have involved the participation of the king in some way—although, he cautioned, the particular royal ceremonies for which hymns of each type were commissioned may have differed greatly. Hallo also identified a few other types of hymns in which the king probably played a cultic role, including hymns relating to the sacred marriage, hymns connected to the actual marriage of the human king, and hymns commemorating the king's death and funeral. Quite separately from hymns in which the king played an explicit role, Hallo treated divine hymns with no mention of the king as part of a distinct group, existing outside the realm of royal ritual (Hallo 1970, 119). Like laments and temple hymns, these belonged instead to the domain of priestly ceremonies in which the king played no recognizable part, possibly performed during the dedication of a cult statue and subsequent rites involving that statue.

In her volume on Išme-Dagan hymns (Ludwig 1990), Marie-Christine Ludwig devoted a chapter to exploring some of the same questions as posed by Hallo, focusing specifically on issues of royal hymnody and its place in ritual. Here she extended Römer's category of royal hymns in the wider sense to include the hymns known as *širgidas*, which did not mention a king by name but were qualified as "praise of kingship" in two Old Babylonian literary compositions. In doing so, Ludwig was adopting and expanding on suggestions made by Jerrold Cooper in his 1978 edition of *Angim dimma* (Cooper 1978), discussed further below. In contrast to Hallo, whose reconstruction of the setting of hymns was based primarily on their content, Ludwig approached the question of context by compiling contemporary, external references to the performance of hymns in Sumerian literature. Through systematic analysis of these references, she was able to shed light on specific questions such as the composition of hymns, the occasions on which they were performed, and the locations of their performance.

A more recent work exploring the performance of Old Babylonian hymns, focusing on similar questions to those addressed in Hartmann's 1960 study, was Dahlia Shehata's volume on Old Babylonian musicians and their repertoires (Shehata 2009). In this study, Shehata revisited the topic of Sumerian music, together with Akkadian music, with a specific focus on the place of professional musicians and their work within Old Babylonian society. The second half of the book is devoted to the "vocal repertoire" of these musicians, defined for the purposes of her study as "ein Arbeitsbegriff [...], der all literarischen Kompositionen umfasst, die über ihre Unterschriften und Rubriken als vokal vorgetragene und möglicherweise auch instrumental begleitete Liedkompositionen identifiziert werden können" (Shehata 2009, 223). In addition to discussing each of the known liturgical types in turn, providing an overview of all available evidence for each, Shehata also devoted a chapter to indications of performative praxis ("Vortragspraxis") (Shehata 2009, 337–360) and, in the concluding chapter, synthesized her findings regarding the performance of Sumerian hymns and laments:

Sumerische und akkadische Lieder der altbabylonischen Zeit enthalten keine konkreten Angaben zu ihrem 'Sitz im Leben' und ihrer möglichen Darbietungsform. Anhand der Bildung von Gattungsnamen, der enthaltenen Rubriken, im Text selbst beschriebene Handlungen sowie Sekundärtexten konnten dennoch beachtenswerte Daten zum möglichen Aufführungsrahmen, den Teilnehmern und der Funktion der Texte zusammengetragen werden. Dass ein Großteil der untersuchten Lieder ursprünglich für den öffentlichen Vortrag bestimmt war, legen die Gattungsnamen sowie die enthaltenen Rubriken und *termini technici* nahe. Fundkontext und Zustand der Tafeln lassen demgegenüber in Einzelfällen darauf schließen, dass sie in altbabylonischen Schreiberschulen (**edubba'a**) abgefasst und kopiert wurden. Eine Aktive Verwendung im Kult kann vor allem bei Vertretern der sumerischen **šir**-Gattungen, den Hymnen **Tigi** und **Adab**, oder einigen der **Balbale**, ausgeschlossen werden, die sich auf Könige vergangener Dynastien der Ur III- und Isin-Zeit beziehen. Dennoch waren auch sie ursprünglich für einen kultischen Anlass verfasst worden, was an den Liedinhalten und ihrem Bezug zu Festanlässen aufgezeigt werden konnte (Shehata 2009, 362)

In her conclusion, Shehata went on to summarize specific aspects of liturgical pieces' content and context identified in the body of the work (Shehata 2009, 362–367), along with identified elements of singing praxis and musical performance (Shehata 2009, 367–371).

A slightly different approach to Sumerian hymnology was hinted at by Steve Tinney already in a 1995 review of Ludwig's work, in which he offered a critique of the traditional classificatory tools used in studying "royal hymns" and suggested new avenues of research, such as consideration of tablet typology, that might shed new light on the topic (Tinney 1995). More recently, in a general sketch of Old Babylonian non-administrative texts, Tinney laid out a classificatory schema of Sumerian literature that has significant implications for the study of hymns (Tinney 2011). To begin with, he proposed to divide Sumerian literary texts into two functional categories based on the contexts of tablet production, defined as "curricular texts" and "practical texts." Curricular texts are texts that were copied, in the Old Babylonian period, in scribal schools, representing the majority of well-known Sumerian works, such as epics, myths, and other literary genres. Practical texts are texts that were written for non-pedagogical purposes, especially liturgical texts but also incantations and a few other types, recorded for the sake of performance. These two basic groups, curricular and practical, are most easily distinguished by the number of copies preserved for a single composition: a typical school text represents one of numerous preserved copies, while a typical practical or liturgical text is unique or attested in only a few copies. The place of "hymns" within this schema is complicated: hymns to gods with liturgical notations almost all fall into the practical category, while many hymns without liturgical notations—including both hymns to gods and songs of praise to kings—belong to the curricular category.

Tinney's proposed schema allows for a slight but meaningful shift in the way the Sumerian hymnic corpus is studied. In the past, examinations of the hymns' ritual or performative settings

have usually divided the corpus along roughly the same lines as those proposed by Tinney—that is, hymns with subscripts and addressed to deities treated separately from hymns without subscripts and/or addressed to kings. However, the presumed distinction between the two has most often been that of a temple setting vs. a court setting, a dichotomy that has long been recognized as problematic. Tinney’s attention to the contexts in which the preserved tablets themselves were written and used in the Old Babylonian period, rather than on the presumed original performative setting of the abstract composition, allows us to work with a more clearly defined corpus, to ask more focused questions concerning the hymns’ place in Old Babylonian practice, and to better understand how studies of the lamentational corpus can inform our understanding of the hymnic corpus.

The first major work of Sumerian hymnology to appear after Tinney’s survey was Christopher Metcalf’s 2015 examination of Sumerian and Akkadian hymns in comparison with early Greek hymnography (Metcalf 2015b). Metcalf’s treatment of Sumerian hymns generally adopted Tinney’s schema; he examined, for the most part, hymns whose Old Babylonian exemplars can be considered “liturgical” (with a few exceptions; see Metcalf 2015b, 16). However, despite Metcalf’s explicit understanding of Sumerian hymns as performative rather than merely textual pieces, the primary aim of his research is not to explore their performative context or musical nature, but to examine structural elements of the texts that have previously been associated with early Greek hymnody (arguing convincingly that they do not, in fact, suggest a general line of transmission between Mesopotamian and Greek hymns).

Thus, whereas the practice-focused framework proposed by Tinney’s has been productively adopted and expanded upon in recent treatments of Sumerian lamentational liturgies (e.g., Delnero

2015; forthcoming), the task still remains to apply it to an in-depth study of Sumerian hymns and Old Babylonian praxis.

1.1.3 Hymnic Types and the Question of Genre

One of the essential questions in studying Sumerian hymns, which nearly every one of the above-mentioned studies has dealt with in one way or another, is the question of genre. Can the liturgical subscripts used to label different types of hymns and laments be taken as indicators of emic genre? Although in this dissertation I avoid the designation “genre” (preferring more neutral terms such as “type,” “class” or “classification”), it will be useful at this point to offer a very brief overview of the issues involved and the ways in which previous scholars have written about genre and subscripts.

1.1.3.1 Liturgical Subscripts and Rubrics and their Significance as Labels

Most manuscripts of liturgical hymns include a subscript at the end of the text, in which the writer identifies the hymn’s type along with the deity to whom it is dedicated, following the formula: “It is a [HYMNIC TYPE] of DN.” Many of these hymnic types correspond to the name of a particular instrument: for example, *tigi*, *adab*, *zamzam*, and *gigid*. Others begin with the Sumerian word **ser**₃ “song” (previously read **šir**₃), followed by a modifier: for example, *širgida*, *širnamšub*, *širnamursaĝa*, and *širnamgala*. A handful of others do not fall into either of these groups: for example, *balbale* and *kunĝar*. In addition to these classifying labels appearing at the ends of hymns, many Sumerian liturgical hymns are divided into sub-units labeled with “rubrics,” which are somewhat standardized according to hymnic type: for example, most *tigis* include units labeled

with the rubrics *sagida* and *saġara*, and most *adabs* include units labeled with these same rubrics, as well as other units with the rubric *uru* (frequently also *barsud*, *šagbatuku*, and *ġešgiġal*).

One of the earliest systematic surveys of Sumerian hymnic subscripts and rubrics was presented by Falkenstein in an article treating three Sumerian hymns to deities naming the king Ur-Ninurta (Falkenstein 1950, 83-105). The impetus of his survey was to treat the various subscripts and rubrics that occurred in these three hymns. In the way of subscripts, one of the hymns was labeled as an *adab* (Ur-Ninurta C), one as a *tigi* (Ur-Ninurta B), and one did not preserve a subscript (Ur-Ninurta A)—Falkenstein instead referred to it by the fact that it contained the rubric *kirugu*. Terminology for the hymnic types adopted by Falkenstein varied throughout the article and included: “Textklassen” or just “Klassen” (83, 84, 85); “literarische Kategorien” (84, 85, 102); and “literarische” or “hymnische Gattungen” (86, 87, 88, 100, 101). Quoting a passage from an Old Babylonian praise poem of the king Šulgi (Šulgi E), in which *adabs* were mentioned alongside a series of other hymnic types (see section 1.1.3.1), Falkenstein briefly summarized the then-known evidence for each of the following types: *tigi* (85), *malgatum* (85), *širgida* (85–86), *balbale* (86), and *zamzam* (86), followed by a fuller discussion of *adab* as subscript (87–102).¹⁴ Within this treatment, he discussed the individual rubrics that appear in *adab* texts, and concluded, based on their names and on their textual content, that, with one exception, these rubrics referred to the form of musical accompaniment and not to the literary content (100). Moving on to discuss the *tigi* hymnic type, Falkenstein observed that this label must refer to “die musikalische Begleitung, die dem Lied die besondere Note verlieh,” the word *tigi* in Sumerian also designating a type of musical instrument (102). Finally, Falkenstein briefly discussed a hymn divided into

¹⁴ By convention, “subscript” is frequently used in Assyriological scholarship to refer to the hymnic label included in the text of a subscript. This practice is followed in this dissertation, except where it is useful to make a distinction between the full text of the subscript (e.g. “It is a *širgida* of DN”) and the hymnic label (e.g. “*širgida*”).

sections with the rubric *kirugu*, observing that the same rubric is attested in liturgies that have the subscripts *širnamursaĝa* and *balaĝ*.

In a more general work on Sumerian and Akkadian hymns and prayers published a few years later (Falkenstein and von Soden 1953), Falkenstein offered a more succinct discussion of Sumerian subscripts, including a summary of the available evidence for each of the following types: *adab* (20), *tigi* (20–21), *širgida* (21), *širnamursaĝa* (21), *širnamšub* (21–22), *balbale* (22), and *eršema* (22–23). As in his earlier article, Falkenstein stressed the fact that these terms designate musical/cultic, rather than literary, classifications:

Die Zuordnung eines Liedes zu einer Gattung dieser Art [...] hängt somit nicht, zum mindestens nicht primär, von inhaltlichen Gegebenheiten ab. Das ordnende Prinzip ist vielmehr die Beziehung zu bestimmten musikalischen Vortragsweisen. Natürlich war mit Bezeichnungen wie ‘Paukenlied’ [*tigi*] oder ‘Lied mit Leierbegleitung’ [*balaĝ*] mehr ausgesagt, als wir daraus zu entnehmen vermögen. Wer die alten Kultordnungen kannte, wußte aus dem jeweiligen Gattungsnamen ohne Mühe abzuleiten, in welchem kultischen Rahmen sich das Lied einfügte (Falkenstein in Falkenstein and von Soden 1953, 18–19).

Following Falkenstein’s work, later systematic treatments of hymnic subscripts and rubrics have included the works of Henrike Hartmann (1960), of Claus Wilcke (1976a), and of Dahlia Shehata (2009). In Hartmann’s study of Sumerian music, described above, she included a long section surveying the known liturgical types as identified by subscript, referred to throughout as “Gattungen.” Like Falkenstein, she concluded that liturgical subscripts classified hymns and laments according to their musical or performative setting, rather than any textual features. According to her conclusion, a musician who was trained in Sumerian cultic practice

konnte nach den ihm überlieferten Traditionen die verschiedenartigen Texte nach ihren Gattungsnamen in den jeweiligen Kultzusammenhang einordnen und ohne weiteres erkennen, zu welchen Anlässen bestimmte Lied- und Hymnengattungen ausgeführt wurden. Die Zurechnung von Texten zu einer dieser Gattungen erfolgte also nicht nach literarischen Gesichtspunkten, sondern nach musikalischem Prinzip (Hartmann 1960, 192).

According to Hartmann's hypothesizing, musical elements to which a subscript might be connected included not only the instrument of accompaniment, but also "Modifizierungen der Vortragsweise durch Anwendung verschiedener Skalen, unterschiedlicher Melodieformeln, rhythmischer Differenzierungen sowie durch Einzelspiel oder Zusammenspiel mehrerer Instrumente" (192). In the case of liturgical types named after musical instruments, she observed that, although they evidently indicated the instrument played in accompaniment of the piece, it is possible that this original meaning changed over time, so that, for example, "die Textunterschrift 'tigi' 'nicht mehr allein 'Lied mit Begleitung des 'tigi-Instruments' bedeutete, sondern, 'tigi-Lied' als Kennzeichnung einer bestimmten, nur dieser Gattung und vielleicht diesem Begleitinstrument eigenen Melodieformel in der Art der Maqāmen oder als Hinweis auf besondere, nur auf diesem Instrument ausführbare Rhythmen" (193). Like Falkenstein, Hartmann included in her discussion of *adab*-hymns an analysis of the rubrics attested within the exemplars of this type, and she agreed with his conclusion that the rubrics, like subscripts, have a musical rather than literary significance. The rubrics *sagida* and *sagara*, for example, both containing the word **sa** "string," could perhaps refer to an instrument played alongside the *adab*-instrument during the unit in question, or to an interlude or postlude to be played on a string instrument, or to "verschieden geartete Tonfolgen im Sinne bestimmter Melodietypen" (203–204). Concerning the ritual use of *adab*-hymns, Hartmann took the their regular reference to a named historical ruler as an indication that

der nar das *adab*-Lied zu feierlichen Anlässen in Gegenwart des Herrschers vortrug, etwa während des Festmahls, das am Neujahrsfest der feierlichen Götterprozession und der Vereinigung des Königs mit der obersten Priesterin folgte und für das in mehreren Texten das Singen Preisliedern und Instrumentalenspiel belegt ist. Im Verlauf dieser Feierlichkeiten erfolgte auch die Schicksalsbestimmung durch Gott oder Göttin für Land und König; ihr ging das *adab* mit der Bitte für den Herrscher vielleicht voraus" (Hartmann 1960, 206).

She proposed a similar setting for *tigi*-hymns, while acknowledging that the extent to which the two differed in their liturgical uses is unclear (208–209). For the other hymnic types discussed, including *širgidas*, *širnamšubs*, and *balbales*, she offered more general observations or suggestions concerning their ritual settings; *širgidas*, for example, were presumably sung by a *nar*-musician and accompanied by some of the same instruments as attested for other hymnic types (Hartmann 1960, 221); *balbales* could probably be characterized at least in some ways as “Sprechgesänge,” accompanied by musical instruments, and, in Hartmann’s understanding, performed by priestesses or *gala*-musicians and possibly also *nar*-musicians (Hartmann 1960, 228).

Another systematic survey of Sumerian subscripts and rubrics appeared in Claus Wilcke’s treatment of formal elements in Sumerian literature. Wilcke agreed with the consensus that these labels served to classify hymns according to musical or performative, rather than literary, criteria, but observed that rubrics also do sometimes align with literary units:¹⁵

Diese Klassifizierungen durch die antiken Schreiber beziehen sich—soweit wir sehen—weitestgehend auf den musikalischen Vortrag und dürfen darum *a priori* ebensowenig als literarische Kategorien angesehen werden wie etwa die Bezeichnungen Arie und Rezitativ. Andererseits beobachten wir, dass Rukriken häufig an Zäsuren im Text stehen, dass also die ihnen vorangehenden Abschnitte literarische Einheiten sind (Wilcke 1976a, 253).

In his discussion of rubrics, Wilcke provided observations about the relationships among rubrics within a text, the consistency or inconsistency with which particular rubrics appear in particular hymnic types, and the ways in which rubrics align with strophic structures (254–255). He then discussed each of the known subscripts and rubrics, known from actual hymns as well as lexical lists, incipit lists, and literary references, focusing on the meanings of the words themselves (258–

¹⁵ Cf. also Wilcke 1976a, 253–254: “Diese wenigen Beispiele mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, dass die Rubriken inhaltlich und formal verschiedene Teile einer Dichtung trennen können. Dies ist aber keine feste Regel, denn es finden sich auch Texte, in denen die Rubriken Zusammengehöriges trennen—oft in unmittelbarer Nähe einer Zäsur. Die Frage, ob die Übereinstimmung von literarischer Einheit und durch die Rubriken festgelegter musikalischer oder liturgischer Unterteilung oder die Abweichung davon die grössere Kunst des Dichters verrät, können wir angesichts unserer Unkenntnis der musikalischen Darbietung und der metrischen Struktur nicht entscheiden.”

261). This was followed by a few brief sections in which Wilcke discussed, among other things, the lack of “generic” consistencies among texts labeled with a particular subscript (see further below). Finally, he provided an overview of the preserved texts labeled with each subscript, presented in a series of tables (263–292).

Another treatment of Sumerian subscripts and rubrics, written in an encyclopedic style, appeared in the RIA article on music in Mesopotamia by Kilmer (Kilmer 1993–1997, 470–471, §4.2 “The ‘Sumerian System’”). While agreeing with Wilcke’s general conclusions concerning subscripts, Kilmer offered a new or more nuanced interpretation for some of the names. Additionally, she observed that “there is some indication of further refinement in the song classifications ‘by Divine Name’: the late Nineveh catalogue of cult songs and prayers (IVR 43) as well as the MA song catalogue (KAR 158) distinguish between compositions according to the divinity involved” (Kilmer 1993–1997, 470). The larger focus of Kilmer’s discussion was on rubrics, of which she wrote: “at the simplest level, these rubrics function as separators between sections of a composition and as labels that identify the type of musical ‘passage’ (like the **za₃-mi₂** ‘Hail!’-doxology, or the three-line urune found at the end of adab compositions) or the modal type of the different sections of long hymnodic compositions” (Kilmer 1993–1997, 471).

A more recent investigation of liturgical subscripts and rubrics appeared in Dahlia Shehata’s 2009 study on musicians and their repertoire in the Old Babylonian period, described above (Shehata 2009). A significant portion of this book is devoted a detailed survey of the known Sumerian hymnic and lamentational corpora, organized by subscript. Building on the work of Falkenstein, Hartmann, Wilcke, and others, and adding additional insights based on more recently available evidence, Shehata presented an detailed summary of what was known about each

liturgical type (referred to in her treatment as “Gattungen”¹⁶). For each subscript, her discussion covered the literal meaning of the subscript itself, the preserved textual exemplars and their content, and possible musical and/or ritual features. Additionally, she devoted a section to analyzing liturgical rubrics, in a chapter on “Angaben zur Vortragspraxis” (Shehata 2009, 337–351).

Finally, a general overview of subscripts and rubrics was included in Rubio’s survey article on Sumerian literature (Rubio 2009, 22–24), along with a brief description of each liturgical type (63–69).

1.1.3.2 Subscripts and Genre

The question of whether each liturgical subscript corresponds to a specific genre depends on one’s definition of the word “genre” (or of “Gattung” in German). Previous research on genre as a concept and on Mesopotamian genre specifically is far too extensive to be treated in full here, and I will limit my discussion to a few key treatments directly relevant to the Sumerian liturgical corpus. As noted above, this dissertation generally avoids using the term “genre,” in favor of “hymnic type” or “classification.”

It is useful to frame our discussion of genre with Tinney’s 1996 treatment of the topic, in a chapter dealing with genre and the “city laments” (Tinney 1996, 11–21). Posing a series of questions concerning genre, Tinney presented two different genre forms or viewpoints: (1) modern, critical genre and (2) ethnic, native genre. Critical genres are essentially *ad hoc* categories deductively created from, and thus tailored to, a given subject matter, for the purpose of critical

¹⁶ Shehata made an explicit distinction between “Gattung” and “Genre”: “Eine inhaltliche Unterteilung von Genren sumerischsprachiger Literatur setzen Velhuis und Rubio an. Die folgende Studie richtet sich demgegenüber in der Gruppierung der zu behandelnden Texte nach der antiken Terminologie, den sumerischen und akkadischen Gattungsnamen. Damit können gleichermaßen Hymnen wie auch Klagelieder in einer Gruppe auftreten” (224).

analysis. The category of “royal hymns” is a good example, having no meaning for ancient scribes but of value for analyzing certain aspects of royal ideology under a particular ruler or dynasty. Investigations of ethnic genre, on the other hand, seek to “describe, and perhaps define, the attitudes of a given body of people to their literature,” allowing one to “meaningfully discuss native taxonomies” (Tinney 1996, 13). Quoting from a treatment of ethnic genre by D. Ben-Amos, Tinney keyed in on a particular aspect of Ben-Amos’s definition, that

“each genre is characterized by a set of relations between its formal features, thematic domains, and potential social usages.” It is not necessary that all these features be in accord with one another for “each society defines its genres by any number or combination of terms.” These terms may be prosodic (song or tale, for example), thematic (the nature of the characters, the subject matter of the work), or behavioural (told only at night, used only in ritual) (Tinney 1996, 14).

Turning his attention more specifically to ethnic taxonomic *labels*, Tinney reiterated Ben-Amos’s precautions concerning their interpretation, noting that such labels are not necessarily fixed over time and space, and that they “may develop a complex semantic structure, for which etymology alone would not account.” He went a step further and argued that, in the absence of native informants, as is the case in Mesopotamia, ethnic genre is in fact inaccessible:

If the shifting quality of a literature’s labels is impossible to fix without the help of native informants, how can one write an ethnic genre of a society whose informants are no more? If there is no metataxonomic discourse in their literature then one may legitimately question whether it is possible to analyze native taxonomies at all, since any connections drawn between texts may be subject to the accusation that they are critical genres, not ethnic ones. The only truly ethnic genre that can be produced is that which comes from the testimony of members of the society in which the literature under study is current” (Tinney 1996, 14–15).

Turning to native Sumerian conceptions of genre, with this caveat in mind, Tinney identified three types of textual features that most likely played a role in generic perception and construction (while reiterating the point that “we can do little more than offer informed guesses concerning ethnic genre systems for which we have no native informants” and that “the possible nature of the

concept of genre in Sumerian thought remains elusive now, and may do so forever” (16)). The three areas he discussed were: form (16–17); theme (17–18); and, crucially for our purposes, performance:

Although compositions with the same subscript sometimes share certain features, for example rubrics such as **kirugu** or **sagida**, some subscripts are applied to groups of texts whose association remains mysterious to us. Ben-Amos’s warnings on the pitfalls in the analysis of ethnic genre designations must be borne in mind here, but because these subscripts are in several cases the same as the names of musical instruments (**adab**, **balag**, **tigi**, **zamzam** for example), and because in other subscripts there may be an association with specific performers (**širnamgala**, ‘a song of the liturgist’s craft’), it is tempting to interpret them as indicative of the use of performative criteria in the native Sumerian construction of genres. The possible candidates for such performative criteria are numerous, and one might posit, without attempting to be exhaustive: time performed (of day, lunar cycle, season); type of event (birth, death, coronation, street-corner gathering); individual(s) performing the compositions (king, priest, singer, story-teller); and the scope and composition of the audience (restricted, private, family, public) (Tinney 1996, 18)

According to Tinney’s definition of ethnic genre, liturgical types designated by subscripts could thus probably be considered “genres.” Many Assyriological treatments of Sumerian hymns, however, employ a narrower definition of genre, limiting it to formal, stylistic, and/or thematic considerations, to the exclusion of extra-textual (musical or ritual) features.

For example, according to Wilcke’s article on Sumerian formal features, if a given liturgical type encompasses compositions written in different poetic styles¹⁷ from one another, we can exclude from the outset the possibility that that liturgical type corresponds to genre (“Gattung”) (Wilcke 1976a, 262).¹⁸ But even in cases where single poetic style is consistent across the entire hymnic type, as is true of *adabs*, *balbales*, and *tigis*, they can still not be understood as belonging to a single “genre” (“Gattung”), since the texts’ formal and/or thematic features are not consistent

¹⁷ “Haltungen,” i.e. lyric or epic style.

¹⁸ This includes *balaĝs*, *eršemas*, *širgidas*, *širnamgalas*, *širnamšubs*, and *ululumamas* (see table in Wilcke 1976a, 161).

with one another (262). For Wilcke, therefore, genre was a matter of style, form, and thematic content.

Herman Vanstiphout, whose body of work included a number of articles dealing with genre,¹⁹ likewise prioritized form and content over other criteria in his definition of a Mesopotamian genres. In a 1986 article outlining the difficulties in studying Mesopotamian genre and pointing to potential avenues of genre research, he defined historical (i.e. native) genre as follows:

At least there is some consensus about what constitutes a historical genre: a historical group or family of literary texts, governed by and perhaps (partly) generated by sets of rules, of which rules **some formal constellation** is clearly dominant, thus defining the genre (Vanstiphout 1986, 1, emphasis added).

Arguing for the value of “indirect constructive inference” in reconstructing the Mesopotamian system of genres, “precisely because the system is largely traditional and unconscious,” Vanstiphout wrote: “the subscriptions [i.e. liturgical subscripts] are mainly disappointing. The reason for this is not merely that these subscriptions have generally only to do with the occasion of a presumed performance; the main reason is that it is impossible to link them to any formal feature of a given text in any useful way” (Vanstiphout 1986, 3–4). Twelve years later, in another article on the question of genre and Mesopotamian conceptions thereof, Vanstiphout revised his earlier statement concerning the largely unconscious nature of genre; he observed, in light of a passage in the composition Edubba’a B (“Father and Son”), that Mesopotamians not only used a generic system, but that “a grasp of this generic system is part of the ‘scribal arts and sciences’” and that it must therefore “be consciously and explicitly present” (Vanstiphout 1999a, 79). Considering various types of evidence, such as the organization of texts in incipit lists and on collective tablets, Vanstiphout observed that Mesopotamians grouped and subdivided literary

¹⁹ See esp. Vanstiphout 1986, 1999a, and 1999b.

material in a manner “which makes sense as to content and structure of the texts [e.g., subject matter, mode, formal properties], and which is also expressed materially [e.g., in tablet format and distribution, compilation of texts on collective tablets]” (Vanstiphout 1999a, 83).

Concerning the relationship between such a generic system and the functions of texts, Vanstiphout readily acknowledged that generic type can *correlate* with functional or performative elements in significant ways. For example, a composition’s genre might help to determine its place in the scribal curriculum, different genres serving different pedagogical functions (83–84). Some genres are characterized by the inclusion of formal rubrics, such as *kirugu* and *ĝešgiĝal*, that indicate the texts of these genres were performed in conjunction with specific ritual acts. However, Vanstiphout argued, the generic system is not *defined* by the way it is applied in areas such as scribal education or ritual performance; the fact that a set of compositions were learned at the same point in a student’s education, or that their performance entailed the same types of ritual motions, does not in itself mean they were thought of as a group. Vanstiphout concluded that an attempt to understand Mesopotamian systems of genre must “approach the texts as such, and try to construct a system upon these texts themselves by using textual analysis, context features and intertextuality” (94). As specific criteria, he suggested using features such as discourse modality, thematics and content selection, spread and distribution, and evolution within groups and across groups (94).

In another article published the same year, Vanstiphout revisited the question of Mesopotamian genre yet again, continuing to prioritize form and other elements of a text’s poetics, such as mode of discourse and style (Vanstiphout 1999b). Discussing the fact that Mesopotamians left no “native explicit description of their generic system,” he cautioned that liturgical subscripts are not the same thing: “it is clear in most cases these are indications of a *performance*, not a text. Performance is,

of course, a very important factor in the production and reception of literature, and we should probably give more attention to it than we have done so far. But it does not cover the system, or even explain it” (Vanstiphout 1999b, 710). He went on to observe that, generally, “one should not confuse a mere label with the real thing. On the contrary, we should try to understand the real, material, historical text in their own and individual existence—which means their immanent poetics” (Vanstiphout 1999b, 711). He concluded:

If we want to penetrate more deeply into the Mesopotamians’ own understanding of their literature—and this is a necessary corollary of the principle of ‘Eigenbegrifflichkeit’—we should always give pride of place to the immanent poetics of the texts, and try to reconstruct the literary system from that. To be sure, function and performance, where traceable, are very important aspects in their own right. But they are not everything, and it is important to keep in mind always that the most immediate context of nearly all our texts is the scribal, i.e. intellectual, environment (Vanstiphout 1999b, 713–714).

In this dissertation, the liturgical portion of preserved Sumerian texts is not, in contrast, understood to belong primarily to a scholarly, scribal domain, but rather to a practical, ritual domain, suggesting that more weight can be placed on their performative aspects than would be appropriate for texts learned in the scribal school. Although Vanstiphout’s point that “one should not confuse a mere label with the real thing” is well taken, one cannot ignore the fact that texts collected under one label were most likely seen, to some extent, as a group, especially given the way these labels are used to refer to groups of hymns in contemporary Sumerian literature. Although the definition of such a group may not fit within a modern understanding of “genre”—or, indeed, within ancient conceptions of “genre,” as proposed by Vanstiphout—the texts can still be productively studied as a corpus or type. Whether, or to what extent, such groupings are comparable to the various native *literary* genres that have been proposed, such as Vanstiphout’s “historical laments,” is a separate matter that goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In light of Tinney’s precautions concerning the attempt to reconstruct ethnic genres in the absence of native informants, as well as Vanstiphout’s precautions about equating Mesopotamian liturgical classifications with native conceptions of genre, this dissertation will not aim to define Sumerian *širgidas* as a genre *per se*. Nor will it seek to definitively pinpoint specific criteria that qualified a hymn as a *širgida*; it is assumed, following the general Assyriological consensus, that these criteria are to be found in elements of the hymns’ performance and/or ritual function, and cannot be found in the texts alone. While I will seek to identify consistencies or patterns in the content of the preserved *širgida* hymns, the focus will be not be on whether these features might define the type, but rather on what performative settings they might reflect or correlate with and what ritual aims they might have served.

1.2 Theory and Definitions

It is well acknowledged that hymns, as a type of ritual speech, go far beyond simple verbal communication of a message from the speaker to the deity.²⁰ Following Lenzi in Lenzi et al. 2011, because the words of prayers (including hymns as a subset) are usually accompanied by specific actions, gestures, or positions, we should think of them as a complex of discourse and practice; most prayers can be thought of as “‘ritual-prayers,’ comprising *dromena*, that which is done, and *legomena*, that which is spoken” (Lenzi et al. 2011, 11). In this dissertation, I thus generally make a distinction among: (1) a hymn, referring a musical or oral performative piece, encompassing verbal and non-verbal elements, (2) a text, referring to the verbal content of a hymn (or, in some

²⁰ Throughout this dissertation, I use the term “hymn” to designate a liturgical composition dedicated primarily to the praise of a deity and performed in a ritual framework. In contrast, I refer to works of praise dedicated to historical rulers and copied in scribal schools as “praise poems” (following ETCSL). This is not intended to make any statement regarding their potential use as ritual pieces at some point in their history.

cases, specifically the written content), and (3) a tablet, aka source, manuscript, or exemplar, referring to the individual tablet on which the text of a hymn is inscribed.

My framework for understanding Sumerian hymns as performed, religious works is influenced to some extent by Lenzi's examination of Akkadian hymns and prayers and their place in Mesopotamian religion. Lenzi adopts as his starting point a definition of religion proposed by Bruce Lincoln, in which "religion" is understood to encompass four different components:

1. A **discourse** that claims its concerns transcend the human, temporal and contingent, while claiming for itself a similarly transcendent status.
2. A **set of practices** informed and structured by that discourse.
3. A **community**, whose members construct their identity with reference to the discourse and its attendant practices.
4. An **institution** that regulates discourse, practices and community, reproducing and modifying them over time, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value (Lenzi et al. 2011, 6, emphasis added).

As Lenzi notes, it is easy to see how hymns and prayers are a part of the first component: the words of a hymn convey a particular understanding of how the cosmos functions; they participate in and help to shape an overarching religious discourse, communicating something to the addressee, to the listeners, and even to the speaker (Lenzi et al. 2011, 6). Beyond this, hymns and prayers also form part of the religious set of practices, being in themselves speech acts and being sung or recited along with other ritual acts. Finally, the utterance of a prayer or hymn contributes to both the communal and the institutional components of religion, in that it "is often institutionally prescribed or encouraged as a means of perpetuating or reshaping, in times of liturgical reform, the community. When one prays, one participates in a community and perpetuates its institutional values, relevance, and power in society" (Lenzi et al. 2011, 7).

As hinted at in these last two sentences, religious discourse should not be understood as a static, monolithic dogma promulgated by the elites of a central institution and universally accepted by members of the community; there is also room in religion for flexibility, adaptation, and

negotiation. Nor are the other elements of religion static and unchanging. As Pongratz-Leisten observes in her treatment of Assyrian religion, prescriptions of the dominant religious *Weltanschauung* can not only be perpetuated but also responded to and negotiated with by means of religious discourse and practice. With regard to investigating the potentially stabilizing or transformative roles of hymns in Mesopotamian religion and society, a useful conceptualization of tradition, cultural discourse, and ideology is provided by Pongratz-Leisten:

I myself consider *tradition* the growing body of cultural memory, which is informed by social values and practices. This cultural legacy materializes in *cultural discourse*, which is constantly reformulated and reconceptualized in all media including myth and historiography, as well as in architecture, iconography, and ritual. My understanding of cultural discourse includes all media of expression - image, text, and ritual. Moreover, the dynamics of the agency producing the media is just as important as the communication between authors and audience, both of whom participate in the production of culture and together constitute a discourse community. In other words, *tradition* is the coherent body of the inherited cultural legacy “that transcended political fragmentation, and cut through various divisions, including linguistic diversity, to unify scribal intellectual worldviews in much of the Near East” [Michalowski 2010, 8], while *cultural discourse* is the constant reformulation and re-conceptualization of tradition, as enacted by the ancient scholars in the entourage of the king and in the organization of local, regional, and supra-regional cults. Royal *ideology* then can be considered a subcategory of cultural discourse, namely the condensed form of the royal perspective, including all of its conceptual innovations, which is constantly worked into the traditional framework.” (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 21–22)

According to Pongratz-Leisten, all three of these concepts—tradition; the constantly-shifting cultural discourse that gives shape and meaning to tradition; and the ideologies that develop within a cultural discourse—were dominated in Mesopotamia by the “meta-discourse” of religion:

In antiquity, tradition and *Weltanschauung* were entirely dominated and permeated by religion. Ancient Near Eastern scholarship has tended to view religion as “one cultural system among others (politics, economy, literature, art, philosophy, fashion etc.), all of which enjoy relative independence” [Lincoln 2008, 223], rather than regarding religion as the meta-discourse encompassing, structuring, and permeating all others, ideology included. Archaeologists have also used the term ideology “as a substitute for 'world view', 'religion' or 'political doctrine'” [McGuire and Bernbeck 2011, 166], thus missing the opportunity to disentangle the various ways in which ritual, political discourse, and visual

media were informed by ideology, which again had to respond to the religious *Weltanschauung* (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 23).

Cultural discourse and ideology, which can materialize, i.a, in the performance of ritual and the retelling of myths, do not only participate in and respond to religious worldviews, but can also negotiate them—as is seen clearly, for example, in the case of Mesopotamian ideologies of kingship. As Pongratz-Leisten writes:

ideology cannot be understood merely through its function in daily practice as a regulator and harmonizer of societal actions. Instead, in an “ongoing arena for competition, control of meaning, and the negotiation of power relationships” [DeMarrais et al. 1996, 16], ideology - as it materializes in state ceremonies, ritual, monuments, architecture, iconography, and all kinds of textual categories such as treaties, royal inscriptions, chronicles, and myths - strives equally to respond to and negotiate the religious *Weltanschauung*, which prescribes a particular function and meaning for the institution of kingship in the cosmic order (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 25).

Both the verbal content of Sumerian hymns and their liturgical performance, along with its ritual framing, can thus be interpreted on a number of different levels. The semantic content of a hymn belongs to and helps to shape religious discourse; the singing of a hymn and the ritual frame are part of the set of religious practices structured by this discourse; the experience of a hymn can help to strengthen one’s sense of participation in a community, both physically and emotionally; and the performance of hymns can serve as a mechanism through which religious discourse, practice, and community could be influenced by a religious institution. At the same time, the words of the hymns and the performative acts associated with them functioned as part of the Old Babylonian cultural discourse, serving as a space in which particular ideologies could be not simply dictated or promulgated, but “worked into the traditional framework,” thereby allowing some room for negotiation in the overall religious *Weltanschauung*.

1.3 Research Design

1.3.0 Introduction

As stated above, this dissertation will be structured as a case study to investigate the place of Sumerian liturgical hymns in Old Babylonian liturgical practice, and to lay the groundwork for exploring their broader relevance to Mesopotamian society and ideologies.

1.3.1 The *Širgida* Corpus

The dataset chosen for analysis is the corpus of Sumerian hymns labeled in antiquity with the term *širgida* (**ser₃-gid₂-da**), whose literal meaning remains obscure (see below, section 1.3.1.1). Twelve such hymns are currently known, in varying states of preservation. This dataset is well-suited to investigating Old Babylonian praxis surrounding liturgical hymns for a number of reasons. First, with twelve known exemplars, *širgidas* are one of the best-attested Sumerian hymnic types, outnumbered only by *adabs*, *tigis*, *balbales*, and possibly *širnamšubs*. Secondly, unlike these other hymnic types, no clear structural or thematic trends have been observed in the preserved texts of the *širgida* hymns. For this reason, they have been given little attention as a corpus, and individual texts have usually been treated in investigative contexts entirely distinct from their status as *širgidas*—e.g., in studies on topics such as divine journeys (Ninurta B, *Angim dimma*), Mesopotamian medicine (Ninisina A), or the nature of a particular deity (e.g., Martu A). The fact that the known *širgida* hymns are, at least on the surface, quite heterogenous, reinforces the fact that the defining features of a liturgical hymnic type were tied to its performative manner and/or ritual purpose, rather than on its textual content—something that becomes obscured in other types of hymns, such as *adabs* and *tigis*, whose textual features are more uniform. This characteristic of the *širgida* texts allows us to more readily focus our attention on aspects beyond

their textual content. Thirdly, on a more practical level, a substantial amount of material belonging to the *širgida* corpus remains either unpublished or published only in an outdated or cursory manner. New editions of these texts will thus contribute significantly to the advancement of Sumerian hymnological studies.

1.3.1.1 The term *širgida* (**ser₃-gid₂-da**)

The literal meaning of the term **ser₃-gid₂-da** is poorly understood, and, unfortunately, no decisive interpretation can be offered here. The first component of the term, **ser₃**, is clear: it is the Sumerian word for song or any orally recited piece (see Shehata 2009, 227–234), and it serves as the head component of many hymnic classifications.

A list of such classifications, including the term **ser₃-gid₂-da**, appears in the lexical list OB Lu = *ša* (aka Proto-Lu), where it is preceded by a sequence of terms for performers of various types and followed by a few terms related to hymnody or vocalization²¹ and a series of liturgical rubrics.

Ex. 1.1 OB Nippur Lu (MSL 12, p. 54)

587	ser ₃
588	ser ₃ -ku ₃
589	ser ₃ -ḫa-mun
590	ṛser ₃ ¹ -nam-nar
591	ṛser ₃ ¹ -nam-gala
592	ser ₃ -nam-šub
593	ser ₃ -nam-ERIM ₂ -ma
594	ser ₃ -ṛgid ₂ ¹ -da
595	ser ₃ -saĝ
596	ser ₃ -ṛRI ⁷ ¹ -gud
597	ser ₃ -[banda ₃ [?]]-ṛda ¹
598	ṛser ₃ ¹ -ama-ṛgan ¹
599	ser ₃ -ma ₂ -ṛgur ₈ ¹ -[re]

²¹ **en₃-du** and related terms; **ad ša₄**, **ad ša₄-ša₄**.

The term **'ser₃'-gid₂-da** also appears in an unprovenanced version of the list, containing somewhat deviating content.

*Ex. 1.2 Or 70 pp. 210–211 i 1'–12'*²²

- i 1' [x]-[ḥa¹]-lam-ma
- i 2' [x]-da
- i 3' [x]-da
- i 4' [x]-da
- i 5' 'ser₃¹-gid₂-da // OB Nippur Lu 594
- i 6' 'ser₃¹-nam-gala // OB Nippur Lu 591
- i 7' 'ser₃¹-[nam¹]-ḡešbun
- i 8' 'ser₃¹-[nam¹]-ERIM₂-ma // OB Nippur Lu 593
- i 9' 'ser₃¹-nam-keše₂-da
- i 10' 'ser₃¹-ma₂-gur₈-ra // OB Nippur Lu 599
- i 11' 'ser₃¹-ša₃-ḥul₂-la
- i 12' 'ser₃¹-KAL-dab-ba

In the post-OB or “canonical” versions of lu₂ = ša, this section no longer appears.²³

The second component of the term **ser₃-gid₂-da**, the word **gid₂-da**, is more problematic. Sumerian **gid₂**, written with the BU sign, means most basically “to be long” (Akk. *arāku*) or “to make long” (Akk. *urruku*), the latter extending into meanings such as “to stretch out” or “to pull taut” (Akk. *šadādu*).²⁴ As nearly every scholar who has worked with *širgidas* has already

²² Taylor 2001.

²³ Shehata 2009, 263 mentions two other lexical passages in which **ser₃**-terms are listed, namely OB Izi II 390–393 (Crisostomo 2014, 339, 451–452; MSL 13, p. 52 ll. 421–424; // Wilcke in Hrouda 1987, 101, IB 1600 rev. iii 20–23) and *Nabnitu* 32 24–31 (MSL 16, p. 253), neither one including the term **ser₃-gid₂-da**. In the very short OB Izi sequence cited by Shehata, the reading of EZEM as **ser₃** rather than **izim** is in fact disputed, the entries reading: **EZEM** / **EZEM gal** / **EZEM maḥ** / **EZEM ša₃-ḥul₂-la**. Crisostomo and MSL 13 both read **ezem** (= **izim**), while Wilcke and Shehata read **šir₃** (= **ser₃**). In favor of the former is that **izim gal** and especially **izim maḥ** are very well attested, while **ser₃ gal** and **ser₃ maḥ** are practically unknown (see ref. in Shehata 2009, 263 n. 1522). On the other hand, the term **ser₃ ša₃-ḥul₂-la** is attested elsewhere (see Shehata 2009, 282–284), including in the unprovenanced version of OB Lu cited above, whereas **izim ša₃-ḥul₂-la** is otherwise unattested. In the *Nabnitu* sequence cited by Shehata, the term *širgida* likewise does not appear, although one of the entries is entirely broken: **[ser₃] : [...]** / **[ser₃-...] : [...]** / **'ser₃¹-nam-'gala' : [...]** / **'ser₃¹-ḡeš-ša₃-kaskal-la : 'x¹-[...]** / **'ser₃¹-ḡeš-ša₃-MEŠ-na : 'x¹-[...]** / **ser₃-za₃-mi₂-du₁₁-ga : ga-[...]** / **ser₃-enim-enim-ma : 'x¹-[...]** / **ser₃-i-lu-di : [...]**.

²⁴ The reading **gid₂** in **ser₃-gid₂-da** is certain, no other value of BU ending in a /d/ *Auslaut* other than the occasional use of BU for SUD[−]. The spelling of *širgida* in one source as **ser₃-gid₂-DU** is inexplicable to me, as there are no other indications that the final consonant in **gid₂** would be /d^r/ rather than /d/ (for **ra₂**), nor any reason the final /a/ in **ser₃-gid₂-da** should be colored to /u/ (for **-du**). The fact that **ser₃-gid₂-da** is consistently written with BU and not SUD excludes a reading of **su₃[−]-(d^r)**.

remarked, the designation **gid₂-da** cannot mean “long” in reference to the text’s length, as some of the preserved *širgida* texts are quite short (the shortest, a *širgida* to Sud, being only 50 lines long).²⁵

Other proposed interpretations have included:

- (1) **gid₂** as a technical term having to do with the tuning of instruments, as in the rubric **sa-gid₂-da** (Falkenstein 1950, 86; Hartmann 1960, 220; Cooper 1978, 3 with n. 3; Shehata 2009, 276)
- (2) **gid₂** in an extended meaning associated with processions, based on *šadādu* mng. 2, “to pull a cart, to tow a boat, to bear a yoke, a sedan chair, to haul, drag (objects), to transport, convey,” etc.²⁶ (Römer 1969b, 284 n. 67 [“Auszugslied”]; mentioned with less confidence in Cooper 1978, 3 [“processional song”]; Shehata 2009, 276, 365).
- (3) **gid₂** connected to the wind instrument ^g**gid₂** (mentioned as “remotely possible” in Cooper 1978, 3 with n. 6).

Part of the difficulty in ascribing a particular meaning to **gid₂-da** in the label **ser₃-gid₂-da** is that, as discussed above, such labels generally relate to the manner in which or occasions at which the corresponding pieces were performed, and very little is known about the performance of *širgida* hymns. There is no direct evidence even for whether they were sung, chanted, or spoken (the only attested verb being **du₁₁**), nor for whether they were accompanied by musical instruments or sung/recited without accompaniment. The only piece of external evidence concerning their performative style occurs in a passage of Dialogue 2 (see section 2.1.4), where it appears that the singer would spread open his or her arms before or during the singing or recitation of the piece (the unskilled singer here unable to recite the piece despite his performance of the gesture):

²⁵ So, e.g., Falkenstein 1950, 86; in Falkenstein and von Soden 1953, 21; Hartmann 1960, 220; Cooper 1978, 3; Shehata 2009, 276.

²⁶ CAD Š1 (1989), pp. 23–25 *šadādu* 2.

*Ex. 1.3 Dialogue 2 112 (composite text)*²⁷

112 a₂-ne₂ ḡal₂ u₃-bi₂-in-taka₄ ser₃-gid₂-da nu-ub-be₂

When he opens his arms (wide), he cannot articulate a *širgida*.

While **gid₂** can be used with **šu** as an object in the sense of “to extend one’s hand,”²⁸ the reference to spreading one’s arms in Dialogue 2 is too obscure and too general to propose a connection between this gesture and the term **ser₃-gid₂-da** itself.

Given our current state of knowledge, I am inclined to leave the meaning of **gid₂-da** in **ser₃-gid₂-da** an open question. However, if one were to choose from among the above proposals, the interpretation of **gid₂** as a technical musical term would seem to me the most likely. In this meaning, **gid₂** refers to the tightening of a string to raise its pitch. The Akkadian equivalent is *nasāḫū* or *nussuḫū*, as provided in lexical lists²⁹ and confirmed by the usage of *nussuḫū* in UET 7 74 + UET 6/3 899³⁰ (see esp. Volk 2006 38 with n. 109 and previous literature; Shehata 2009, 352). In musical contexts, the term **gid₂ : nasāḫū** “to tighten (a string), to raise the pitch” occurs as the antonym to the term **tu-lu : √N’’** (*ne’û* or *nê’u*),³¹ meaning “to loosen (a string), to lower the

²⁷ See also score transliteration in Appendix I.5.

²⁸ Most often extending the hand in order to take or to accept something: e.g., Inana’s Descent 246–247, 273–274, 300; Enlil A 55; Lugalbanda 2 141, 148, 154, 158; Ur-Namma A 53; Marriage of Martu 77–78. Less frequently, **šu gid₂** designates the act of reaching out one’s hand in support, equated with Akkadian *qātu* + *šabātu* “to take one’s hand” (see CUSAS 17 51 34; Maul 1988, 93–94).

²⁹ *Nabnitu* 32 20 (MSL 16, p. 253); Syllabary B 1 120b (MSL 3, p. 106); *Ana ittišu* 1 196 (DCCLT Ki-ulutin-bi-še 01; MSL 1, p. 10, Tf. 1 III 53).

³⁰ Edited most recently in Volk 2006, 33–41, Mirelman and Krispijn 2009.

³¹ On the Akkadian verb *nê’u*, see also Mirelman and Krispijn 2009, 47–48, with previous literature.

pitch” (Krispijn 1990, 15; Krispijn *apud* Gurney and West 1998, 223–224).³² In light of this usage of **gid₂**, one might tentatively propose a meaning for **ser₃-gid₂-da** along the lines of “highly-pitched song.” However, in the absence of other examples where **gid₂-da** is used as an adjective with this meaning, aside from in the term **sa-gid₂-da** (lit. “tightened string, highly-tuned string”), such an interpretation would remain highly speculative.

1.3.1.2 Overview of Preserved Texts

The textual remains of twelve *širgida*-hymns are preserved from the Old Babylonian period, ranging in length from 50 to 207 lines. Each text, in which a particular deity is glorified in the second or third person, concludes with the subscript “it is a *širgida* of DN” (**ser₃-gid₂-da DN-kam**) in at least one of the preserved sources. Each of the hymns except for one, the composition known as *Angim dimma*, is preserved on only one to five exemplars. Table 1.1 provides an overview of the preserved hymns, including their conventional names, ETCSL composition numbers, deities addressed, and preserved cuneiform exemplars.

As is evident from this table, four of the twelve known *širgida*-hymns were sung in praise of the god Ninurta, son of the chief god Enlil and prototypical warrior-king. Three other preserved *širgidas* texts praise different divine warriors for their martial prowess, namely Lulal, Martu, and

³² Examples of the two musical terms set in opposition to each other include, in addition to UET 7 74 + UET 6/3 899: a passage in Šulgi B where the king boasts of his skills with instruments: **ad pa₃-da gid₂-i tu-lu ge-na šu-ĝu₁₀ la-ba-ra-e₃** “*tuning (an instrument)*,”³³ tightening (the string), loosening (the string), and securing (the string) do not escape me” (171); OB Nippur Lu 622–623 (MSL 12, p. 55): **gid₂-i, tu-lu**; and *Nabnitu* 32 20–21 (MSL 16, p. 253): **gid₂-i : na₃ā[hu(m)], tu-lu : nē[u(m)]**. Examples of **gid₂** and **tu-lu** as a contrasting pair outside of musical contexts include: Elevation of Ištar 4 B 23–24 (Foxvog 2013 4 B 28’): **tu-lu ^ggid₂-da : šadāda u nē’u**; OB Izi II 51–53 (Crisostomo 2014, 294, 420): **a₂ gid₂-gid₂, a₂ tu-lu**; *Utu ursag* Seg. C 18/61 (see Appendix II.8): **‘gid₂-da/i’ tu-lu : uddātu u rummūtu**; and the lexically-attested item ^gtu-lu-an-gid₂ ([^gtu-lu-e-gid₂, tu-lu-gid₂-[gid₂]), evidently a type of tool (Akk. *marša’u*) (see references in CAD M1 [1977], p. 290 and ePSD 2 *tulu’angid*).

³³ On **ad pa₃**, see esp. Krispijn 1990, 15 ad 171, with previous literature (“(an)stimmen”); PSD A3 (1998), p. 4 ad 2.10 (“to tune” (a musical instrument)); Jaques 2004, 223 n. 26 (“l’action d’accorder un instrument [...] ou une façon de commencer un chant”).

Table 1.1 Preserved *Širgida* Texts

Composition Name	ETCSL Number ³⁴	Deity (m/f) ³⁵	Sources	Edition
<i>Angim dimma</i>	1.6.1	Ninurta (m)	(See Appendix II.1.2)	Attinger and Glenn 2017
Ninurta A	4.27.01	Ninurta (m)	AO 4650 (TCL 15 7) Ni 4346 (ISET 1 pl. 87, p. 145) N 3415 + N 7700 (UF 42 pp. 573–612 no. 44) obv. 3'ff.	Appendix II.2
Ninurta B (Ninurta's Journey to Eridu)	4.27.02	Ninurta (m)	CBS 13938 (STVC 34)	Appendix II.3
Ninurta J	4.27.10	Ninurta (m)	HS 1443 (TMH 4 49) + HS 1586 (TMH 4 88)	Appendix II.4
Lulal A	4.11.1	Lulal (m)	CBS 12590 (HAV 5, pl. 7, VIII)	Appendix II.9
Martu A	4.12.1	Martu (m)	Ni 2443 (SRT 8)	see Appendix II.7
<i>Širgida</i> to Nergal	—	Nergal (m)	N 1491	Appendix II.10
Nuska A	4.29.1	Nuska (m)	AO 27934 + Kenrick 1 (JCS 4 138–139)	Appendix II.5
Nuska B	4.29.2	Nuska (m)	CBS 8548 (STVC 37)	Appendix II.6
<i>Utu ursag̃</i>	—	Utu (m)	H 150 (Fs Bottéro pp. 17–18) Tell Haddad Unn. (Fs Bottéro p. 18) MDP 27 287 VAT 6441 (VS 10 212, aka SK 212) BM 78614 (ASJ 19, 265–266)	Appendix II.8
Ninisina A	4.22.1	Ninisina (f)	Ni 2483 (SRT 6) Ni 2445 (SRT 7)	see Appendix II.11
<i>Širgida</i> to Sud	—	Sud (f)	MS 5102	Appendix II.12

Nergal. In contrast, the remaining five hymns focus by and large on celebrating more benevolent deities for their kind and magnanimous works, praising the gods Nuska (in two hymns) and Utu and the goddesses Ninisina and Sud. The division between the two groups is not strictly maintained, as Ninisina is praised for her military conquests in addition to her medical care.

Several other Sumerian hymns that do not bear the subscript *širgida* have also sometimes been associated with the *širgida* corpus. The only known source for the hymn Ninšubur A, edited most

³⁴ For a complete list of ETCSL composition numbers, including compositions not provided with transliterations and translations, see <http://etcs1.orinst.ox.ac.uk/catalogue/> (*širgida* hymns listed in catalogue 4, with the exception of *Angim*, in catalogue 1).

³⁵ (m) = male, (f) = female.

recently by Zólyomi (Zólyomi 2005), preserves the remains of a subscript that someone attempted to erase in antiquity. This can tentatively be reconstructed, following Zólyomi, as: **‘ser₃-gid₂’-da’¹** **‘d¹nin’¹-[šubur]-‘ra’²-kam’¹** “It is (?) a *širgida* (?) of Nin[šubur](?).” The fact that the writer of the tablet first wrote the subscript and then tried to erase it is potentially revealing. If the first half of the subscript is indeed to be reconstructed **ser₃-gid₂-da**, the scribe likely copied the piece thinking it was a *širgida*, but was then corrected or noticed his or her mistake. This means that the content of the piece could be mistaken for that of a *širgida*, albeit possibly by an apprentice musician rather than an expert.

Ninšubur A’s association with the *širgida* corpus is further supported by the fact that its incipit can probably be reconstructed as one of the two incipits or “catchlines” inscribed by the writer at the end of another *širgida* text, namely Ninurta B. Exactly why the writer wrote this incipit is uncertain; following Peterson’s treatment of another text with multiple incipits at the end, he or she may have intended to copy Ninšubur A next (as well as the text belonging to the other incipit), or perhaps the hymns were meant to be used in conjunction with one another.

A second piece associated with *širgidas* despite its lack of subscript is Ninurta I, the bilingual composition edited in Michalowski 2017, 207–225.³⁶ The text is preserved in two copies, both post-OB: one from Middle Assyrian Assur and one from Kassite Nippur (Michalowski 2017, 207). The only source preserving the end of text does not include a subscript, although probable traces of a colophon are faintly visible (Michalowski 2017, 224). Concerning this composition, which praises Ninurta and narrates his joyful entrance into Nippur, Michalowski writes: “there are good reasons to believe that this was a **šir₃-gid₂-da**, a Sumerian poetic label that is difficult to define [...]” To support this assertion, he notes that the final line, **[ur-saĝ] ‘gal’¹ ‘d¹nin-urta za₃-mim’¹-**

³⁶ VAT 10610 (KAR 119) // N 3462.

zu 'du₁₀¹-ga (“great valiant warrior Ninurta, your praise is sweet!”) is “typical of some, but not all šir₃-gid₂-da songs in honor of Ninurta” (Michalowski 2017, 224 ad 5’). Additionally, his interpretation of the piece as a *širgida* is presumably tied to the fact that, like *Angim*, it narrates a return of Ninurta to Nippur accompanied by hymnic praise for this deity. Despite these potential links to the *širgida* corpus, since the text lacks a subscript and is not preserved in any Old Babylonian exemplar, it is not treated in this study.

Thirdly, there is good reason to associate the *širgida Angim* with the Sumerian composition known as *Lugale* (Ninurta’s Exploits), which narrates Ninurta’s defeat of the enemy Asag, his blessing and cursing of the rocks and minerals that participated in the battle, and his recreation of the Sumerian geographical landscape.³⁷ The subscript of *Lugale* is only partially preserved, in the source Z₂ + W₄.³⁸ The beginning of the subscript, preceding Ninurta’s name, is almost entirely missing, only the tail of a single horizontal wedge remaining (see Figure 1.1).

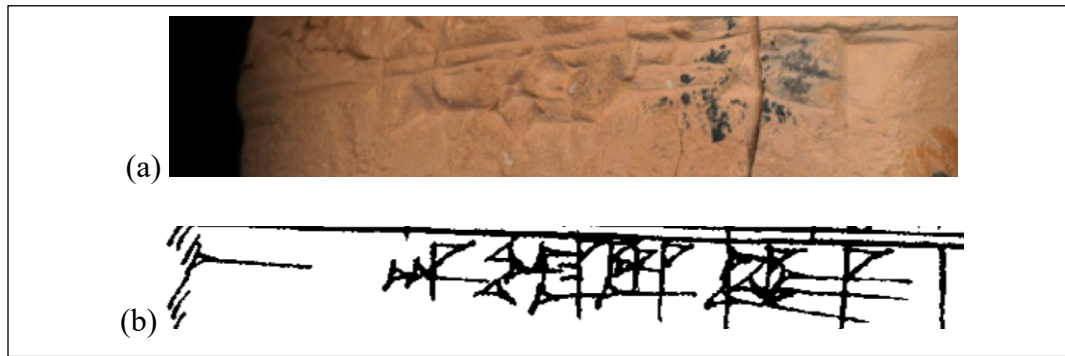


Figure 1.1 Subscript on *Lugale* ms Z₂ + W₄. Images: (a) CDLI;³⁹ (b) van Dijk 1983b, pl. 31

In his edition, Van Dijk tentatively proposed to reconstruct in the subscript either [šir₃-su]d[?] or [za₃-m]i₂?, noting that [x-l]a₂ is also possible (van Dijk 1983b, 181). The first reconstruction, [ser₃-su]d[?], has become the standard in treatments of the text, and some scholars have, in turn,

³⁷ On the relationship between these two compositions, see esp. Cooper 1978, 11–13.

³⁸ CBS 2196 + CBS 2205 (BE 29 13) + CBS 2293 (both van Dijk 1983b pl. 31).

³⁹ <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P259251.jpg>.

noted the semantic similarity between the proposed *širsud* and the well-known subscript *širgida*—both **sud** and **gid₂** being translatable in some contexts as “long” (e.g. Shehata 2009, 275). However, given that the term **ser₃-sud** is nowhere fully attested, and that the traces in the *Lugale* source are ambiguous, there are no compelling reasons to associate *Lugale* with the *širgida* corpus beyond its associations with *Angim* specifically (many of which developed only after *Angim*’s active use as a *širgida* hymn).

1.3.1.3 History of Research

The existence of the *širgida* as a hymnic type has long been recognized in Assyriological scholarship, the subscript **ser₃-gid₂-da** being discussed already in Falkenstein’s early treatments of liturgical subscripts. Aside from touching upon the literal meaning of the name (see section 1.3.1.1), Falkenstein observed that: (1) a definition of the type based on the hymns’ content is not possible; (2) unlike many other types, none of the preserved *širgidas* is divided by rubrics; (3) despite Old Babylonian references to *širgidas* as “royal praise” (see section 4.1.2), all of the preserved hymns are addressed to deities; and (4) *širgidas* probably belonged to the repertoire of the *nar*-musician (judging from a reference to this figure in one of the preserved texts, Martu A, and in keeping with their classification as a type of “song” (**ser₃**)) (Falkenstein 1950, 85–86; Falkenstein and von Soden 1953, 21).

Following Falkenstein, Hartmann characterized the *širgida* as fundamentally a divine hymn (“Götterhymne”). She identified certain formal features of the preserved *širgida* texts, such as ornamental repetition of short text units (“Strophenwiederholung”) and, at least in one case, the repetition of larger blocks of text (“Verswiederholung”) (Hartmann 1960, 221). Discussing the social and performative settings of the *širgida* hymns, she identified the *nar*-musician as their

singer and suggested that the hymns would have been accompanied by the playing of musical instruments, despite the lack of direct evidence:

Das širgídda-Lied gehörte zu den vom nar gesungenen Kompositionen, denn in mehreren Texten ist ein Hinweis auf den Sänger als Ausführenden zu finden sowie die Formel ‘dich zu preisen ist süß.’ Über die Art der Instrumentenbegleitung geht aus den Texten selbst nichts hervor. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, daß einige der in anderen Texten genannten Instrumente zum Vortrag des širgídda-Liedes vom nar gespielt wurden (Hartmann 1960, 222).

Hartmann also referenced the preserved *širgidas*’ apparent lack of unifying textual features in her treatment of another type, the *širnamšub*, remarking: “Eine Beziehung zwischen Inhalt und Gattungsbezeichnung ergibt sich ebensowenig wie beim širgídda; die einzelnen Texte weichen inhaltlich voneinander ab” (Hartmann 1960, 222).

The first more in-depth treatment of *širgidas* as a corpus appeared in Cooper’s 1978 edition of the *širgida* composition *Angim dimma* (Ninurta’s Return to Nippur) (Cooper 1978, 3–4). One of the most significant contributions of Cooper’s study is that he took seriously the characterization of *širgidas* in contemporary Sumerian literature as “royal praise” (see section 4.1.2), proposing that “because all but two of the **šir₃-gid₂-da** compositions do show some concern for the king, this concern might be considered a unifying feature within the genre, although the nature and extent of the concern varies significantly from composition to composition, and the expressions of concern are by no means unique to this genre” (Cooper 1978, 4). Cooper also, like Hartmann, remarked upon the heterogeneous nature of the corpus, concluding “the demonstrable lack of distinctive common characteristics among **šir₃-gid₂-da** hymns thus strengthens the assumption that the subscript refers to the method or occasion of performance rather than the contents, even though we remain ignorant of the term’s actual meaning” (Cooper 1978, 4).

In a treatment of royal hymnody within her work on the hymns of Išme-Dagan of Isin, Ludwig devoted a few pages to *širgidas*, focusing on the unexpected inclusion of this hymnic type in

Sumerian enumerations of hymns commemorating rulers (Ludwig 1990, 38–40; cf. also 36–37 n. 50). Here, she addressed the issue that most references to a king in the preserved *širgida* texts are ambiguous in terms of whether they refer to divine or to a human king, and that those references we can associate with the human king do not actually praise him, but rather praise the deity for his or her treatment of him. Ludwig therefore suggested a less explicit way in which *širgidas* might be considered “praise of the king.” One of the few apparent commonalities among the preserved *širgida* texts is that the praised deity is addressed as a divine son (or daughter) and as a youthful warrior hero carrying out the orders of his or her father—thus depicting the same type of relationship as existed, ideologically speaking, between the human king and his divine father. Ludwig compared this type equation of a human king with a deity to the well-known representation of Dumuzi by the human king in the “sacred marriage” ritual: “Analog zu dieser Praktik können die **šir₃-gid₂-da** dann einen ‘Preis des Königtums’ beinhalten, nimmt man an, daß der König in eben dieser Funktion des göttlichen Sohnes mit einem der hier gepriesenen Götter identifiziert wird. Er erscheint als der jugendliche Held, der Gesandte seines Vaters mit dem Auftrag, für Volk und Land Sicherheit und Wohlstand zu gewährleisten” (Ludwig 1990, 39).

In her volume on Old Babylonian musicians and their repertoires, Shehata included a four-page section on *širgidas*, which represents the most extensive treatment of the type to date (Shehata 2009, 274–278). This section was primarily a synthesis of previous work on the *širgida* corpus, with additional observations concerning the hymns’ form and musical performance. Shehata concurred with Ludwig’s assessment of the *širgidas*’ ideological implications, writing, “das **Širgida** preist vor allem kriegerische Aspekte der adressierten Gottheit, der Bezug zum Königtum und dessen Preis wird trotz fehlender Namen impliziert” (Shehata 2009, 277). Concerning the *širgidas*’ cultic functions, she observed that very little is known aside from this vicarious exaltation

of the king. Additionally, she suggested that parallels between *Angim* and an *Eršema* to Iškur might lead one to speculate that *širgidas*, like *eršemas*, could serve apotropaic functions (citing previous such suggestions for the function of *Angim* specifically)—while acknowledging that a borrowing in content need not correspond to a borrowing in function (Shehata 2009, 277). She also briefly touched on the loci of the *širgidas*’ performance, which, according to Sumerian literary references, included “cult places” in general (**ki-šu(k)**) and the king’s temple (Shehata 2009, 277). Finally, regarding the *širgidas*’ manner of performance, Shehata cited the passage of Dialogue 2 quoted above (Ex. 1.3) and concluded: “Das angesetzte Verb ‘sprechen/sagen’ verweist auf einen rezitativen Vortrag der Lieder. Das Öffnen der Arme könnte als eine Form der musikalischen Agogik zu interpretieren sein, die der Unterstützung des rezitierten Vortrags diene” (Shehata 2009, 278). She thus characterized *Širgidas* as divine hymns that were probably performed in the form of a “Sprechgesang” (278).

Aside from these brief treatments, which mostly occur within the context of a larger investigation of Sumerian hymns, no dedicated treatment of the *širgida* hymnic type exists. This dissertation thus aims to fill a gap in the literature, while also providing a model and point of comparison for future investigations of other hymnic types.

1.3.1.4 History of Publication

A majority of the known clay tablets on which *širgidas* are inscribed were excavated during the late 1800s at the site of Nippur, in southern Mesopotamia, and were eventually divided among three different tablet collections in Jena, Philadelphia, and Istanbul. Other tablets inscribed with *širgida* texts have been identified in private collections or museums in Paris, Chicago, Berlin, and Oslo, while only a handful have been recovered in modern, controlled excavations (at Tell

Haddad). This dispersed state of the tablets and their excavation history is reflected in their publication history. Handcopies of some of the tablets appeared in various publications over the course of the twentieth century, from 1909 (HAV) and 1913 (VS 10), through the 1920s (SRT) and 1930s (TCL 15, STVC, MDP 27), and into the 1950s (JCS 4), 1960s (TMH 4, ISET 1), 1970s (JCS 29), and 1990s (ASJ 19). A handful of other texts were first published in handcopy within the past decade (in UF 42, Fs Bottéro, CUSAS 38), while others remain to be published (AO 27934, N 1491).

Translations and critical editions of individual *širgida* texts appeared in a number of different publication formats from the 1950s through the 1970s, with only four editions being published more recently: a revised and expanded version of Römer’s 1969 edition of Ninisina A (Römer 2001, 107–142); a provisional edition of the composition *Utu uršaĝ* (Cavigneaux 2009a, with corrections in Cavigneaux 2009b); an edition of Lulal A written by myself and J. Peterson (Glenn and Peterson 2018); and an edition of the *širgida* to Sud recently published by C. Metcalf (Metcalf 2019).⁴⁰ ⁴¹ The frameworks within which individual *širgidas* have been edited or treated have varied considerably from publication to publication. Many were edited in collections of miscellaneous divine hymns (e.g., Falkenstein 1959; van Dijk 1960; Sjöberg 1973a; Sjöberg 1977; Römer 2001), while others were published in stand-alone articles with a range of interests—the text being treated, for example, as an part of the “divine journey” genre (Reisman 1971) or as a source of evidence concerning the nature of a particular deity (Römer 1969b). Only one *širgida* text, *Angim dimma*, has had a full monograph devoted to it (Cooper 1978). Two additional *širgida*

⁴⁰ Metcalf’s edition of this hymn appeared in publication too late to be fully incorporated into my own comments.

⁴¹ In addition, a 2017 score and translation of *Angim dimma* with footnote-style comments, by Pascal Attinger and myself, is available online at http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/va_personen/prof_dr_attinger_pascal/index_ger.html (under “Übersetzungen”).

texts, along with a significant portion of a third, have been identified only recently and are edited in this dissertation for the first time.

A significant contribution of my dissertation is therefore to bring the publication of the *širgida* corpus up to date. Appendix II includes new editions or translations of all the known *širgida* texts, with the exception of *Angim dimma*.⁴² Beyond providing philological treatments of the texts which take into account advances in Sumerian philology that have taken place since their original editions, my presentation of the preserved *širgida* texts alongside one another makes them more readily accessible for investigation as a corpus—a task that I undertake in this dissertation, but hope will be continued by others and will inform future studies of Sumerian liturgical hymns.

1.4 Argument of the dissertation

The main body of this dissertation comprises five chapters that explore various aspects of the known *širgida* corpus, focusing on the hymns' potential impact as ritual performative pieces performed by a professional musician in a ceremonial setting.

Chapter 2 discusses the general *Sitz im Leben* of the *širgida* hymns. This begins with an exploration of their existence as written texts, including a more detailed explanation of the framework for organizing the Sumerian literary/liturgical corpus introduced above. I then discuss the *širgidas*' position in the category of “hymnic liturgies” and present data pertaining to the contexts in which the *širgida* tablets were written and used, such as their inclusion in incipit lists or inventories. The second part of the chapter examines external textual evidence for the contexts in which *širgida* hymns were performed and the ideological implications of their performance.

⁴² Excluded due to its length and variational complexity. For a score transliteration and annotated translation, see Attinger and Glenn 2017.

In Chapter 3, I present a detailed summary of the textual content of each of the preserved *širgida* hymns, focusing on structural and formal features. The aims of this survey are: first, to identify recurring elements in the texts themselves, which, though not defining the *širgida* type, may have been generally characteristic of it and/or reflect some of the uses the hymns served; and, second, to consider the potential impact of the hymns' textual content when chanted or sung by a *nar*-musician during the course of a ritual ceremony, together with the hymns' musical features and ritual frame.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the question of the *širgidas*' connection to kingship, a topic touched upon in much of the previous scholarship but never fully explored. I present a philological discussion of the terms used to qualify *širgidas* in Old Babylonian Sumerian literature as "praise of kingship" or "royal praise," confirming that this is indeed the correct interpretation of the passages in question (a fact that has sometimes been disputed). In the next part of the chapter, I present new evidence that suggests the Mesopotamian king represents a far more central figure in the *širgida* texts than was previously apparent, and I demonstrate that older evidence, examined in light of the new, supports this conclusion. The *širgidas* can therefore be understood as "royal hymns" in the same sense as other hymns to deities in which a ruler is mentioned, and they are to be interpreted in the context of royal ritual. In the third part of this chapter, I explore ways in which the *širgida* texts draws parallels between the praised deity and the human king and present an ideological framework in which kingship and the duties of the king are portrayed as inalterable divine structures.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I continue to focus on the language of the *širgida* texts to elucidate potential aspects of their ritual functions and performative impact. Chapter 5 presents close readings of passages in which the material experience of ritual is evoked, especially through

reference to concrete items, such as scepters, crowns, thrones, and others. The *širgidas*' use of emotive or affective language is also considered. Chapter 6 explores the *širgidas*' repeated reference to prayer, offering, and divine blessing, arguing that these represent an important theme running throughout the corpus, and that they are tied to at least one of the ritual functions *širgida*-hymns were could serve.

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CHAPTER 2

GENERAL "*SITZ IM LEBEN*" OF THE *ŠIRGIDA* HYMNS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses the general *Sitz im Leben* of the *širgida*-hymns based on the external evidence available to us, the internal evidence of the *širgida* texts themselves being explored in the subsequent three chapters. I will begin by considering the *širgidas* as written works, examining the types of settings in which a *širgida* manuscript could have been written, stored, and utilized. This first part of the chapter includes a survey of the available archaeological data concerning the preserved *širgida* sources, a discussion of the classification of *širgidas* as hymnic liturgies, and an analysis of the Old Babylonian and post-Old Babylonian incipit lists in which *širgidas* are catalogued. Finally, I discuss a passage from the Old Babylonian literary composition Dialogue 2 (Enkitalu and Enkihegal) that sheds further light on the context in which *širgida* hymns were learned and written down. The second part of the chapter will shift to consideration of the *širgidas* as oral pieces, focusing on their performative setting, as evidenced especially in royal praise poems of Šulgi and of Išme-Dagan.

2.1 *Širgidas* as Written Works

As will be discussed below, *širgida* hymns in Old Babylonian practice were first and foremost oral liturgical pieces, the written versions of the works representing only a secondary use. Nonetheless, when considered from this perspective, the written texts of the known *širgida* hymns can contribute significantly to our understanding of how the hymns functioned in society and how various actors interacted with their content.

2.1.1 Archaeological Contexts

2.1.1.1 Nippur

The large majority of preserved *širgida* tablets come from Nippur, excavated during the pre-war excavations and now housed in the University Museum in Philadelphia, the Hilprecht-Sammlung in Jena, and the Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul. Excluding *Angim*, which had been adopted into the scribal school curriculum by the Old Babylonian period, and *Utu ursag̃*, which demonstrates a number of unusual features and is considered below, all provenanced sources for the remaining *širgida* hymns come from Nippur.

***Širgida* Sources from Nippur**

University Museum	CBS 8548 (STVC 37)	Nuska B
	CBS 12590 (HAV 5, pl. 7, VIII)	<i>Lulal A</i>
	CBS 13938 (STVC 34)	Ninurta B
	N 1491	<i>Širgida</i> to Nergal
	N 3415 + N 7700 (both UF 42 pp. 573ff. no. 44)	Ninurta A (ms N ₁)
Hilprecht-Sammlung	HS 1443 (TMH 4 49) + HS 1586 (TMH 4 88)	Ninurta J
Istanbul	Ni 2443 (SRT 8)	Martu A
	Ni 2445 (SRT 7)	Ninisina A (ms N ₂)
	Ni 2483 (SRT 6)	Ninisina A (ms N ₁)
	Ni 4346 (ISET 1 pl. 87 p. 145)	Ninurta A (ms N ₂)

Three further sources are of unknown provenance, preserved in the Louvre in Paris, the DePaul University Library in Chicago, and a private collection in Oslo.

Unprovenanced *Širgida* Sources

Louvre	AO 4650 (TCL 15 7)	Ninurta A (ms X ₁)
Louvre/DePaul University	AO 27934 + Kenrick 1 (JCS 4 pp. 138–139)	Nuska A
Schøyen Collection	MS 5102	<i>Širgida</i> to Sud

The clear predominance of Nippur sources for the known *širgida* hymns suggests that these hymns belonged primarily, though probably not exclusively, to the cult of this city. The statistical significance of these numbers is not certain—a large majority of *all* hymnic liturgy sources come from Nippur, perhaps reflecting a particular use of written material by Nippurian musicians rather than a particular cultic practice—but the importance of Nippur for the *širgida* corpus is also supported by the content of the hymns themselves. A full third of the identified *širgidas* are addressed to Ninurta, who was in many ways the patron deity of Nippur (see, e.g., Sallaberger 1993, 97; Annus 2002, 12; Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 84 with n. 218, with previous literature).⁴³ The second most frequently addressed deity in the preserved hymns is Nuska, Enlil’s vizier and another key member of the Nippur pantheon, whose roles in the Ekur are emphasized in the preserved texts.⁴⁴ In the *širgida* to the goddess Sud, who is primarily the patron deity of Šuruppak, the goddess’s identity as Ninlil, the wife of Enlil who resides with him in Nippur, is thematized. The other deities who receive *širgida* hymns—Utu, Nergal, Martu, Lulal, and Ninisina—have more tenuous ties to Nippur, but each of them did have a shrine maintained for them in one of the major temples there (probably Ninurta’s), as attested in administrative documents recording the delivery of offerings, the so-called *sattukku*-lists (Richter 2004, 67–70, esp. 69, with previous literature).⁴⁵ Additionally, four other deities who are mentioned as secondary figures in the preserved *širgida* texts appear in the *sattukku*-lists: Damu (Ninisina A 13–16, 25–28), Ennugi (Nuska B Seg. B 7), Ninnibru (*Angim* 184–186/186–188, 196–198/198–200), and Pabilsaĝ (Ninisina A 100–101).

We can conclude that the *širgida* hymns, at least as far as they are known, functioned primarily within the cult of Nippur, probably being sung during rituals that took place there, and frequently

⁴³ *Angim dimma*, Ninurta A, Ninurta B, and Ninurta J.

⁴⁴ Nuska A and Nuska B.

⁴⁵ See also Zettler 2003, 11–13 for an interpretation of the *sattukku*-lists as records of the Inana temple, rather than the Ninurta temple.

elevating deities who resided or were worshipped there. The corpus's ties to Nippur take on an added significance when one considers the centrality of kingship in the preserved texts. As is argued in Chapter 4, the king represents a central figure in these hymns, and they would have been sung during rituals involving the king and his relationship to the addressed deities.

2.1.1.2 *Utu ursag*

Only three OB *širgida* tablets have a known provenance other than Nippur, all three belonging to the composition *Utu ursag*. Two of the four known sources for this hymn were excavated at Meturan (Tell Haddad), one was excavated at Susa, and the fourth is unprovenanced. A fifth tablet containing part of text of *Utu ursag* but probably representing a different composition with overlapping content (see Appendix II.8.2), was probably found at Sippar (BM 78614 (ASJ 19, 265–266)).

***Utu ursag* Sources and Parallel Text**

Meturan	H 150 (Fs Bottéro pp. 17–18) Tell Haddad Unn. (Fs Bottéro p. 18)
Susa	MDP 27 287
Unprovenanced	VAT 6441 (VS 10 212)
Sippar (?)	BM 78614 (ASJ 19, 265–266) (bilingual)

Excavations at Tell Haddad, the Old Babylonian city of Meturan in the kingdom of Ešnunna, located on the Diyala River, produced numerous tablets dating to around the early 18th century BCE (*terminus ante quem* ca. 1760 BCE, Ḫammurabi's defeat of Ešnunna).⁴⁶ The main source for *Utu ursag* from this site is H 150, upon which the subscript **ser₃'-gid₂-da** **^dutu-kam** is preserved. It was excavated in the large, probably private house known as Area II, in Room 30—

⁴⁶ On the dating of the tablets, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993a, 92; Cavigneaux 1999, 252.

one of two main rooms on the site in which Sumerian literary texts and/or incantations were discovered. The same room included a number of other texts classified by Cavigneaux as “religious,” along with private and administrative documents, magical texts, and other literary texts such as myths and legends, didactic texts, royal hymns, and literary letters (Cavigneaux 1999, 253). Besides the *širgida* to Utu, the religious texts included: lamentational texts, among them three laments to Lisin; another hymn to Utu, for which no subscript is preserved (H 180 + H 181 + H 182); and a prayer to a personal god labeled as an *er(a)šaḥuĝa* (**ir₂-ra ša₃-ḥuĝ-ĝa₂ diĝir lu₂-lu₇^{lu}-ke₄**) but bearing close resemblance to *diĝiršadiba*-prayers (H 152 + H 175) (Cavigneaux 1999, 253; Jaques 2015, 34).⁴⁷ This last text is very similar in content to the second half of *Utu ursag*, which likewise comprises a prayer for the return of a sufferer’s personal deity. The archaeological association of the *širgida Utu ursag* with a prayer identified as an *er(a)šaḥuĝa* is significant for the interpretation of two Old Babylonian incipit lists, discussed below, in which the incipit to *Utu ursag* appears alongside incipits to known *eršaḥuĝa*-prayers and other Emesal laments. The second *Utu ursag* source from Meturan—a short, five-line extract written in landscape format—was found in “secteur 1 (boîte 238),” with no excavation number assigned (Cavigneaux 2009a, 8).

The entire body of literary and liturgical texts discovered in Area II at Meturan, possibly the house of an exorcist or group of exorcists or scholars, is best known in Assyriological literature for the collection’s apparent interest in topics related to death and the afterlife and other facets of exorcism, as described by Cavigneaux 1999, 256–258.⁴⁸ A second interest, though, that can be identified in the content of the texts is an interest in the Southern Mesopotamian institution of

⁴⁷ Edited in Jaques 2015, 34–38, with discussion on pp. 17–19 and synoptic text on pp. 338–340, 344–345.

⁴⁸ On the texts found in this house and their connections to exorcism, magic, and scholarly reflection on related topics, see esp. Cavigneaux 1999; Jean 2006, 159–161; and Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 130–131.

kingship. According to the analysis of Pongratz-Leisten, the combination of utilitarian and literary texts in the collection are “a clear indication of scholarly interest in both the *Weltanschauung* represented by literary texts and in the application of this cultural matrix to social practice, as is evident, for example, in the ideological representation of kingship. Scholars can thus be seen to be integrating and regarding as unitary what we generally tend to divide into religion, culture, and politics,” the content of the collection testifying to the close cooperation between scholars and the king (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 131; see also Cavigneaux 1999, 254 on H 66 as a “magical” text possibly used in royal cult). The inclusion of a *širgida* hymn in this collection fits with Pongratz-Leisten’s assessment, these hymns being closely connected to ideologies of kingship and the performance of royal ritual (see Ch. 4).

Turning to the practical use of the tablets discovered at Meturan, there is evidence that some education or vocational training was taking place at the site, perhaps among exorcists or other types of scholars (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 130–131). At least one of the two sources for *Utu ursag* appears to be a training exercise, distinguished by its landscape format, with inscription on only one face, and its inclusion of only a short extract from the hymn (Cavigneaux 2009a, 8).

The Susa source for *Utu ursag* is similarly understood as an educational text, published in MDP 27 as part of a small lot of “textes scolaires de Suse.” Like the unnumbered Meturan tablet, it has a landscape format and contains only an extract of the full text (Cavigneaux 2009a, 9).

2.1.1.3 *Angim dimma*

As stated above, unlike the other known *širgidas*, *Angim dimma* is to be understood as a curricular text—a difference in function that is reflected in the large number of preserved Old Babylonian copies. All but one of these sources were, like most of the non-curricular *širgida*

tablets, excavated at Nippur. The sole exception is an unprovenanced source in the Schøyen collection.⁴⁹ The composition was also known and copied at other cities in the Old Babylonian period, as confirmed by the appearance of its incipit in an inventory of curricular texts from Ur (see below), but the near absence of sources from outside of Nippur is striking. Out of forty-three OB sources for *Angim*, forty-two were excavated at Nippur, thirty-two of which are from the pre-war excavations and have no recorded findspots. Of the ten sources excavated in the post-war excavations, seven come from Area TA's House F, a well-known locus of scribal education (see Delnero 2006, 37–43 with previous literature), while three were found in other houses in areas TA and TB.⁵⁰

***Angim* Sources with Recorded Findspots**

Area TA

House F⁵¹

Locus 191 (subsidiary room)

3N-T 916, 347 (SLFN pl. 7)	ms DD	Level XI-1
3N-T 679 = IM 58614 (AnOr 52 pl. 10)	ms A'	Level XI-2
3N-T 918, 421 (AnOr 52 pl. 12; SLFN pl. 7)	ms M'	Level XI-2

Locus 205 (main room)

3N-T 414 = IM 58466 (AnOr 52 pl. 2f., 11f.)	ms E	Level XI-2
3N-T 423 = IM 58472 (AnOr 52 pl. 1, 10)	ms A	Level XI-2
3N-T 442 = IM w/n (AnOr 52 pl. 2f.)	ms U	Level XI-3
3N-T 903, 112 (AnOr 52 pl. 13; SLFN pl. 6)	ms W	Level XI-3

House H⁵²

Locus 181 (main room)

3N-T 792 = IM 58712 (AnOr 52 pl. 4)	ms H	Level XI, disturbed
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⁴⁹ A second unprovenanced source in the same collection (ms Bb = MS 5072) is tentatively dated to the MB period based on paleographic features, but an OB date cannot be ruled out.

⁵⁰ For other examples of school texts found in houses other than House F in areas TA and TB, see Delnero 2006, 43–44.

⁵¹ See Stone 1987, 56–59 on Area TA House F, 171 on objects in locus 191, 174 on objects in locus 205.

⁵² See Stone 1987, 67–69 on Area TA House H, 168 on objects in locus 181.

House K⁵³

Locus 196 (main room)

3N-T 811 = IM 58730 (AnOr 52 pl. 13) ms Z Level XI-1

Area TB

House C-1⁵⁴

Locus 20 (entrance chamber)

2N-T 136 = UM 55-21-27 ms GG Level I-1

While it is true that most Sumerian compositions copied by scribal students are attested more abundantly at Nippur than at other sites, due, at least in part, to the history of excavation at Nippur, they are usually attested in smaller numbers at other sites where scribal education is known to have taken place. The Old Babylonian composition *Lugale*, for example, which can be associated with *Angim* in a number of ways, is known predominantly from sources preserved at Nippur (106 in total, fifteen from House F, five from other loci in Areas TA and TB), but sources are also preserved at other sites, including eight from Ur, four from Sippar, and one each from Kish and Uruk. In light of this, the near absence of non-Nippurian sources for *Angim* can be attributed to more than just the accidents of excavation; although *Angim* was at least occasionally copied as a school text outside of Nippur, its widespread use in scribal curricula seems to be an essentially Nippurian phenomenon. This is certainly due, at least in part, to the central position of Ninurta and his home city of Nippur in the composition's narrative. But it may also be connected to the fact that *širgidas* as performed liturgies were, by and large, associated with the city of Nippur, and belonged primarily to the cultic practice of this city.

⁵³ See Stone 1987, 41–53 on Area TA House K, 172 on objects in locus 196.

⁵⁴ See Stone 1987, 87–88 on Area TB House C-1, 183 on objects in locus 20

2.1.2 Classification and Tablet Typology

2.1.2.1 Classificatory Framework

Liturgical vs. Curricular Tablets and Compositions

As discussed in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, *širgidas* can be placed in the category of “hymnic liturgies” as defined in Tinney’s 2011 survey of non-administrative texts of the OB period, which lays out a general framework of classification (Tinney 2011). Tinney’s treatment focuses explicitly on the “extant remnants” of Sumerian literature—i.e. the preserved tablets—rather than necessarily the original function or setting of the compositions (584). According to Tinney’s framework, Sumerian tablets stemming from literary or scholarly praxis fall into two broad groups: (1) curricular tablets, used in school curricula of Nippur and other cities, and (2) tablets from praxis, used in liturgical, magical, or divinatory contexts (including the training of practitioners within these fields). The first group comprises tablets bearing the following types: lexical lists; compositions belonging to well-known pedagogical groupings (the Tetrad, Decad, House F Fourteen), as well as other groups attested in curricular catalogues or inventories (city laments, *naruas*, *res gestae* of the Uruk patriarchs); epistolary collections; proverbs; and collections of minor texts (fables, songs, short tales, and others). Tablets from praxis can be divided into several sub-categories: liturgical texts; incantations; and, probably, tablets bearing petitions to gods and kings (aka “letter-prayers”).

For Tinney, the defining feature of the liturgical category is that the texts belonging to it “typically contain performative rubrics—*gešgigal*, *sagida*, etc.—and generic or performative subscripts—*eršema*, *adab*, etc.—indicating that at some point in the life cycle of the composition there was a connection with worship or ritual of some kind” (585). Examination of the texts classified in this way as liturgies reveals further characteristic features that help to define the

group—most significantly, that liturgical compositions tend to be preserved in only one exemplar, in stark contrast to the frequently-duplicated curricular compositions. Delnero 2015 expands upon Tinney’s observations and, placing slightly more emphasis on the classification of compositions rather than tablets, develops a specific list of criteria for distinguishing curricular compositions from liturgical ones. Compositions belonging to the realm of scribal education typically exhibit some or all of the following features: (1) a large number of duplicates; (2) a large ratio of sources to compositions; (3) the existence of sources from House F at Nippur; (4) occurrence in inventories listing only other curricular texts; (5) the absence of performative rubrics and subscripts; and (6) the presence of a **za₃-mim** doxology (90).⁵⁵ When inverted, this list provides us with a constellation of characteristics typically associated with compositions belonging to the realm of liturgical praxis:

- (1) a small number of duplicates;
- (2) a small ratio of sources to compositions;
- (3) the absence of sources stemming from House F;
- (4) occurrence in inventories listing only other liturgical texts; absence in inventories listing only curricular texts;
- (5) the presence of performative rubrics and subscripts; and
- (6) the absence of a **za₃-mim** doxology.

Crucially, not every liturgical composition exhibits all of these attributes, and not every composition with one of these attributes can be considered a liturgy. The most definitive characteristic is number (5): a composition with a liturgical rubrics and/or a subscript was almost

⁵⁵ A seventh criterion, a high percentage of copies coming from Nippur, no longer seems to apply upon closer examination of the liturgical corpora. Statistical analysis of the hymnic liturgies remains to be done, but a preliminary database, containing a significant sample of Sumerian hymnic liturgies, shows that the large majority of sources come from Nippur. Lamentational liturgies also have a fairly high number of Nippur sources relative to other sites, with the exception of Kiš, although an even larger percentage of the corpus is unprovenanced (Delnero, forthcoming a).

certainly used in liturgical practice at some point in its history (although the absence of this attribute does not exclude a composition's use in liturgy). Secondly, it must be noted that, while a given exemplar of a composition belongs exclusively to one category or the other, some compositions participate in both categories. For example, the composition *Angim* existed both as a curricular text—exhibiting almost all of the characteristic features listed above—and as a liturgy, bearing a subscript that associates it with other, strictly liturgical compositions. Each exemplar of *Angim*, on the other hand, stems either from the context of a scribal school or from the context of liturgical praxis.

The *širgida* compositions all share the most definitive of the liturgical features listed above, bearing the liturgical subscript **ser₃-gid₂-da**. Beyond this, liturgical attributes (1), (2), (3), and (4) apply in all cases except for *Angim*, due to its double role as a curricular composition. Attribute (6) applies only to Ninurta B, Lulal A, and *Utu ursaĝ*, all other preserved *širgidas* ending in a **za₃-mim**-doxology.

Hymnic vs. Lamentational Liturgies

Within the liturgical category, two further sub-categories can be distinguished, which Tinney labels “hymnic liturgies” and “lamentational liturgies” (or simply “lamentations”). Although it is not stated explicitly in Tinney's article, the basic units of each of these groups are, generally speaking, types of compositions bearing a particular subscript. For example, lamentations include *balaĝs*, *eršemas*, occasionally *eršaĥuĝas* and “other types” (585), while hymnic liturgies include *adabs*, *tigis*, *balbales*, etc. The distinctions implicit in Tinney's schema are laid out more explicitly in Delnero (2015): (1) texts classified as hymnic liturgies generally comprise hymns to rulers or deities, and they are mostly written in standard Sumerian; (2) lamentational liturgies deal more

prominently with the themes of destruction and loss, and they are typically written in Emesal (93). Beyond these implicit distinctions between the two groups, they are further distinguished and defined by certain features that help tie together the texts of one group to the exclusion of the other. These include, as observed by Tinney: (1) shared physical typology; (2) association of compositions on collective tablets; and (3) association of incipits in tablet inventories (Tinney 2011, 585).⁵⁶ Building off of Tinney's schema, Delnero 2015 further outlines certain differences in the ritual settings associated with the two categories of liturgies. Focusing on the lamentations, he points out their distinctive ritual function (appeasing divine anger), their distinct professional domain (belonging to the repertoire of the *gala*-priest), and their particular orientation towards orality and fluidity (as opposed to a fixed written tradition). Finally, based on the numerous phonetically written sources for lamentational liturgies, he argues that the reason these liturgies were written down was to aid in performance. This feature is not shared by hymnic liturgies, which are almost always written orthographically, and were thus probably written in a different context and for a different purpose than the lamentations.⁵⁷

Hymnic Liturgies as Educational/Training Tools

Tinney 2011, discussing the relationship of learning to writing in the case of texts from praxis, including liturgies, proposes as the most likely scenario “that individual interns working with active practitioners wrote texts as an aid to learning or comprehension, to demonstrate their knowledge or to rehearse their command of texts which were to be used in upcoming rituals”

⁵⁶ Note that the liturgical-lamentational distinction is based on general patterns is not universally applicable. Certain types of liturgical compositions—most notably the *širnamšubs*—do not fit neatly into either the “hymnic” or the “lamentations” category. See esp. Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 262–263 and Cohen 1975a.

⁵⁷ For further indications of the strong influence of orality in the written versions of Sumerian lamentational liturgies, see Delnero, forthcoming b.

(2011, 589). For the hymnic liturgies, this suggestion may be supported by the existence of certain typological groupings of tablets bearing hymnic liturgies, including the so-called Hymnic Archive (see Tinney 2011, 585) and a group of micrographic tablets primarily in the British Museum, treated most recently in Jáka-Sovegjártó 2017 (see also Tinney 2011, 586). The Hymnic Archive, comprising about 50 tablets from Nippur characterized by “cursive script, lack of rulings, omission of refrains in litanies, and substandard tablet manufacture,” gives, according to Tinney, “the impression of being a collection of texts written as part of internship training.” The smaller, unprovenanced group mostly housed in the British Museum includes now an incipit list, BM 96740 (OBO 256 p. 210), that is attributable to the same archive based on shared formal features and acquisition history (Jáka-Sovegjártó 2017, 172). Although none of the incipits in the list have been matched to known compositions, given the liturgical nature of the preserved compositions in this reconstructed tablet group, they most likely refer to hymnic liturgies.⁵⁸ Line 9 of this list includes a remark by the writer apparently indicating that only some of the texts in the list had been fully written and suggesting that the others belonged to his assigned or planned workload but were not yet complete: **5 an-nu-u₂-tum mu til-la a-ab-sar** “These five: all the lines have been written” (so Ludwig 2012, who takes the list as sort of a “Zwischenbilanz”). Although this note offers few details about the identity of the list’s compiler, or about the broader context in which the list and the other texts in the group were written, it does confirm that the writers of such lists were, in fact, using them to keep track of written tablets, and that the tablet collections they recorded were not static archives, but rather groups of texts that were actively being produced. Ludwig, observing that the microscript points to an experienced writer rather than a beginning student, suggests that

⁵⁸ Given that none of the ca. 28 incipits can be identified with a preserved composition, it seems unlikely that they refer to curricular texts, although does Ludwig point out the possibility that they belonged to the early phase of a local school “curriculum,” or that they represent more advanced school texts (2012, 206–207). Since only one incipit is written in Emesal (line 24), they are unlikely to be lamentations.

the list may have been written by an advanced student, or perhaps an *ummiā* (2012, 207). It is equally possible, following Tinney's interpretation of the Hymnic Archive, to that the writer of the list and the writers of the other texts in the group were *nar*-musicians in training.

2.1.2.2 Physical Typology of Širgida Tablets

Curricular Tablets vs. Hymnic Liturgies

A detailed typology of hymnic liturgy tablets, and, in fact, of Sumerian literary tablets in general, that takes into account not only tablet format but also features such as tablet size, paleography, and use of line rulings and blank space, remains a desideratum in the field. In the absence of such a typology, it is impossible to determine which features of the preserved *širgida* tablets are significant, beyond very general or preliminary observations. Based on a small sample of data collected from tablets in the University Museum tablet collection, supplemented by data from the Hiplrecht-Sammlung in Jena, it is clear that some global differences exist between the curricular corpus, on the one hand, and the liturgical corpus, on the other. However, I have not been able to identify any specific, consistently recurring features that would allow one to definitively classify a given tablet as curricular or liturgical. Both groups comprise predominantly 1-column tablets but with a fair number of multi-column tablets and can include extract tablets, containing part of a composition; tablets containing an entire composition; and, less frequently, collective tablets, containing more than one composition.⁵⁹

The most apparent distinction between the two corpora is that curricular tablets are nearly always ruled, while hymnic liturgies may be ruled or unruled.⁶⁰ Of a total 94 hymnic liturgy tablets

⁵⁹ Hymnic liturgy tablets have a strong tendency to include entire compositions rather than extracts, whereas the opposite is true for curricular tablets, but this probably has more to do with the lengths of the compositions than anything else.

⁶⁰ My preliminary data collection did not include lamentational liturgies.

examined in the UM and Hilprecht-Sammlung collections, 60 were ruled and 34 were unruled. On average, the size of the script tended to be smaller on hymnic liturgy tablets than on curricular tablets, although only tablets belonging to a single curricular composition—namely Enlil A, the first composition of the Decad—have so far been examined. Signs were assigned to three provisional size categories: small (15–21 mm / 5 lines), medium (22–27 mm / 5 lines), and large (28–33 mm / 5 lines). Of the 27 curricular tablets examined, 9 had small signs, all at the upper limit of the small range (33%), 12 had medium signs (44%), and 6 had large signs (22%). Of the 60 ruled hymnic liturgy tablets, 33 had small signs (55%), 23 medium (38%), and 4 large (7%). Of the 34 unruled hymnic liturgy tablets, 25 had small signs (74%), 7 medium (21%), and 2 large (6%). These statistics are extremely provisional, especially in the case of the curricular tablets, but the general pattern that hymnic liturgies tend to have smaller signs than curricular tablets (or at least Decad tablets), and that unruled hymnic liturgies tend to have smaller signs than ruled hymnic liturgies, is strong enough that it would probably hold true in a larger study. To what extent the results are skewed by the presence of tablets belonging to a single or to a few distinctive archives, such as the “Hymnic Archive” of Nippur identified by Tinney, is impossible to say at this time, but the impact could be quite large.

Another feature generally associated with liturgical rather than curricular tablets is the use of empty space within a line to indicate that part of the preceding line is to be repeated. Other potentially significant factors that remain to be examined include: paleography (especially cursive vs. complex signs); use of space within a line;⁶¹ the extent to which text covers the entire tablet; size, shape, and curvature of the tablet; quality of the clay; and the use of glosses and other notations outside of the main text.

⁶¹ For a preliminary discussion, see Delnero, forthcoming.

Table 2.1 *Širgida Tablets from Southern Mesopotamia*⁶²

Sorted by presence/absence of line rulings (white = unruled, grey = ruled), then by number of columns (above dotted line = 1-col., below = multi-column), then by format (extract, single composition, collective).

Text	Composition	Provenance	Photo/ collated ⁶³	Rulings	Columns	Format	Preserved size (cm)	Total size (cm)	Sign size	Glosses ⁶⁴	“Ditto” spaces ⁶⁵	Colophon
AO 4650 (TCL 15 7)	Ninurta A (ms X ₁)	unknown	p, c	unruled	1	single composition	h: 9.7 w: 5.7 t: 3.2	ca. 12– 14 × 5.7	small ⁶⁶	no	no	none
CBS 8548 (STVC 37)	Nuska B	Nippur	p, c	unruled	1	single composition	h: 10.6 w: 6.1 t: 3.2	ca. 14– 17 × 6.1	small ⁶⁷	yes	yes	none
N 1491	<i>Širgida</i> to Nergal	Nippur	p, c	unruled	1	single composition	h: 7.0 w: 5.2 t: 2.5	? × ?	small ⁶⁸	—	yes (?)	none
Ni 4346 (ISET 1 pl. 87 p. 145)	Ninurta A (ms N ₂)	Nippur	—	unruled	unknown	unknown	unknown	? × ?	unknown	—	—	end not preserved
Ni 2445 (SRT 7)	Ninisina A (ms N ₂)	Nippur	—	ruled	1	extract	h: 13.2 ⁶⁹ w: 6.7 t: 2.3	13.2 × 6.7	unknown	no	no	none
VAT 6441 (VS 10 212)	<i>Utu ursag</i>	unknown	—	ruled	1	extract(?)	h: 9.0 ⁷⁰ w: 6.0 t: 3.5	? × 6.0	medium (?) ⁷¹	yes	no	none
MS 5102	<i>Širgida</i> to Sud	unknown	p	ruled	1	single composition	h: 14.2 ⁷² w: 6.6	14.2 × 6.6	unknown	yes	no	none

⁶² Excludes sources for *Angim* and sources found at Meturan and Susa, as well BM 78614 (*Utu ursag* Esi) (probably a text containing a parallel passage rather than a copy of the *širgida*).

⁶³ p = photo publicly available; c = collated in person; — = no photo or collation (seen only in handcopy).

⁶⁴ — = too little preserved to tell.

⁶⁵ Use of blank space in a line to indicate that part of the preceding line is to be repeated.

⁶⁶ Obv. ca. 21 mm/5 lines; rev. ca. 19–20 mm/5 lines.

⁶⁷ Ca. 21 mm/5 lines.

⁶⁸ Obv. ca. 19 mm/5 lines; rev. ca. 20 mm/5 lines.

⁶⁹ Measurements according to SRT p. 39.

⁷⁰ Measurements according to VS 10 p. xiii.

⁷¹ Ca. 25 mm/5 lines? Cf. VS 10 p. xiii: “Zeilen 5 mm.”

⁷² Measurements according to Metcalf 2019, 5.

Ni 2443 (SRT 8)	Martu A	Nippur	—	ruled	1	single composition	t: 2.7 h: 14.0 ⁷³ w: 7.2 t: 3.4	14.0 × 7.2	unknown	no	yes	none
AO 27934 + Kenrick 1 (JCS 4 pp. 138–139)	Nuska A	unknown	p, c	ruled	2	single composition	AO 17934: h: 11.9 w: 5.4 t: 3.5 Kenrick 1: h: 14.8 w: 8.7 t: 3.9	ca. 15.7 × ca. 10.2	small/medium ⁷⁴	no	no	none
CBS 13938 (STVC 34)	Ninurta B	Nippur	p, c	ruled	2	single composition	h: 14.7 w: 9.5 t: 3.6	ca. 20–25 × ca. 9.5	medium ⁷⁵	no	no	two catch-lines
Ni 2483 (SRT 6)	Ninisina A (ms N ₁)	Nippur	p ⁷⁶	ruled	2	single composition	h: 19.4 w: 10.9 t: 3.6	19.4 × 10.9	unknown	no	no	line count
HS 1443 (TMH 4 49) + HS 1586 (TMH 4 88)	Ninurta J	Nippur	p, c	ruled	2	collective	h: 6.5 w: 7.0 t: 2.0	? × ?	small ⁷⁷	yes	—	end not preserved
N 3415 + N 7700 (both UF 42, 606 no. 44)	Ninurta A (ms N ₁)	Nippur	p, c	ruled	2 (?)	collective	h: 5.7 w: 4.7 t: 3.1	? × ?	small ⁷⁸	no	no	end not preserved
CBS 12590 (HAV 5, pl. 7, VIII)	Lulal A	Nippur	p, c	ruled	2	unknown	h: 7.8 w: 6.9 t: 2.6	? × ?	small ⁷⁹	—	—	none; ^d nisaba on top edge

⁷³ Measurements according to SRT p. 39.

⁷⁴ Obv. ca. 22 mm/5 lines; rev. ca. 21 mm/5 lines.

⁷⁵ Ca. 25 mm/5 lines.

⁷⁶ Obverse only.

⁷⁷ Ca. 19–20 mm/5 lines.

⁷⁸ Ca. 19 mm/5 lines.

⁷⁹ Ca. 19 mm/5 lines.

Širgida Tablets

The preserved *širgida* tablets generally comply with the initial observations for hymnic liturgies presented above, demonstrating a wide variety of physical and stylistic features, including relatively small sign forms, some ruled tablets and some unruled, and some tablets making use of glosses and/or of blank space indicating repetition.

Because tablets found outside of southern Mesopotamia—i.e., those from Meturan and from Susa—belong to different sets of scribal practice, they are excluded from the following discussion of *širgida* tablet typology. I also exclude the deviating source for *Utu ursag*, which probably contains a different composition with overlapping content. The sources for *Angim* are likewise excluded, since at least a majority of the preserved tablets, and quite possibly all of them, belonging to a curricular setting.⁸⁰ The remaining fifteen tablets are discussed below, provisionally organized according to presence or absence of rulings and number of columns per tablet-face (see also Table 2.1).

Unruled Širgida Tablets

Four of the fourteen *širgida* tablets considered here are unruled. At least three of the unruled tablets, and probably all four, are one-column tablets containing an entire composition (from Nippur: CBS 8548, N 1491, Ni 4346?; unprovenanced: AO 4650). A very rough estimate of original size can be given for two of the unruled, single-column tablets: AO 4650 measured ca.

⁸⁰ All known OB sources for *Angim* are ruled. Of the 16 I have seen in person, 8 have relatively small script (19–21 mm/5 lines) and 8 have medium script (22–25 mm/5 lines). This is a larger percentage of tablets with small script than was observed in the sources for Enlil A. A number of conclusions are possible: (1) the distribution of sign-sizes observed for Enlil A and/or for *Angim* is insignificant due to the small sample size; (2) larger script is associated with the Decad texts (or Enlil A alone) rather than with curricular literary texts in general; or (3) some of the preserved *Angim* sources are not curricular, thus skewing the numbers. More data sampling is required to determine which conclusion is most likely.

12–13 cm high and 5.7 cm wide, and CBS 8548 measured ca. 13.5–15 cm high and 6.1 cm wide. I have been able to measure the size of the script on three of the unruled tablets. The signs are relatively small on all three, ranging from 19 to 21 mm per 5 lines (from Nippur: CBS 8548, N 1491; unprovenanced: AO 4650). All four unruled tablets, as far as can be determined, include spaces between some of the words, rather than distributing the signs evenly to fill each line. One of the unruled tablets from Nippur, CBS 8548, includes glosses, and both it and Ni 1491 use blank space to indicate the repetition from the preceding line. No colophons are preserved.

Ruled Širgida Tablets

The ten remaining *širgida* tablets considered here are ruled. Four of these are one-column tablets, five are two-column tablets, and one probably contained two or more columns.⁸¹ Of the four one-column tablets, two contain complete compositions (from Nippur: Ni 2443; unprovenanced: MS 5102), while the other two evidently contain extracts (from Nippur: Ni 2445; unprovenanced: VAT 6441⁸²). The full tablet size is known for only three of these: two of the complete compositions (Ni 2443, measuring 14.0 cm high and 7.2 cm wide;⁸³ MS 5102, measuring 14.2 cm high and 6.3 cm wide⁸⁴) and one of the extracts (Ni 2445, measuring 13.2 cm high and 6.7 cm wide).⁸⁵

Three or four of the six multi-column tablets contain complete, individual compositions (from Nippur: Ni 2483, CBS 13938, probably CBS 12590; unprovenanced: AO 27934 + Kenrick 1),

⁸¹ N 3415 + N 7700. See Appendix II.2.2.

⁸² My assessment of this source as an extract tablet assumes that the text follows the text of *Utu ursag* known from other sources.

⁸³ SRT p. 39.

⁸⁴ Metcalf 2019, 5.

⁸⁵ The full width of the other extract, VAT 6441, is preserved at 6.0 cm (VS 10 p. xiii), but the height is difficult to estimate without seeing the tablet in person.

while two are collective tablets (from Nippur: N 3415 + N 7700,⁸⁶ HS 1443 + HS 1586). The full tablet size is known or can be estimated for three of the multi-column tablets: Ni 2483, measuring 19.4 cm high and 10.9 cm wide, CBS 13938, probably measuring ca. 20–25 cm high and ca. 9.5 cm wide; and AO 27934 + Kenrick 1, measuring ca. 15.7 cm high and ca. 10.2 cm wide.

The size of the script on the ruled tablets that I have been able to measure is more varied than on the unruled tablets, ranging from small signs (19–20 mm per 5 lines: N 3415 + N 7700, HS 1443 + HS 1586, CBS 12590), to small/medium signs (21–22 mm per 5 lines: AO 27934 + Kenrick 1), to medium signs (25 mm per 5 lines: CBS 13938; VAT 6441?⁸⁷). Most tablets either include spaces intermittently between words or have lines that are too crowded for spaces, but one (CBS 12590) distributes the signs evenly across the lines. One of the tablets includes a fair number of glosses, most of which are illegible or unintelligible (HS 1443 + HS 1586),⁸⁸ and another includes a small handful of phonetic glosses (MS 5102). One of the ruled tablets evidently uses blank space to indicate repetition (Ni 2443). None of the ruled tablets preserves a colophon, but one includes a line count (Ni 2483), another ends with two apparent catch-lines/incipits (CBS 13938), and one includes the notation ^d**nisaba** on the upper edge (CBS 12590).

As is evident from this descriptive summary, the number of potentially relevant variables to be considered in putting together a typology for *širgida* tablets is quite large, including (1) contextual factors, such as provenance; (2) binary/discrete formatting choices, such as the use of line rulings, the number of columns, and the inclusion of a single composition, multiple compositions, or an extract; and (3) more fluid factors, such as tablet size, script size, complexity of signs, use of space, and use of glosses or other notations. Given the small size of the preserved *širgida* corpus, it would

⁸⁶ For my assessment of this source as a collective tablet, see Appendix II.2.2.

⁸⁷ VS 10 p. xiii: «Zeilen 5 mm».

⁸⁸ See Wagensonner 2005, 105.

be ill-advised to try to identify specific connections among most of these variables, as the results would be statistically insignificant. Nevertheless, we can state that, as a whole, the preserved *širgida* tablets demonstrate the distribution of features one would expect for a corpus of hymnic liturgies, including inconsistency in the use of line rulings and a tendency towards a relatively small script, especially in the case of unruled tablets. Some individual tablets also display features that associate them more definitively with other liturgical, rather than curricular, tablets, such as their particular use of blank space.

2.1.2.3 Conclusions

The fact that the *širgidas* fall into the category of hymnic liturgies can help to frame our discussion of their use in ritual practice. First, we can assume that the *širgidas*, as liturgies, were considered oral compositions, to be sung or recited in ritual contexts (at least at some point in their life cycle); as hymnic liturgies, they belonged to the repertoire of the *nar*-singer. Secondly, as hymnic liturgies, it is likely that the textual or verbal content of the *širgidas* was fairly fixed and stable, being less adaptable to different ritual contexts than the lamentations are. This is borne out by the nearly identical duplicates of Ninisina A and the general absence of *Versatzstücke*. Thirdly, *širgidas* were probably learned and practiced alongside hymnic liturgies with other subscripts. Finally, unlike the written versions of lamentational liturgies, the sources for *širgida* hymns were not necessarily written down to directly aid in performance, generally lacking syllabic spellings or other orthographic irregularities. Instead, following Tinney, they may have served the performance of the hymns in a more indirect way, as part of the training of young *nar*-musicians.

2.1.3 Incipit lists

At least two, and probably three, of the preserved *širgida* hymns appear in Old Babylonian incipit lists or catalogues, namely *Angim dimma*, *Utu ursag*, and probably Nuska B. In addition, a number of *širgida* hymns were originally listed in a Middle Assyrian catalogue of liturgical texts, according to the totals at the end of the catalogue (the section where the incipits were recorded is now missing).

The basic function of such lists, at least in the second millennium, was to record and/or to organize tablets in a collection—that is, to serve as type of inventory (see esp. Delnero 2010, with summary in Steinert 2018, 159–161).⁸⁹ Although the precise organizing principles behind the compilation of an incipit list is not always clear, certain methods of organization can be recognized, including by liturgical type (based on incipit), by theme, and by initial sign or signs of an incipit (Delnero 2010, 44). The inclusion of a *širgida* or *širgidas* in an incipit list can contribute to our understanding of the contexts in which tablets bearing *širgidas* were utilized, as well as their place within the Old Babylonian liturgical repertoire.

2.1.3.1 OB Incipit Lists

The three identified *širgida* incipits attested in catalogues belong to *Angim*, *Utu ursag* (each attested in two OB lists) and Nuska B (attested in one OB list). The respective lists in which these hymns appear reflect two very different contexts of use, due to *Angim*'s unique status among the *širgidas* as a curricular composition.

⁸⁹ There are some exceptions to this rule. Cf., e.g., the list of incantations discussed in Delnero 2010, 40–41 (see also Steinert 2018, 160 n. 13). For types of first-millennium incipit lists serving different functions, see Steinert 2018, 164–172.

2.1.3.1.1 *Angim dimma*

The incipit to *Angim*, **an-gen₇ dim₂-ma**, appears in catalogues L⁹⁰ 43 and U2⁹¹ 42.⁹² Each of these catalogues inventories a group of literary texts used in the curricular, rather than the liturgical, domain, including many texts from the Decad (see Delnero 2010, 42–43, 50). Both also utilize a combination of organizing principles, including thematic grouping and grouping by sign(s) (Delnero 2010, 45, 50). L also includes a sequence of 14 incipits grouped according to type (labeled as *narû* compositions), and U2 includes two summarizing entries recording three “**dumu e₂-dub-ba**” texts and eleven “**lugal**” texts (Delnero 2010, 45, 50–51).⁹³ Because Old Babylonian catalogues by and large list only liturgical texts or only curricular texts, and not both, we can assume that *Angim* in these cases was understood as a curricular text and that the tablets being inventoried belonged to a school setting. What role, if any, its status as a *širgida* played in this situation remains uncertain; its inclusion in scribal school curricula probably had far more to do with its treatment of kingship than with its liturgical functions. Indeed, at least in catalogue U2, *Angim* is grouped together with other texts that have to do with a king or kingship, including Lugalbanda I and II (ll. 37, 39), ELA (l. 40), *Lugale* (l. 41), and the eleven “**lugal**” texts mentioned

⁹⁰ AO 5393 (TCL 15 28).

⁹¹ UET 6 123 = U 17900.

⁹² *Angim* is also included in at least two later lists, the Catalogue of Texts and Authors (Lambert 1962) I 3 and K 11922 (Lambert 1976, 315 4'), in both of which it is associated with *Lugale*, and in the first of which its authorship is attributed to Ea. Because these instances are so far removed from the original, performative setting of *Angim*, and it is not even certain whether the composition was still considered a *širgida* at so late a date, they are not considered here.

⁹³ “**11 lugal**” cannot apply to the eleven preceding catalogue entries, since these comprise nine individually-listed texts (ll. 34–42) plus the three texts with the incipit **dumu e₂-dub-ba** (l. 33), totaling either 9 (without l. 33) or 12 (with l. 33). Furthermore, a number of these have little or no apparent association with kingship. Instead, “**11 lugal**” must represent eleven texts not listed individually, either beginning with the word **lugal** (so, e.g., Kramer 1961, 176) or having to do with the king (so, e.g., Charpin 1986, 457 “11 inscriptions royales, ou 11 hymnes royaux”).

above (l. 43). In catalogue L, the principles of organization are less clear, but it is worth noting that the entry following *Angim*, Iddin-Dagan A, similarly concludes with the blessing of the king.⁹⁴

2.1.3.1.2 *Utu ursag*

The incipit to *Utu ursag* is preserved in two OB catalogues: catalogue N4 Segment B 12 (CBS 14077 obv. i 12')⁹⁵ and the catalogue from Nippur Schollmeyer *Šamaš* 34 II 10 (transliteration below). Both of these catalogues clearly reflect the hymn's liturgical context.

Catalogue N4

The best-preserved catalogue in which *Utu ursag* occurs is Catalogue N4.⁹⁶ In contrast to the curricular inventories L and U2, Catalogue N4 primarily records liturgical texts. The only clear

⁹⁴ This connection was brought to my attention by P. Attinger (personal communication, Oct. 2016).

⁹⁵ Identified in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993a, 94.

⁹⁶ CBS 14077 (STVC 41) + N 3637 + Ni 9925 (ISET 1 145), also known as list M4 in Delnero, forthcoming a. ETCSL's transliteration of N 3637 (corresponding to segments A and E) can now be improved upon thanks to a photo available on CDLI (P269091), supplemented by in-person collations on Jan. 7 2019. Note that the CDLI images swap the obverse and reverse of N 3637, which physically joins with CBS 14077, forming the lower left-hand corner of the tablet. Following the line numeration in ETCSL, Segment A (N 3637 obv.) thus represents the end of the first column on the obverse; Segment B (CBS 14077 obv.) the end of the second column (with traces of the first column and a single sign from a third column partially preserved); Segment C (CBS 14077 rev.) the beginning of the second-to-last column on the reverse (with traces of a few lines from the preceding and following columns); and Segment E (N 3637 rev.) the beginning of the final column on the reverse. A collated transliteration of N 3637 is offered here, with divergence from the ETCSL transliteration marked in bold.

N 3637

Obv. (N4 Segment A)

1' 'x x' [...]

dividing ruling

2' **su**₈-ba 'TA'²¹ [x]

dividing ruling (with inscribed "20"? Cf. "10" between Seg. "B" 12 and 13)

3' **e**₂ u₂ nu-'**dim**₂¹

4' **eg**₁₂ UD a-še-er-**ra**

5' **pe-el-la**₂-**zu**

6' **il-ur**₂ nu-gub-'**be**₂¹

7' 'x' u₃ bi₂-**ku**

Rev. (N 4 Segment E)

1' A' hē₂-ga₂-**la**²¹

organizational principles used in this catalogue are division by rulings, evidently mechanically drawn after every ten entries,⁹⁷ and occasional grouping by initial signs (^d**utu** in Seg. B 11–13, **me** in Seg. D 4–5; perhaps **u₃-ma** in Seg. B 7 and 9). Some grouping by type, at least at the level of Emesal vs. standard Sumerian liturgies, also seems to occur.

Segment A (N 3637 obv.⁹⁸) = end of col. i

Most of the entries preserved in Segment A appear to belong to Emesal laments. The only identifiable incipit is **Seg. A 4** (**egi₂ UD a-še-er-ra**), which matches the *eršema* listed in the OB *eršema* catalogue B3 62.⁹⁹ In addition, **Seg. A 2** (**su₈-ba(-)'TA²'1**) probably matches one of the four *eršemas* beginning **su₈-ba** [...] in the OB *eršema* catalogue B2 72–75.¹⁰⁰ The remaining incipits are not identified but generally seem to deal with topics relating to destruction and lamenting.¹⁰¹

-
- 2' **en-e** me 'x¹
 - 3' eš₃ **abzu**
 - 4' 'x¹ me-a
 - 5' ^d**en²-lil²** ki DU₃ (or -ne₂)
 - 6' GA₂-**'a¹** ^dba-U₂-ĝu₁₀
 - 7' **sul-ĝu₁₀** UG₃ **me-a**
 - 8' 'SUR²'1 'x x x¹

⁹⁷ The dividing rulings are generally understood to mark every tenth entry, as supported by the insertion of the number “10” at the center point of at least one of the rulings (Hallo 2010, 152, Delnero 2010, 45–46, see also 49 for possible connection to tablet storage). In two cases, however, the scribe appears (mistakenly?) to have drawn a dividing ruling after two consecutive lines: after Seg. A 1 and 2 (N 3637 obv. 1' and 2') and after Seg. D 9 and 10 (CBS 14077 rev. ii' 9 and 10). According to Hallo, the ruling after Seg. D 9 was erased, perhaps accidentally drawn after the ninth entry and then corrected (Hallo 2010, 152 n. 3). The ruling after Seg. A 1 does not appear to be erased.

⁹⁸ Note that the traces of CBS 14077 obv. i also belong to this section.

⁹⁹ Catalogue B3 = BM 23701 (StOr 46 pp. 165–166), list E2 in Delnero, forthcoming a. This *eršema* is listed as no. 151 in Cohen 1981, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Catalogue B2 = BM 23771 (StOr 46 pp. 163–164), list E1 in Delnero, forthcoming a. These *eršemas* are listed as nos. 118–121 in Cohen 1981, 14.

¹⁰¹ E.g., **u₂ nu-'dim₂'1** (Seg. A 3), **pe-el-la₂-zu** (Seg. A 5), **nu-gub-'be₂'1** (Seg. A 6).

Segment B (CBS 14077 obv. ii) = end of col. ii

Nearly all of the identified incipits in Segment B belong to Emesal laments. As this is the section in which *Utu ursag* is included, the incipits will be considered in slightly more detail than the rest of the catalogue.

The section begins with two fragmentary entries and an unidentified incipit in standard Sumerian,¹⁰² followed by two Emesal incipits that might be identified with *eršemas* listed in the OB *eršema* catalogue B3: **Seg. B 4** with Cat. B3 4(?)¹⁰³ and **Seg. B 5** with Cat. B3 8.¹⁰⁴ The next entry (**Seg. B 6**) does not match any known incipit to a composition, but it does match the opening lines of two *balaĝ kirugus*.¹⁰⁵ Three unidentified incipits follow, after which comes an incipit in Emesal (**Seg. B 10**) that matches an *eršahuĝa* listed in the first-millennium *eršahuĝa* catalogue Rm. 2 220 9'.¹⁰⁶ This is followed by three incipits beginning with ^dutu: the unidentified incipit ^dutu gud-alim (**Seg. B 11**), the incipit to our *širgida*, ^dutu ur-'saĝ' (**Seg. B 12**), and the incipit ^dutu e₃-ma-[ra] (**Seg. B 13**), which matches the *eršema* HES 2 No. 26¹⁰⁷ preserved in several OB sources (see Cohen 1981, 8 n. 38, Gabbay 2015, 126).¹⁰⁸ The latter is also listed in the OB catalogue Schollmeyer Šamaš No. 34 II (pp. 124–125) 7, where it occurs a few lines before *Utu ursag* (see below), as well as in the first-millennium *eršema* catalogue IVR² 53+ (Gabbay 2015,

¹⁰² Compare 'š^u'¹-nir with Emesal šu-še-er (attested, e.g., in LU 284).

¹⁰³ No. 129 in Cohen 1981, 14. Compare Seg. B 4 'x' ge₁₆-le-eĝ₃-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ with Cat. B3 4 ma-a 'ge₁₆'¹-le-'eĝ₃'¹-ĝa₂. ETCSL provisionally identifies this entry as Lisina A (4.10.1).

¹⁰⁴ No. 132 in Cohen 1981, 14. Compare Seg. B 5 'š^u'¹ ir-ra-ĝu₁₀ with Cat. B3 8 šu ir-ra-ĝa₂.

¹⁰⁵ Seg. B 6 'ze₄(ZA)'¹-e maĥ-me-en. Compare line 1 of *kirugu* 6 in first-millennium *Aaba ĥuluĥa* (Kutscher 1975 line *73, pp. 57, 89–90; CLAM line a+74, pp. 387, 394) and line 1 of *kirugu* 11 in the OB *balaĝ* preserved on CT 42 26 (l. 21) (treated by Kutscher as source F of *Aaba ĥuluĥa* [*kirugu* 11 l = line *213, pp. 61, 125–126] and by Cohen 1988 as a text related to *Ane baraanara* [*kirugu* 11 l = line 21, pp. 339, 341]; for discussion of this source, see Kutscher 1975, 23–25 and Cohen 1988, 320). For the phenomenon of an individual section of a *balaĝ* being treated as an *eršema* in a catalogue, which is a likely explanation for the present line, see Delnero, forthcoming b).

¹⁰⁶ Maul 1988 Catalogue n1 (pp. 58–59). Identified in Hallo 2010, 152; see also Maul 1988, 59 ad 9'.

¹⁰⁷ No. 22 in Cohen 1981, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Identified in Hallo 2010, 152; see also Gabbay 2015, 125–126.

15–20) 25. The final entry in Seg. B (**Seg. B 14**) matches the incipit to a *balag* listed in connection with an *eršema* in IVR² 53+ 43.¹⁰⁹

CBS 14077 obv. iii = traces from col. iii

The traces at the end of ETCSL’s Seg. B 6, after **MU**, represent the beginning of a third column (contra ETCSL -**ĝu₁₀ X [...]**). The sole preserved sign is too damaged to read.

Segment C (CBS 14077 rev. i’) = traces from col. iv(?)

None of the entries in Seg. C are preserved enough to make an identification.

Segment D (CBS 14077 rev. ii’) = beginning of col. v(?)

Most of the texts listed in Segment D appear to be liturgical texts written in standard Sumerian. The identified incipits are: **Seg. D 2** = Šu-Suen J (ETCSL 2.4.4.a “A Hymn for Šu-Suen”)(?) (*širnamgala*);¹¹⁰ **Seg. D 3** = Ur-Namma D; **Seg. D 4** = Nanna A (*balbale*); **Seg. D 5** = Nanna B(?) (*balbale*);¹¹¹ and **Seg D 10** = Nergal A.^{112 113}

¹⁰⁹ Identified in Hallo 2010, 152.

¹¹⁰ Reading **diĝir nam-[u]**. ETCSL instead reads **an nam-[nir-ra]** (= Summer and Winter), following Hallo 2010, 152, but there is not enough space at the end of the line for this reconstruction, and the text is more likely to be a hymn than a debate. Šu-Suen J is classified as a *širnamgala* to Nanna in the MB(?) catalogue HS 1477 (TMH 3 53) + HS 1478 (TMH 4 53) 35 (Bernhardt and Kramer 1956–1957, 391–392) and also appears in the OB liturgical catalogue N6 4 (aka M3 in Delnero, forthcoming a).

¹¹¹ For the incipit to Nanna B, see Wilcke 1976b, 41 ad Z. 3.

¹¹² Nergal A = Ni 9501 (ISET 1 p. 71, pl. 13).

¹¹³ Hallo 2010, 153 additionally proposes that Seg. D 11 might be connected to Šulgi F, but see Lämmerhirt 2012, 3.

N4 Seg. E (N 3637 rev.) = beginning of col. vi(?)¹¹⁴

None of the incipits in Segment E have been matched to fully preserved compositions, but one or two of them match incipits appearing in other catalogues: **Seg. E 6** ('ĜA₂-a' ^dba-U₂-ĝu₁₀) matches the incipit in liturgical catalogue U3 Seg. A 5,¹¹⁵ and **Seg. E 2** (en-e me 'x') might tentatively be connected to the incipit in Schollmeyer Šamaš 34 II' 8': **en-e ME AN DI.DI aza₂(KU₃.AN)-ga KU₄(or SAR)-ra'** (see below), although the fourth sign in Seg. E 2 is not AN.

N4 Seg. F (Ni 9925 obv.? i') and Seg. G (Ni 9925 obv.? ii') = col. ii(?) and col. iii(?)

The fragment Ni 9925 (ISET 1 p. 203, pl. 145) (ETCSL Segments F and G) has not been physically joined to CBS 14077 (STVC 41) + N 3637, but they may belong to the same tablet. All of the identified incipits on this fragment belong to *eršemas*, and the entire fragment is included in Cohen's list of *eršemas* as Catalogue B₄ (1981, 7).¹¹⁶ Because of the similarity in content between

¹¹⁴ The traces of a column to the left of Seg. D also belong in this section.

¹¹⁵ Catalogue U3 (UET 6/2 196) primarily lists liturgical texts, although, unusually, several non-liturgical texts also appear, assuming the incipits have been correctly identified. Liturgical texts include: Seg. A 3: Lipit-Eštar D (*adab*); Seg. A 5: ĜA₂-am₃ ^dba-U₂-ĝu₂, also known from catalogue N4 Seg. E 6; Seg. A 7: Ur-Ninurta F (*adab*?); Seg. A 11: **ur-saĝ en nir-ĝal₂ 'en'**, also known from the MB(?) catalogue HS 1477 (TMH 3 53) + HS 1478 (TMH 4 53), classified as an *adab* to Ninĝešzida (Bernhardt and Kramer 1956–1957, 391–392, identified in Viano 2016, 81); Seg. B 6: Dumuzi-Inana I(?) (*kunĝar*); and possibly Seg. B 4: **ur 'lamma**, an unedited hymn mentioning Šulgi preserved on UET 6/3 522 (*430) (identification in Shaffer 2000, 433). Non-liturgical texts include: Seg. A 1: Tree and Reed; Seg. A 4: SEpM 16.

¹¹⁶ Following Cohen, the following reconstructions and identifications can be made:

Seg. F 2: [tum₁₂^{mušen}] 'a'-še-er su₃-(BU) = No. 96 in Cohen 1981, 13 (with n. 90a), also listed in OB *eršema* catalogues B₂ (BM 23771) 37, 44, and 70 and B₃ (BM 23701) 48 and preserved on L. 1501 (ISET 1 p. 227, pl. 169) and VAT 3606 (VS 10 167).

Seg. F 3: [bir₅^{mušen}] 'tur'-ra na-nam = No. 124 in Cohen 1981, 14, also listed in OB *eršema* catalogue B₂ (BM 23771) 80.

Seg. F 5: [ir₂]-'ra' u₄ i-ni-in-zal = No. 82 in Cohen 1981, 12 (with n. 84a), also listed in OB *eršema* catalogues B₂ (BM 23771) 21 and B₃ (BM 23701) 37.

The remaining incipits on this fragment (Seg. F 4, 6–7; Seg. G 1–6) are included as Nos. 187–194 in Cohen 1981, 17.

Segment F and Segment B, both of which list Emesal compositions, especially *eršemas*, a likely position for Ni 9925 obv.(?) is directly before CBS 14077 obv.¹¹⁷

In summary, the incipits identified since Hallo's 1975 treatment of CBS 14077 (STVC 41) generally corroborate his observation that the obverse of the tablet lists personal and congregational laments, and the reverse lists royal and divine hymns (Hallo 2010, 153)¹¹⁸—or, in the language of this dissertation, the obverse primarily lists lamentational liturgies and the reverse primarily lists hymnic liturgies. The position of *Utu ursag* in this sequence is thus surprising, as it appears on the obverse of the tablet alongside *eršemas*, a *balaĝ*, and an *eršaĥuĝa*. One explanation could be that a different composition beginning with the words ^d*utu ur-saĝ* is meant here. Against this, though, is the fact that one source for *Utu ursag*, on which the subscript identifying it as a *širgida* is preserved, was found in the same archaeological context as a text identified as an *eršaĥuĝa* in Meturan (see above), along with the fact that the hymn's fuller subscript, ^d*utu ur-saĝ* ^d*utu maš₂-saĝ*, likewise occurs alongside Emesal prayers in the unprovenanced incipit list discussed below. The content of *Utu ursag* also aligns it in many ways with the lamentational corpus, especially *eršaĥuĝas* (see section 6.2.2).

Schollmeyer Šamaš 34 II

The second incipit list in which *Utu ursag* appears is a source in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, published in transliteration and translation in *Babyloniaca* 3 pp. 77–78, Text II¹¹⁹ and

¹¹⁷ Seg. B 1 (CBS 14077 obv. ii 1') [(x)] 'x' 'zi'¹–[x x] might actually join Seg. F 6 (Ni 9925 obv. 6') [x (x)] 'zi'-ga-na, but it is impossible to tell without collation.

¹¹⁸ The sole entry identified by Hallo as a disputation (Seg. D 2) can now be identified as a *širnamgala*; see n. 110.

¹¹⁹ Langdon 1910.

Schollmeyer Šamaš No. 34, part II (p. 124),¹²⁰ based on an unpublished handcopy by Virolleaud.¹²¹

The tablet number is unknown. According to Langdon, the text is written in a cursive Old Babylonian hand (Langdon 1910, 75).

Although Langdon numbers the lines of the catalogue as though they belonged to a single column, the formatting of his transliteration suggests two columns, and we must assume two columns in order for the two identified incipits to occur at the beginnings of their lines. Schollmeyer’s formatting does not indicate any column division.¹²² So as to avoid introducing new line numeration without having seen the tablet to confirm its layout, I retain the numeration used by Schollmeyer,¹²³ but add “i’” or “ii’” depending on whether I suspect the text in question falls in col. i’ or ii’. The following transliteration represents my best guess as to the layout of the tablet, based on Landon’s transliteration.

Schollmeyer Šamaš 34 II

Line No.	Col. i’	Col. ii’
1’	[...]	[...]
2’	[...] šu’	NIG ₂ A AĜ ₂ DIB-ba dug [...]
3’	[...](-)UN-zu	
4’	[...]	8 er-šem-ma-[...] ¹²⁴
5’	[...]-ra	
6’	[...] ^d zuen	
7’	[...]	^d utu e ₃ -ma-ra ^d utu mu-[...]

¹²⁰ Schollmeyer 1912.

¹²¹ Note that the tablet published as **part I** of Schollmeyer Šamaš No. 34 (pp. 123–124) and as **Text I** in Langdon 1910 (p. 75–77)—probably L. 1486 (ISET 1 p. 219, pl. 161) (see Civil 1972, 87, cited in Gabbay 2015, 126 n. 125)—is a manuscript of the *eršema* ^dutu e₃-ma-ra (HES 2 No. 26), while the tablet published as **part II** of Schollmeyer Šamaš No. 34 (p. 124) and as **Text II** in Langdon 1910 (pp. 77–78) is the catalogue discussed here (see Gabbay 2015, 125 n. 121).

¹²² For comparison, in the case of the tablet published as Langdon’s Text I (Babyloniaca 3 p. 75–77) and Schollmeyer’s No. 34 I, if this tablet is indeed L. 1486 (ISET 1 p. 219, pl. 161) (see n. 121), neither Langdon’s nor Schollmeyer’s spacing lines up with the spacing on the tablet as indicated in the handcopy, although Langdon’s is generally closer than Schollmeyer’s.

¹²³ Schollmeyer line 2 = Langdon line 1.

¹²⁴ So Langdon and Schollmeyer. Expected for *eršema* is **er₂-šem₃-ma**, but cf. the probable phonetic spelling **šu-e-la** for **šu-il₂-la** in ii’ 9’.

8'	[...]	en-e ME AN DI.DI aza ₂ (KU ₃ .AN)-ga KU ₄ ¹²⁵ -ra?
9'	[...]	^d utu ĤI-ĤI ¹²⁶ šu-e-la ĜEŠ ¹²⁷ -ba
10'	[...]	^d utu ur-saĝ ^d utu maš ₂ -saĝ

The *eršema* listed in ii' 2' is so far unidentified. The incipit in ii' 7' belongs to another *eršema*, HES 2 No. 26 *Utu emara*, encountered already in Catalogue N4, where it immediately follows the entry for *Utu ursag*. In the present catalogue, *Utu ursag* is listed three lines after *Utu emara* (ii' 10'). The two intervening entries (ii' 8'–9') are unidentified.¹²⁸

Here, as in Catalogue N4, the incipit to *Utu ursag* appears unexpectedly among lamentational liturgies. *Utu ursag* is also unusual among the *širgida* hymns in its appearing in sources outside of Nippur, including Meturan and Susa, where its liturgical functions may have been understood differently than in Nippur itself. It is also worth noting that also whoever was writing and using the tablets catalogued in the incipit lists must have had some involvement in both lamentational and hymnic liturgies, at least in case of Catalogue N4.

2.1.3.1.3 Nuska B

The reconstructed incipit to Nuska B, beginning [lugal?] 'du₂-da-zu, appears in the OB liturgical catalogue N3 13.¹²⁹ This catalogue, as far as the incipits have been identified, comprises almost exclusively hymnic liturgies. The identified texts include at least four *balbales*¹³⁰ and

¹²⁵ KU₄, TU, or SAR.

¹²⁶ Schollmeyer: **dùg-dùg**. Langdon reads **dug-dug**, but his translation “le bon accomplissement” suggests he meant **dug₃-dug₃** (ĤI-ĤI).

¹²⁷ Langdon: **múš**; Schollmeyer: **giš**.

¹²⁸ Note that at least ii' 9' is probably written unorthographically: **šu-e-la** for **šu-il₂-la** (so Langdon 1910, 77 n. 5).

¹²⁹ So already van Dijk 1960, 147 ad 1. See comment to Nuska A 1.

¹³⁰ L. 2 = Nanna A, l. 17 = Ninazu A, l. 18 = Inana A, l. 21 = Šu-Suen A.

possibly two more,¹³¹ at least three *tigis*¹³² and possibly one more,¹³³ three *adabs*,¹³⁴ and possibly one *kunġar*.¹³⁵ The organizing principles of the catalogue are unclear. In some cases, texts of the same hymnic type seem to cluster near each other,¹³⁶ but too many entries remain unidentified for us to determine whether this apparent clustering is significant or accidental—a problem that is compounded by the fact that some incipits might correspond to more than one composition and thus be misidentified.

Two of the individual compositions catalogued in N3, namely the (probable) *balagš* Nanna A and Nanna B, also appear in the lamentational/hymnic catalogue N4 in which *Utu uršaġ* is recorded, indicating that there is some degree of overlap between the text collections documented by each of the two catalogues.

2.1.3.1.4 Conclusions

We can conclude from these lists that *širgidas*' manuscripts were at least in some cases stored in collections together with manuscripts of other types of hymnic liturgies, especially *balbales*, as well as *adabs* and *tigis*, probably *širnamgalas* and *kunġars*, and presumably other types of liturgical hymns. Manuscripts of at least one *širgida* (*Utu uršaġ*) could also be associated with lamentational liturgies (*eršemas*, *balagš*, *eršaġuġas*) in a collection that included both lamentational and hymnic liturgies (cat. N4).

¹³¹ L. 3 = Nanna B(?), l. 4 = Šulgi Z or Šu-Suen H (see Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 290 with n. 1. on possible identification as a *balbale*).

¹³² L. 7 = Ur-Ninurta B, l. 20 = Ibbi-Suen A, l. 30 = Ninurta D.

¹³³ L. 33 = Šu-Suen D(?).

¹³⁴ L. 9 ^d**gibil**-^d**gibil**, also attested in MB(?) liturgical catalogue HS 1477 + HS 1478 63, classified as an *adab*; l. 11 = Ur-Ninurta E, also attested in MA liturgical catalogue KAR 158 iii 36, classified as an *adab*; l. 14 ^d**nin-lil** **nin nibru**^{ki}, also attested in MB(?) liturgical catalogue HS 1477 + HS 1478 81, classified as an *adab* to Ninlil.

¹³⁵ L. 19 = Dumuzi-Inana T(?). For discussion of this incipit, see Sefati 1998, 252 ad 1–2.

¹³⁶ *balbales* in ll. 2–4, *adabs* in ll. 9, 11, 14, *balbales* in 17–18, 21, perhaps *tigis* in 30 and 33.

The individuals who produced, had access to, and utilized the collections of tablets reflected in these catalogues must have been involved in liturgical practice in some way. The compiler of a collection such as the one reflected in Catalogue N3 was probably a professional *nar*-musician, since nearly all of the identified compositions belong to the *nar* repertoire. The collection reflected in Catalogue N4 is more difficult to contextualize, since it includes texts belonging to both the *nar* and the *gala* domains. The most likely setting for such a collection is the temple, where both *nar*-musicians and *gala*-musicians would have been responsible for carrying out liturgical performances.

2.1.3.2 MA Catalogue KAR 158 (VAT 10101)

Moving beyond the Old Babylonian period, a number of *širgidas* were also catalogued in the Middle Assyrian catalogue KAR 158 (VAT 10101, SEAL 10.3.2), which lists numerous Akkadian and Sumerian incipits of different types of hymns.¹³⁷ This list, which exhibits many of the same features as Old Babylonian incipit lists as outlined in Delnero 2010,¹³⁸ likewise most likely represents a tablet inventory.¹³⁹

Archaeological and Historical Context

The tablet bearing the catalogue belongs to a large collection of tablets excavated at Assur, dubbed “Tiglath-Pileser’s Library” by Weidner (1952–1953), treated by Pedersén as the “library

¹³⁷ This catalogue was recently edited by Wasserman (2016, 195–234), whose interest in the text lies primarily in the numerous Akkadian love songs it includes. The following discussion relies heavily on his treatment.

¹³⁸ The catalogue lists exclusively liturgical texts and uses many of the same organizing principles as the OB lists, including generic rubrics, subtotals, dividing lines, thematic grouping, and summarizing entries.

¹³⁹ So already Steinert 2018, 162.

with archive” M 2/N 1 (Pedersén 1985, 1986) or as Assur 1/Assur 15 (Pedersén 1998).¹⁴⁰ The core of the library comprises over 150 literary or related texts dating to the Middle Assyrian period, supplemented with later, Neo-Assyrian literary texts and found alongside archival documents from both periods (Pedersén 1985, 31–32, 1986, 12–13, 1998, 83, 132). The literary and related portion of the collection included, in addition to KAR 158 (Pedersén siglum N 1: 26): palace and harem regulations, laws, royal rituals, hymnic texts, myths, other religious texts, omens (often extispicy), incantations, prescriptions, lexical lists, and hemerological, mathematical, astronomical, and astrological texts (Pedersén 1986, 17–18).¹⁴¹ The bulk of these texts, including KAR 158, was uncovered in the southwest courtyard of the Aššur temple, in levels dating to the Neo-Assyrian period, with other texts assignable to the collection also found in other areas of the site (Pedersén 1986, 13). By whom and for what reason the Middle Assyrian texts were originally compiled, as well as the extent to which they formed a single collection in the Middle Assyrian period, remains unclear, as does the reason why many of them were later stored in the Neo-Assyrian Assur temple alongside Neo-Assyrian material. Pedersén poses a few different possibilities:

This library may in Middle Assyrian times have been the library of a scribal family and may have included some official texts (perhaps partly written by these scribes) as well as texts and textgroups written by other specialists (or as a variant some of the textgroups may have belonged to separate libraries). The alternative is, that the texts already in the Middle Assyrian period belonged to an official library (or were subdivided into more than one library), which, since the original location of the library is not known, may have been the library of the Aššur temple, of the Old Palace, or perhaps the Anu-Adad temple. Such an official library may have included different textgroups made by different specialists (Pedersén 1985, 37–38; see also Pedersén 1998, 83–84).

¹⁴⁰ For an explanation of Pedersén’s terminology, see Pedersén 1985, 20–21: “‘Library’ describes a group of literary texts in the widest sense of the word, including for example lexical texts. ‘Archive’ describes a group of texts of administrative, economic, juridical and similar types, including letters. [...] When there are any considerable number of texts of the opposite categories, the collection is described as a library with archive.” For a recent discussion of this collection with previous literature, see Viano 2016, 87.

¹⁴¹ For details, see also Pedersén 1985, 34–37.

In the first millennium, the findspots of the Middle Assyrian core would seem to indicate that a large number of the texts were still in the Aššur temple, or occasionally in other parts of the city, while others were discarded southwest of the Anu-Adad temple (Pedersén 1985, 38; see also Pedersén 1986, 14).

Contents of KAR 158

The catalogue KAR 158 comprises a list of liturgical texts organized into smaller groups, presumably representing a tablet inventory (see above). The catalogue begins with three series (*iškaru*) of Akkadian hymns, comprising 31 hymns each, divided in to sections of about five to six entries (KAR 158 i 1'–ii 48').¹⁴² This is followed by a sequence of predominantly Sumerian hymns, identified as *balbales*,¹⁴³ *tigis*, *adabs*,¹⁴⁴ *širgidas*, and *širdiġirgala(k)s*¹⁴⁵ (KAR 158 ii 49'– [...]). Although the parts of the tablet that would have listed many of these incipits are now missing, their presence is inferred from a list of totals at the end of the text. The preserved portion of the text includes incipits for some of the *balbales*, which would have run from ii 49' to around the end of column ii (about 50 lines), the *tigis*, which would have run from around the beginning of column iii through iii 31' (total of 23 *tigis*), and the *adabs*, which would have run from iii 32' through somewhere in column iii or iv. The remaining two groups, *širgidas* and *širdiġirgala(k)s*, are no longer preserved, but would have run from the end of the *adab* section to somewhere in

¹⁴² The reconstructions in this paragraph are based on Wasserman's reconstruction of the text (2016, 196).

¹⁴³ In viii 7', I read *ba-am-bal-e-ti₂ šu-me-ru* "Sumerian *balbales*," following PSD B (1984), p. 64 (so also Shehata 2009, 293 n. 1687). At least one incipit in this section is in Akkadian (ii 53'; see Wasserman 2016, 226), although the *balbales* are specified as Sumerian in the total.

¹⁴⁴ At least one incipit in this section is in Akkadian (iii 44'–45') and counted as an Akkadian *adab* in the totals (viii 9'–11').

¹⁴⁵ Reading in viii 13' *šir₃-diġir-gal-la-ku šu-me-ru*, following Wasserman 2016, 213. Cf. Shehata 2009, 264: **šir₃-diġir-gal-la-še₃**, "zu/von den Liedern der großen Götter" and Groneberg 2003, 62 **ser₃-an-gal-la-še₃**, evidently understood as an unorthographic writing for *širnamgalaše*.

column iv or v, followed by the *šitru ša ebbūbu* section preserved from v 1' ff.¹⁴⁶ The remaining sections of the list consisted predominantly of Akkadian hymns, with a number of Sumerian hymns mixed in.¹⁴⁷

Although the text was certainly copied by a Middle Assyrian scribe, Wasserman argues convincingly that it reflects a Babylonian tradition, most likely copied from a Babylonian list or written as an inventory of Babylonian tablets brought to Assur after Tukulti-Ninurta's conquest of Babylon (2016, 202–203). Based on certain grammatical and phonological features of the incipits, Wasserman dates “the early layer of at least some of the incipits” to the OB or late OB period, with a secondary redactory phase taking place in the MB period (2016, 205–206).

Because only one of the 152 Akkadian incipits preserved in KAR 158 can be identified with a known Akkadian text, Wasserman theorizes that, at least for the Akkadian sections, “the Assur catalogue reflects a literary tradition – a significant part of which could be labeled love literature – that was discontinued, perhaps even deliberately aborted” (2016, 204). The reason for this discontinuation, he proposes, was that the Assyrians considered love literature less important than scientific texts, such as omen series, medical manuals, prayers, hymns, and rituals, and for this reason did not include it in school curricula (204–205). Even in their original Babylonian setting, though, Wasserman observes that “love-related compositions were probably preserved in single manuscripts, and when no longer copied, doomed to extinction” (205). This statement is qualified by the observation that the love-related compositions that *are* preserved reflect a different tradition

¹⁴⁶ For a visual reconstruction of the tablet's layout, see Wasserman 2016, 199–200.

¹⁴⁷ Section totals including both Sumerian and Akkadian compositions: viii 19' *za-mar še-e-ri* (1 Sum., 10 Akk.); viii 23' *za-mar nin-giš-zi-da* (9 Sum., 1 Akk.); viii 27' *šir-ku-gu-u₂* (8 Sum., 3 Akk.); viii 42' *qu-ur-du* (2 Sum., 3 Akk.). Section totals including only Sumerian compositions: viii 35' *a-ra-aḫ-hu* (1 Sum.); viii 36' *šu-ta-ni-du-u₂* (1 Sum.); viii 37' *ši-qa-tu* (2 Sum.); viii 44' *me-e-ru* (4 Sum.); perhaps also viii 38' *pi-ša-ta-tu* (2 Sum.?) and viii 39' *ri-ip-qu* (2 Sum.?).

than those listed in catalogues like KAR 158: the catalogued tradition “can be described as hymnal in character” and is “more official, with ties to the cultic sphere,” while the non-catalogued tradition “consists of monologues and dialogues” and is “more colloquial and conversational, perhaps performative in nature” (205).

Where in this picture the Sumerian hymns fit, most of which do not appear to be love songs, is only briefly touched on by Wasserman. In his discussion of the catalogue’s southern origins, he observes that many of the Sumerian incipits are written unorthographically and attributes this to the fact that these texts must at some point have been recited orally, probably in Babylonia (citing Civil *apud* Reiner 1967, 209) (Wasserman 2016, 202).¹⁴⁸ In his discussion of the disconnect between the Akkadian literary traditions represented in the catalogue, on the one hand, and the preserved Akkadian texts, on the other, Wasserman observes that this distinction does not seem to apply in the case of the Sumerian hymns catalogued, three of the 32 preserved incipits having been matched to known Sumerian compositions (204). The incipits identified in Wasserman’s treatment are the *balbale* in ii 52’, identified as Dumuzi-Inana E (a *balbale* of Inana), and the *adab* in iii 36’, identified as Ur-Ninurta E (an *adab* of An) (Wasserman 2016, 202 n. 437).¹⁴⁹ Two further identifications were made by Wilcke 1976a: the *tigi* in iii 3’ as Ur-Ninurta B (a *tigi* to Enki)¹⁵⁰ and the *tigi* in iii 4’ as Ibbi-Suen A (a *tigi* to Suen).¹⁵¹ Three other, more tentative identifications are

¹⁴⁸ Viano 2016, in contrast, considers a possible connection between the unorthographic spellings in KAR 158 and the frequent use of unorthographic spellings in Sumerian texts copied in Late Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia (the “western periphery”) (123).

¹⁴⁹ The third Sumerian incipit mentioned in Wasserman’s treatment is iii 11’, which he identifies as an *adab* of An for Lipit-Eštar. However, I have not been able to identify the composition to which he is referring. Note that Black 1983 cites KAR 158 iii 11’, instead of the correct KAR 158 iii 36’, as the *adab* to An Ur-Ninurta E (VS 10 199 ii 9–iii 17), presumably a typographical error (25). Both Black (1983, 25) and Viano (2016, 123) tentatively identify the incipit in iii 11’, **e-ia lu-gal-gu giri₁₇-za-al [...]**, as the composition preserved on the collective tablet VS 2 3 (VAT 604+) iii 22ff beginning **e-i lugal-ĝu₁₀ ‘x’ [...]**.

¹⁵⁰ Wilcke 1976a, 290 (Wilcke’s catalogue As = KAR 158). Read **im me galam¹-ma du-ur [k]i² ‘x’ [...]** for orthographic **en me galam¹-ma dur₂ k[i]’ ‘x’ [...]** On this incipit, see Attinger 2019o, note to the first half of line 1.

¹⁵¹ Wilcke 1976a, 290. Read **im me-e si-ge nu-du e-‘li¹ [...]** for orthographic **en me saga₇ nu-di i-lim [...]**.

also suggested by Wilcke: the *balbale* in ii 49' as Dumuzi-Inana G;¹⁵² the *balbale* in ii 50' as the unidentified *balbale* preserved in the collective source Ni 4569 (ISET 1 pl. 60-61, pp. 118-119) i 15'–32';¹⁵³ and the *tigi* in iii 6' as Nergal C (preserved as a *tigi* and as an *adab*).¹⁵⁴ As noted in n. 149, the *tigi* in iii 11' may be identified as the composition preserved on VS 2 3 iii 22ff. Finally, the *adab* in iii 34' can be identified as Išme-Dagan D (an *adab* to Enki).¹⁵⁵ This brings the number of identified Sumerian incipits in KAR 158 to at least 5, and possibly as many as 9, out of the 32 preserved.

The ratio of preserved texts to catalogued texts is thus significantly higher for the Sumerian entries than for the Akkadian. Wasserman does not explore the significance of this difference further, beyond observing that his conclusions regarding the Akkadian corpus do not apply in the case of the Sumerian corpus. Because there is no evidence that these Sumerian hymns were adopted any more readily into Assyrian scribal curricula than were Akkadian love songs—one of the reasons Wasserman gives for the low number of preserved Akkadian songs matching the catalogue entries—the likely explanation is that the Sumerian hymns belonged to a more stable written tradition than did Akkadian love songs, despite the fact that Sumerian hymns of the types listed are still rarely preserved in more than one or a few exemplars. We can probably conclude that, like the Akkadian love songs, the catalogued Sumerian hymns belonged to a Babylonian

¹⁵² Wilcke 1976a, 274, 278 n. e, reading **ni-ig-li-an-al-la-am-ma a-ma(-)gu-un-na-ke** for orthographic **niĝ₂²¹-lam-lam-ma ama u₆-na-ke**.

¹⁵³ Wilcke 1976a, 274, 278 n. h'. Note Sefati's observation that this composition apparently partially duplicates Šu-Suen A (1998, 213). Wilcke suggests the incipit, [...] **in-du₂-e**, could perhaps be identified with KAR 158 ii 50' **lal₂-li lal₂-li lal₂-li im-du-du**.

¹⁵⁴ Wilcke 1976a, 290. Read, perhaps, **en ni₂ gu₂-ru an ki ME(-)x¹** [...] for orthographic **en ni₂ guru₃²⁰ an ki kalam** [...]. For the two different versions of this hymn, one labeled as a *tigi* and the other as an *adab*, see Peterson 2015.

¹⁵⁵ So already Metcalf 2015b, 80 n. 6 and Viano 2016, 123 with n. 818. Read **en gal maḥ di₂-ib di-im-gi-ir-e-ne** for orthographic **en gal maḥ dib diĝir-re-e-ne**.

tradition current in the OB and possibly MB periods but not carried over into the Assyrian literary repertoire.

Setting of the Hymns

One question that frequently arises in discussions of KAR 158 is whether the songs listed belonged, on the one hand, to a “cultic” or “official” sphere, or, on the other, to a “secular” or “private” one. Wasserman, as quoted above, assumes the Akkadian songs in the catalogue were hymnic in nature and had ties to the official cultic sphere (Wasserman 2016, 205). He rejects, however, the tendency to conflate the official cultic realm with religious or mythological content in general, which is then frequently set in opposition to a secular or popular realm—the latter, in turn, conflating the absence of religious content with “private” practice. Wasserman points out that the Mesopotamians would not have recognized a secular sphere “detached from divine rules, free of religious practice,” and we cannot assume, for example, that songs sung in familial or private settings were devoid of cultic or mythological background (2016, 20–21). Instead, for the Akkadian love songs, he sets up a loose dichotomy between the official and private spheres, focusing on the difference “between texts which were composed for, and performed in, an *official* cult (most likely the royal court), and texts whose inception, impetus, and eventually performance or audience, was *private*” (with the caveat that even the term “private” in this context is somewhat problematic) (2016, 21 with n. 19, italics in original). Wasserman concludes that the texts of KAR 158 probably belonged an official, cultic, perhaps palatial, context (21). Groneberg 2003 similarly suggests that the compositions listed in KAR 158 belonged to the realm of cultic practice, basing

this suggestion on the catalogue's findspot in a temple district of Assur (58).¹⁵⁶ She further speculates that the author of the catalogue must have been "someone connected to the court or a temple official," possibly a musical performer (69).

The texts registered in the catalogue, as Wasserman indicates, belonged to a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian tradition, and the most plausible interpretation is that the catalogue represents an inventory of tablets brought back to Assur after Tukulti-Ninurta I's sack of Babylon (see above). Although there is little evidence that the types of songs registered in the catalogue were actually performed in the cult of Aššur, it is clear that Middle Assyrian temple officials had a general interest in Babylonian liturgy, which might account for the presence of these texts in their collections. The suggestion that manuscripts for Sumerian hymnic liturgies preserved in post-OB contexts could serve a purpose other than liturgical performance is confirmed by two Middle Assyrian manuscripts of the *širnamšub* Ninisina C written by the sons of the royal scribe Ninurta-uballissu, based on *Vorlagen* from Nippur and Babylon, presumably for the purpose of scribal training (Viano 2016, 99–100). In the case of the few known exemplars of hymnic liturgies written by Middle Babylonian (as opposed to Middle Assyrian) scribes—for example, the *Vorlagen* to the copies just mentioned, the manuscript of "Song of the Plowing Oxen" (*ululumama*) found at Nippur,¹⁵⁷ and probably the bilingual hymn Ninurta I¹⁵⁸ attested in an MB Nippur exemplar and an exemplar imported to Aššur¹⁵⁹—it is unclear what relation these manuscripts might have had to contemporary cultic practice. It is clear, though, that many more tablets inscribed with hymnic

¹⁵⁶ Note, though, that Groneberg leaves open the possibility that the hymns' ritual setting was not restricted to the temple, using the term "ritual" not only in reference to a formal religious context but also in a "private, everyday sense" (Groneberg 2003, 58 with n. 46).

¹⁵⁷ See Viano 2016, 81.

¹⁵⁸ VAT 10176 (KAR 119) and N 3462, edited in Michalowski 2017.

¹⁵⁹ See Viano 2016, 102–103, Michalowski 2017, 207–215.

liturgies were written in this period than are preserved today. This is evidenced not only by the number of entries in KAR 158, but also by another liturgical catalogue, HS 1477 (TMH 3 53) + HS 1478 (TMH 4 53),¹⁶⁰ found at Nippur and tentatively dated to the MB period (based on the script), whose entries include *širgnamgalas*, *širnamsipadas*, *tigis*, and *adabs*.¹⁶¹

Why the catalogue KAR 158 was retained in the Neo-Assyrian temple collection likewise remains unknown. Perhaps some of the tablets registered therein were still preserved in the temple's collection, although there is no evidence of this, or perhaps the Assyrian scholars preserved the catalogue due to their general interest in earlier Babylonian religious traditions.

Conclusions

The main conclusion that we can draw from presence of *širgidas* in KAR 158 is that these hymns were still known and probably still copied in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian times, although their functions had likely changed. Furthermore, the range of hymnic types associated with the *širgidas* is strikingly similar to what we have seen in the Old Babylonian inventories, the three sections immediately preceding the *širgidas* in KAR 158 comprising *balbales*, *tigis*, *adabs*. As will be seen below, this association of *širgidas* with *balbales*, *tigis*, and *adabs*, all of which tend to be oriented towards the Mesopotamian king in some way, is further born out in contemporary literary references to *širgida* hymns.

¹⁶⁰ Bernhardt and Kramer 1956–1957, 391–393, pl. 1–2; Wilcke 1976b, 41.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Wilcke 1976a, 264, Viano 2016, 81.

2.1.4 Dialogue 2 and the Old Babylonian “Conservatory”

Another piece of evidence that sheds light on the Old Babylonian social context in which *širgida* hymns were written is in the Sumerian literary debate Dialogue 2 (“Enkitalu and Enkihegal”).¹⁶² At one point in this composition, a dialogue in which a few young students hurl insults and accusations at one another,¹⁶³ one of the boys says mockingly of another that he is unsuited to be a *nar*-musician, unable to properly recite a *tigi* hymn, an *adab* hymn, or a *širgida* hymn.

*Ex. 2.1 Dialogue 2 110–115 (composite text with selected variants)*¹⁶⁴

- 110 nam-nar-e nu-ub-du₇(var. DU) kiĝ₂-ge₄-a-aš la-ba-ab-du₇ (var. DU)
111 e₂ lu₂-še₃ u₃-(un-)ĝen lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-sa₂-e
112 a₂-ne₂ ĝal₂ u₃-bi₂-in-gaka₄ ser₃-gid₂-da nu-ub-be₂
113 igi dumu um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃ u₃-ba-tuš tigi₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-be₂
114 e-LIL₂-la₂ šu-ne₂-še₃ la-ba-ab-du₇ lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-ḥul₂-e
115 u₃ ze₄-e nam-lu₂-lu₇ (var. lu₂) al-ge-na (var. ge-na) ka-ba a-ab-si

(To onlookers/arbiter):

He is not suited to the craft of the *nar*-musician; he is not suited to the work.

When he enters a man’s house, ...

When he opens his arms (wide), he cannot articulate a *širgida*!

When he sits before the *student(s)*, he cannot articulate a *tigi* or an *adab*!

...is not suited to his hands. No one rejoices over him!

(To rival):

And (you think) they say that you’re an upright man?!¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² On Sumerian school debates and related texts and their use in education, see esp. Volk 1996, 2000, 2011, 2011–2013; Wilcke 2002; Ceccarelli 2018.

¹⁶³ For the most recent interpretation of how the dialogue unfolds, see Ceccarelli 2018, 137: “Der *casus litigandi* liegt in der Anschuldigung vor, die Enkihegal vor einer dritten unbekannten Person an Enkitalu richtet: Enkitalu habe diese dritte Person verunglimpft. Enkitalu bestreitet dies und gerät daraufhin mit Enkihegal in eine Auseinandersetzung. Um den Streit zu schlichten, wenden sich die zwei an einen ‘großen Bruder’, der mit dem Fall jedoch überfordert ist und einen Aufseher (**ugula**) hinzuzieht. Dieser wird schließlich Enkitalu entlasten und eine Maßnahme ergreifen, damit Streitigkeiten nicht mehr am ‘Ort (der) Gelehrsamkeit’ (**ki umum**) ausgetragen werden.”

¹⁶⁴ See also score transliteration in Appendix I.5.

¹⁶⁵ Lit. perhaps: “And you, does “manhood that is upright” (var. “a man who is upright”) fill (any) mouth?”

Although this passage and others in Dialogue 2 were for a long time used to support the idea that a scribal student's education in the *edubba'a* included musical training (see, e.g. Sjöberg 1976, 168–170), Michalowski argues convincingly that Dialogue 2 does not in fact deal with scribal students, but with the students or apprentices of a professional musician (Michalowski 2010, 200–203). He observes that, unlike in most dialogues or debates dealing with students and teachers, the term **e₂-dub-ba-a** does not appear anywhere in Dialogue 2, whereas the little understood term **ki umun₂** appears quite frequently (eight times in total). Michalowski proposes to understand the **ki umun₂**—which also appears in a passage of Šulgi B, where the *edubba'a* and scribes are set in contrast to the **ki umun₂** and *nar*-musicians—as the equivalent of the **e₂ umun₂** known in Ur III administrative documents as a “conservatory,” along with the *mummu* known in OB letters from Mari as a place “where musicians gathered, studied, and perhaps even lived” (Michalowski 2010, 202–203).¹⁶⁶ An Old Babylonian model contract between a musician and the father of his apprentice sheds further light the training of musicians during this this period in southern Mesopotamia, painting a picture in which “musical knowledge was passed down by means of professional apprenticeship, not in scribal schools, and [...] a contract between a player and a student's father had to be checked with a master musician [an **ummia**], perhaps the head of a group or guild-like organization” (Michalowski 2010, 205). A similar system for training musicians is known to have existed in at Mari during the same period, where apprentice musicians were quite young—still children—when their training began (Michalowski 2010, 206, with previous

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Ceccarelli 2018, who points out some evidence that could support instead an interpretation of **ki umun₂** as a synonym for **e₂-dub-ba-a** and therefore does not rule out the possibility that “*Enkihegal und Enkitalu* vor dem Hintergrund einer speziellen Ausbildungsstufe innerhalb des *altbabylonischen* *Edubba'a* zu verstehen ist, welche Schüler durchliefen, die den Beruf des Sängers anstrebten.” (136–137).

literature). According to the model contract, along with the evidence from Mari, apprentice musicians were expected to learn several different types instruments (Michalowski 2010, 205).

This portrayal of musical education in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia, in which *nar*-musicians received practical training quite separately from the education of scribes, fits well with the material remains of the period discussed above. Tablets inscribed with hymns of the *nar*-musician's repertoire are distributionally and materially distinct from tablets inscribed with scribal students' exercises, indicating that they were written in different contexts. The learning and performing of *širgida* hymns, along with other hymnic types, must have comprised a regular part of the training of an apprentice *nar*-musician. It is no great leap to suggest, following Tinney (see above), that the hymnic liturgical tablets preserved today were produced during the course of this training, perhaps being written by young learners as an *aide-mémoire*, as a study tool, or as proof of knowledge.

2.2 *Širgidas* as Performed Pieces: Evidence of Royal Praise Poems

As emphasized in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, *širgida* hymns belonged to the realm of ritual performance and are to be thought of, first and foremost, as oral liturgical pieces, rather than as texts *per se*. This is reinforced by the fact that the preserved *širgida* hymns form, on the surface, a very incohesive group, having few obvious features in common, and the hymnic type must have been defined by some extratextual, presumably performative, criteria. The exact nature of these criteria—what precise aspects of a hymn's performance allowed it to be classified as a *širgida*—remains unknown. At the same time, we are not completely in the dark concerning the types of settings in which *širgida* hymns were performed. Careful examination of external and internal evidence allows us to reconstruct certain aspects of these settings and to propose particular

ritual moments to which the preserved *širgida* hymns would have been suited, as well as particular ritual aims their performance might have served. Given the diversity of the corpus, it seems likely that *širgidas* were somewhat flexible in their use, rather than being restricted to one particular ceremony or to one point in a ceremony.¹⁶⁷

The best evidence for contemporary understanding of the *širgidas* as hymns comes from royal praise poems of kings Šulgi and Išme-Dagan, preserved in Old Babylonian exemplars.

2.2.1 Šulgi B

The passage that speaks most clearly of the *širgidas*’ ritual performance occurs in Šulgi B, a poem of self-praise in which Šulgi extols his preeminence in many domains, including, among others: warfare, hunting, divination, music, language, justice, and service to the gods. In the final third of text, we encounter the following passage mentioning *širgidas*:

*Ex. 2.2 Šulgi B 272–279 (composite text, selected variants)*¹⁶⁸

- 272 en₃-du u₄-be₂-ta libir-ra ul-li₂-a
 273 tigi₂ za-am-za-am SU.IGI.DU-ĝu₁₀-ne
 274 u₄ na-me lul-SE₃ ba-ra-pa₃ ka-ge ba-ra-bi₂-ge₄
 275 niĝ₂ libir-ra-be₂ en₃ ĥe₂-bi₂-tar-tar šub-bu-de₃ ba-ra-bi₂-SUM₂
 276¹⁶⁹ tigi₂ za-am-za-am ki di-be₂ niĝ₂ na-¹me² ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-ga ĥe₂-ni-US₂² (var. RU²)
 277 ser₃-gid₂-da-be₂ (y, T; w: -ĝa₂¹; B: omitted) e₂ du₁₀-ga-ĝa₂ (y, w; B: -na) pa-e₃ ĥa-ba-ni-in-AK
 278 niĝ₂ šu-ta ba-ra-šub-ba-be₂ (var. -bu-da-[x] ^{lu-u₂ ar-mi})
 279. šu nam-nar-ra-ke₄/-kam ĥe₂-bi₂-la₂-la₂ (^{lu-u₂ u₃?-x-x})

The hymns (**en₃-du**) from ancient times, ancient things *of old*,
 the *tigis* and *zamzams* of my predecessors—

¹⁶⁷ Compare certain first-millennium liturgical types, such as *eršemas* and *šuillas*, for which distinct subclasses can be identified and the subclasses associated with distinct performative settings or functions: e.g., “ritual *eršemas*” and *eršemas* attached to *balaĝs* (see Gabbay 2015, 3–4); Akkadian *šuillas* of the *āšipu*, Sumerian *šuillas* of the *āšipu*, and *šuillas* of the *kalū* (Emesal) (Frechette in Lenzi et al. 2011, 26–27).

¹⁶⁸ See also score and selected commentary in Appendix I.2.

¹⁶⁹ One source (w = UET 6/1 82) reverses the order of lines 276 and 277.

I never *had them recited*¹⁷⁰ *falsely*, I did not *reject them*
 I cared for *those*¹⁷¹ ancient things and did not *let them be forgotten*.
 I ... *everything* in/of wisdom at the place where the *tigis* and *zamzams* are *played*.¹⁷²
I made *their*¹⁷³ ***širgidas* appear in full glory in my**¹⁷⁴ **good house.**
*Those*¹⁷⁵ things that had fallen from the hand,
 I “attached to the hand” of *nar*-musicianship.

According to this passage, Šulgi: (1) preserved the *tigis* and *zamzams* of his ancestors and had them recited (272–275); (2) effected something to do with wisdom in the place where *tigi*- and *zamzam*- hymns/instruments were played (276); (3) had *širgidas* performed in his “good house” (277); and (4) assigned all of these hymns to the repertoire of the *nar*-musicians so that they would not be forgotten (278–279). The fact that Šulgi claims to have had the *širgidas* of his ancestors performed both informs and complicates our investigation of the performative setting of the preserved *širgida* hymns. It implies that, under a given king, two different repertoires of *širgidas* were in use at the same time: those composed for the king himself and those composed for his predecessors. Although the text of Šulgi B does not explicitly state that Šulgi also had *širgidas* composed for himself, this is implied in the subsequent passage, which describes how future kings in turn are to treat Šulgi’s works of praise (**mim**), prayers (**šudu**₃), and songs (**ser**₃).

The remainder of the composition is devoted primarily to the works composed on behalf of Šulgi, asserting their truthfulness, cursing anyone who might alter or otherwise harm them, and proclaiming their permanence. Here only general terms are used in reference to Šulgi’s oral

¹⁷⁰ Literally “revealed.”

¹⁷¹ Or “their (i.e. the predecessors?) ancient things”

¹⁷² One source (w = UET 6/1 82) reverses the order of this line and the next (276 and 277).

¹⁷³ The predecessors? Or “*those širgidas*.” Ms w: “(everything) of my? *širgidas*”

¹⁷⁴ B: “his” (scribal error?).

¹⁷⁵ Or “their.”

compositions, but it is very likely that *širgidas* were included among them.¹⁷⁶ After the passage in which *širgidas* are explicitly mentioned, the text goes on to describe how Šulgi's own pieces (**ser₃** "songs," **mim** "praise," **šudu₃** "prayers") are to be preserved by later rulers, who, through them, will praise his greatness and invoke his name (Šulgi B 285–296). Conversely, a future king who "commits violence" (**saĝ sag₃**) against Šulgi's legacy will be cursed (Šulgi B 297–303).¹⁷⁷

The next passage touches on the means by which the hymns are to be transmitted, the details of which remain difficult to interpret (Šulgi B 304–315).¹⁷⁸ Šulgi, after reiterating that his hymns (**en₃-du**) are to be "*chanted*" (**pa₃**) and "(constantly) reborn (*like*) heavenly stars" (**mul (an) he₂-**

¹⁷⁶ The individual terms used for Šulgi's repertoire in these passages are fairly general: **ser₃** "song," **en₃-du** "hymn," **mim** "(work of) praise," and **šudu₃** "prayer." The most prominent of these are **ser₃** and **en₃-du**, discussed recently by Shehata 2009, 227–234, with extensive previous literature. Sumerian **ser₃**, equated with *zamāru(m)*, is an umbrella term encompassing not only hymns but all compositions that "in erster Linie im Vortrag ihre Funktion erfüllen und damit primär der oralen Tradition verhaftet sind," whether spoken or sung and regardless of content (Shehata 2009, 230). The definition of **en₃-du**, likewise equated with *zamāru(m)*, is slightly narrower, but it, too, is an umbrella term encompassing numerous types of oral compositions, and its boundaries are difficult to define. According to Shehata, **en₃-du** designates a subset of **ser₃** and is restricted to praise-filled or otherwise joyful songs, generally addressed to deities or kings, and, at least in many cases, sung rather than chanted. These pieces include, but are not limited to, hymns with subscripts and rubrics (*adabs*, *tigis*, *malgatums*, *širgidas*, *šumunšas*, *kunĝars*, *balbales*, *gigids*, and *zamzams*) as well as "royal praise poems" such as Šulgi A (cf. Catalogue L1 30 and 33) (Shehata 2009, 230–234). **Šudu₃** (Akkadian *ikribu(m)*) is likewise a general term, referring simply to prayer or supplication. It can designate any type of composition whose primary purpose is supplication, ranging from lamentational liturgies (see Gabbay 2014, 16 with n. 6) to the group of compositions ending in "RN **lugal-ĝu₁₀**" written for kings of Larsa and Babylon (Shehata 2009, 242–244). I know of no examples where a hymn with a liturgical subscript is explicitly referred to as a prayer, but such a designation would not be out of keeping with their character, given their frequent invocation of blessings on the king, and can thus not be excluded. The term **mim** "praise" is again very general and could easily apply to *širgidas* as well as other hymnic types. The terms used to describe Šulgi's hymnic legacy in Šulgi B are thus non-specific, potentially including hymns with subscripts, like *tigis*, *zamzams*, and *širgidas*, as well as other works of praise and/or supplication. However, the parallelism between Šulgi's claim to have restored and preserved his predecessors' hymns, including *širgidas*, on the one hand, and his expectation that future kings will preserve his own hymns, on the other, does suggest that we can include *širgidas* among Šulgi's hymns treated in Šulgi B 281ff. I belabor this point because some of these passages shed light upon the contexts in which these hymns were composed, transmitted, and, perhaps, performed.

¹⁷⁷ I follow Klein and Sefati in treating line 304 as the beginning of a new literary subunit (Klein and Sefati 2014, 87 n. 19, citing a private communication from Wilcke), thus taking lines 302–303 as a continuation of the curse laid out in 297–301. In the difficult line 303, I understand **en₃-du me-da tum₃** as an example of the expression **me-da tum₃** "where does it lead?" (see recently Lämmerhirt 2010, 585 n. 294 with previous literature), contra ETCSL "to keep the hymns in their proper form."

¹⁷⁸ This passage is cited frequently in literature on Sumerian education. See especially: George 2005, 202–203 (on lines 308–315); Michalowski 2010, 202–203 (on lines 308–315); Klein and Sefati 2014, 86–89 (on lines 304–319), 96–98 (on lines 307–310), with previous literature.

u₃-TU),¹⁷⁹ declares that he has established a “wisdom-house of Nisaba” in Ur and another in Nippur (Šulgi B 307–310).¹⁸⁰ This institution is in some way associated with Šulgi’s hymns (**en₃-du**).¹⁸¹ After introducing this institution, the passage continues by describing the responsibilities of the scribe and of the *nar*-musician in preserving Šulgi’s prayers (**šudu₃**) established in the Ekur (Šulgi B 311–313) and concludes with the exclamation that they are never to be altered in the *edubba’a* nor cease in **ki umun₂** (Šulgi B 314–315). I follow Michalowski in understanding the *edubba’a* and the **ki umun₂** as two separate institutions, where scribes and musicians, respectively, were trained (see above). The identity of the “wisdom-house of Nisaba” in relation to these two institutions is not clear (Michalowski 2010, 203). After this passage, the text of Šulgi B continues with the theme of Šulgi’s legacy, asserting the truthfulness of his hymns (**en₃-du**) and his inscriptions (**mu-sar-ra**) (Šulgi B 316–331).

The passage of Šulgi B specifically mentioning *širgidas* informs us that, at least in the Ur III period, *širgidas* of earlier rulers were considered relevant by later kings, to the point that they were actually performed, and that Šulgi had these hymns performed in his “good house” (**e₂ du₁₀-ga**). Lines 278–279 further indicate that *širgidas* belonged to the repertoire of the *nar*-musician, as one would expect, given what we know of hymnic liturgies in general, and the remainder of the hymn suggests that the scribes also had some role in the *širgidas*’ transmission to future generations.

¹⁷⁹ Following the tentative translation of Klein and Sefati.

¹⁸⁰ **E₂.^{geš-tu₃} GĒŠTU.^dNISABA-k**. On this building or structure, which served both as a place where divine will is revealed and as a place of instruction, see Polonsky 2002, 839–843 (esp. 842–843). Cf. also Charpin 2017, 112–115, with previous literature.

¹⁸¹ The name of the building is followed by the copular expression: **mul en₃-du-ĝa₂-ka** (var. **mul en₃-du-ĝa₂-a-kam**) (Šulgi B 307). The precise analysis of this expression is uncertain. Klein and Sefati tentatively translate “the ‘star’ of my songs,” understanding **mul en₃-du-ĝa₂-k** as a metaphor either for the building itself or for Nisaba (98). Cf. George 2005, 133 “the House of Wisdom of Starry Nisaba is (the place) of my song.” Other translations have taken **mul** as a term for writing. So, e.g., Michalowski 2010, 202–203 “A ‘House of Nidaba’s Wisdom’ academy for the writing of my songs.”

2.2.2 Šulgi E

Further evidence regarding the *širgidas* as part of Šulgi's legacy is provided in another praise poem, Šulgi E, whose main subject matter is the hymns composed for Šulgi. In this composition, it is explicitly stated that *širgidas*, alongside numerous other hymnic classifications, are among the songs to be passed down to future generations in commemoration of Šulgi's glory.

After a short opening passage introducing Šulgi as the favored king of Enlil (Šulgi E 1–13), the text introduces the main topic of the composition with the words “I, being the king whose name is suited to songs (**ser₃**), being Šulgi—let me be praised in my prayers (**šudu₃**) and (songs of) praise (**za₃-mim**)” (Šulgi E 14–15).¹⁸² The ensuing passage goes on to describes Šulgi's individual characteristics and accomplishments immortalized in different types of hymns. The passage is broken up into three sub-units, following the structure: “As for the fact that I (...), at the word of my lady, Ĝeštinana, the masters *and composers of* ...¹⁸³ composed *adabs*, *tigis*, and *malgatum*s of these things!” (Šulgi E 16–22); “As for the fact that I (...), they composed *širgidas*, royal praise, *šumunšas*, *kunġars*, and *balbales* of these things!” (Šulgi E 23–30);¹⁸⁴ “As for the fact that I (...), they composed *gigids* and *zamzams* of these things!” (Šulgi E 31–38). There follows a series of statements swearing to the truthfulness of the hymns (lines 39–52), after which Šulgi proclaims how these hymns are to be performed and remembered:

*Ex. 2.3 Šulgi E 53–62*¹⁸⁵

53 en₃-du-ĝu₁₀ a-da-ab ħe₂-em tigi ma-al-ga-tum ħe₂-em
54 ser₃-gid₂-da ar₂ nam-lugal-la
55 šumun-ša₄ kun-ĝar bala-bala-e ħe₂-em

¹⁸² (14) lugal mu ser₃-ra ħe₂-du₇-me-en (15) ^dsul-gi-me-en šudu₃ za₃-mim-ĝa₂ silim-eš₂ ga-du₁₁

¹⁸³ um-mi-a MIR²-re ĝar-ĝar-ĝu₁₀-ne.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix I.3 for these lines.

¹⁸⁵ See Wilcke 1976a, 256–257 for different interpretation of these lines, taking **balaĝ** and **malgatum** as instruments associated with *adabs* and taking **gi-gid₂** and **zamzam** as instruments associated with *širgidas*, Praise of Kingship, *sumunDUs*, *kunġars*, and *balbales*.

56 gi-gid₂ za-am-za-am ħe₂-em
 57 ġeš-tu⁹ ġeštu-ge nu-dib-be₂ ka-ta nu-šub-bu-de₃
 58 ki-šu-ke₄ lu₂ nam-bi₂-ib₂-da₁₃-da₁₃-a
 59 e₂-kur za-gin₃-na muš nam-ba-an-tum₂-mu
 60 ^den-lil₂-ra eš₃ u₄-šakar-ra-ka-na ħe₂-na-du₁₂
 61 eš₃-eš₃ kaš ^ggerin a-gen₇ su₃-su₃-u₃-da-be₂
 62 ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-da tuš-a-ra ħe₂-en-ne-ġa₂-ġa₂-ġa₂

As for my hymns—be they *adabs*; be they *tigis* or *malgatums*;
be they *širgidas*, royal praise,
šumunšas, kunġars, or balbales;
 be they *gigids* or *zamzams*—
 so that they will not escape memory and will not fall from the mouth,
 let no one abandon them at the cult-place (**ki-šu-k**).
 Let them not cease in the gleaming Ekur.
 Let them be played (**du₁₂**) for Enlil in his new-moon shrine.
When they pour pure beer like water at the ešeš-festival,
 let them be *recited* repeatedly (**ġa₂-ġa₂-ġa₂**) for Enlil and Ninlil, *as he sits with her*.¹⁸⁶

The topic of how Šulgi’s hymns are to be treated by future rulers continues to dominate the text for the next 100+ lines (Šulgi E 63–ca. 173). Many of the lines are fragmentary, but it is clear that future kings are to learn of Šulgi through his hymns, and, if a king ever removes Šulgi’s name from them, he will experience a long list of curses.¹⁸⁷ The Ekur is mentioned as the place where Šulgi’s name is to be invoked (Šulgi E 76), and the importance of the hymns’ (**en₃-du**) not falling from memory nor the mouth and their being performed in the cult-places (**ki-šu-ki-šu-k**) is reiterated (Šulgi E 157–158). A location called the “*tigi*-house of the gods” (**e₂ tigi diġir-re-e-ne-k**) is also mentioned, but in broken context (Šulgi E 160). After this sequence looking to the future, Šulgi returns to the present to recount his military achievements and to elaborate on his impressive might (Šulgi E 174–239). Finally, in the closing lines of the poem, he returns to the topic of

¹⁸⁶ Lit. “for Enlil, who sits with Ninlil—let them be *performed* repeatedly for them”; or “Let them be *performed* repeatedly for the seated Enlil and Ninlil?”

¹⁸⁷ For an exposition of the curse section, see Klein 1989b, 297–299.

preserving his fame through hymns, reiterating many of the ideas encountered earlier in the text (Šulgi E 240–257);¹⁸⁸ the demand that his hymns (**en₃-du**, **ser₃**) remain on people’s lips and not fall from memory is repeated yet again (Šulgi E 240–241), followed by several difficult lines dealing with their means of preservation. These lines strongly echo what we saw in Šulgi B 304–315, similarly stating that Šulgi established the “wisdom-house of Ninisina” in order that his fame be preserved, and the scribe and the *nar*-musician are to cooperate in the transmission of his works (Šulgi E 242–251).¹⁸⁹ Here Enki is conceived of as the composer of the works, and Ĝeštinana as playing some part in their dissemination(?). Finally, Šulgi’s hymns (**en₃-du**) are to “shine in full glory” (**pa e₃**) like silver,¹⁹⁰ they are to be performed in the cult-places (**ki-šu-ki-šu-k**) and in the shrine of the new-moon (Šulgi E 242–254), and his praise (**za₃-mi₂ du₁₀-ga**) is never to cease in the *tigi*-house (**ĝa₂ tigi₂**) of Enlil and Ninlil or at Nanna’s morning and evening meals (Šulgi E 255–257).

2.2.3 Išme-Dagan A+V

Many of the same motifs in Šulgi’s works regarding his legacy are carried over into the works of the early second-millennium Isin kings. The clearest parallels occur in Išme-Dagan A+V, which, like Šulgi B and Šulgi E, also makes explicit mention of *širgidas*. This praise poem includes a long passage in which Išme-Dagan boasts of the songs (**ser₃**) he has commissioned and the fact that his praise (**za₃-mim**) is established in every mouth (Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 330–332), listing the types of songs composed:

¹⁸⁸ Lines 242–257 edited in Klein and Sefati 2014, 89–91, with further discussion of lines 248–249 on pp. 98–99.

¹⁸⁹ On the nature of their cooperation, see the discussion in Klein and Sefati 2014, 98–99. On the importance of writing in the transmission of Sumerian hymns, see Metcalf 2015b, 143–146.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the use of **pa e₃** with **ser₃-gid₂-da** in Šulgi B 277.

Ex. 2.4 Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 335–339

- A335 a-da-ab tigi₁₂ šumun-ša₄ ma-al-ga-tum
A336 ser₃-gid₂-da <za₃>-mim nam-lugal-ĝu₁₀ ša₃-be₂ niĝ₂ til-la
A337 a-ra-ḫi bala-bala-e za-am-za-am kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂
A338 nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a
A339 en₃-du ki du₁₂-ba mu-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-gal-eš-a

Their (the *nar*-musicians’? Or: “Those”) *adabs*, *tigis*, *šumunšas*, *malgatums*, *širgidas*, my royal praise, whose content is *a complete matter* *arahis*, *balbales*, *zamzams*, and *kunĝars*—
that the wise *nar*-singers have composed them for me,
that they have made my name great in the places where hymns (**en₃-du**) are played (**du₁₂**), ...

Like the Šulgi passages, this passage indicates that *širgidas* and other types of hymns bearing rubrics and subscripts were to be performed (**du₁₂**) in celebration of the king. A little later on, Išme-Dagan further echoes Šulgi’s praise poems in demanding that future rulers respect his works and asserting that everything contained in his hymns (**en₃-du**) and inscribed on his steles is true. Praise (**mim du₁₁-ga**) for him should be in (every) mouth, his songs (**ser₃**) should be recited (**du₁₁**) in the temple(s) (**e₂**), and his hymns (**en₃-du**) are to be handed down (**šu** (loc.) **bala**) to posterity and proclaimed throughout the land of Sumer. His works, the “treasures of lordship” (**gi₁₆-sa nam-en-na**) are firmly fixed in the mouths of the *nar*-musicians for eternity (Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 378–393). More details are provided in Seg. A 400–407, where it is made clear that future kings are to have Išme-Dagan’s songs performed(?) (**DI**) and to invoke his name before Enlil, in the Ekur, and before Ninlil and Nanna. His songs (**ser₃**) are to be performed(?) (**DI**) at the morning and evening meals and his hymns (**en₃-du**) in the temples of the great gods.

2.3 Conclusions

Širgida hymns preserved from the Old Babylonian period thus represent one portion of a complex repertoire of liturgical pieces performed in temples and other cultic locations in praise of a deity and in celebration of a king's glory. The individuals responsible for their performance were *nar*-musicians, although professional scribes also had a hand in their preservation and transmission, and, perhaps, in their composition. The written exemplars of *širgida* hymns preserving their content represent only a minor aspect of their existence, the hymns being understood first and foremost as musical pieces to be sung or recited in a ceremonial setting—although the content was expected, to some extent, to remain fixed over time, unlike Sumerian laments of the same period. The evidence of written records and tablet inventories suggests that a wide range of hymnic types were being learned and practiced by individual musicians or groups of *nar*-musicians gathered together in the same place, perhaps represented by the term **ki umun₂**, and that they sometimes worked in close proximity with lamentational practitioners (*gala*-musicians).

In the next four chapters of this dissertation, the semantic content of the preserved *širgida* texts will be examined in detail. In light of the conclusions of the current chapter, I do not intend thereby to determine a or the defining feature of the *širgida* type; instead, my focus is on identifying (1) ways in which certain elements of the hymns' language or their words might reflect particular ritual settings or aims, and, (2) more importantly, what these words might have contributed to the overall experience and effect of the hymns' performance.

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CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE AND LANGUAGE OF THE ŠIRGIDAS

3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to conduct a structural and stylistic analysis of the preserved *širgida* texts in order to identify recurring elements and patterns that might in some way reflect the ritual contexts in which the hymns were sung or recited. The first part of the chapter focuses on the hymns' structural or thematic components and use of stylistic or poetic devices. It begins with a detailed analysis of *Angim*, the longest and one of the best preserved *širgida* hymns. This is followed by a brief description of each of the remaining *širgida* texts, set in comparison to my observations concerning *Angim*. The second part of the chapter then examines the language used in the preserved *širgidas*, with a particular focus on potential rhetorical or affective aims.

3.1 Formal and Stylistic Framework

The general backdrop for my analysis of the structure, style, and themes of *širgida* texts is the discussion of Sumerian hymns found in Metcalf's recent study of Mesopotamian and early Greek hymnography (Metcalf 2015b), which itself expands upon Wilcke's RIA article on the subject of hymns (Wilcke 1972-1975, 541 §5.1).

According to Metcalf's definitions, three formal components are typical of hymns cross-culturally:¹⁹¹ (1) the *invocatio*: the opening section of a hymn in which the singer identifies the deity being praised; (2) the *laudes*: the main body of the hymn, in which the praise is expanded upon, often according to particular, culturally-defined conventions; and (3) the *preces*: a short section of prayer or brief salutation to the deity (Metcalf 2015b, 9, 22). In the case of Sumerian

¹⁹¹ Defining a hymn very generally as "a song in praise of a god" (Metcalf 2015b, 9).

hymns, although the first two functional components—invocation of the deity and expressions of praise—nearly always occur, they do not usually represent clearly distinct formal units. The third component is also frequently present, in the form of a prayer on behalf of the king and/or words of thanks or praise for the deity’s prior benevolence, and it may or may not be marked as a distinct unit through the use of rubrics.

Another component that frequently appears within the *laudes* of Sumerian hymns is referred to by Metcalf as an *elatio*: “a brief past-tense interlude in which the deity receives its attributes from one of the chief gods (nearly always An or Enlil)” (Metcalf 2015b, 89, see also 37–40 with examples). Even more so than with the *invocatio*, this component does not usually represent a distinct formal unit, and the theme of a deity’s past elevation or investiture can appear not only as a short past-tense narrative but also in other forms, such as a simple epithet or a longer, more elaborate narrative.

3.1.1 Invocation of the Deity

Nearly all Sumerian hymns begin by identifying the deity to be praised, usually initially through a series of titles and/or epithets, followed by the divine name (Metcalf 2015b, 23–24). These initial lines sometimes take the form of an ornamental repetition (*ornamentale Wiederholung*) in which a line or a block of text omitting the divine name is repeated with the divine name inserted, either replacing an epithet or simply added.¹⁹²

The naming of the deity and the selection of epithets serve an essential function in the performance of a hymn. From the perspective of the singer and the audience, the utterance of the

¹⁹² Patterns R-1, R-2, and R-3 in Wilcke’s treatment of ornamental repetition (1976a 214). On potential musical implications of textual repetition, see Hartmann 1960, 187–188, who suggests, for example, that “die Vers- und Strophenwiederholungen alternierend rezitiert oder gesungen wurden, entweder von zwei Sängern oder abwechselnd von Sänger und Sängergruppe, vielleicht auch von zwei Sängerchören.”

deity's name clearly identifies that deity as the one deserving of praise and calls him or her to be present and attentive. The use of epithets in liturgy can further serve to clarify the nature of the deity, and epithets frequently highlight the divine characteristics that are most desirable for the situation at hand (cf. Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 88 with previous literature in nn. 10–13; Metcalf 2015b, 172 n. 4).¹⁹³ The epithets included in the invocations of Old Babylonian Sumerian hymns, including *širgidas*, usually draw particular attention to the deity's genealogical relationship with the highest gods in the pantheon (Metcalf 2015b, 24). Occasionally, the invocation may include a so-called “ich-will-preisen” formula: an expression in which the singer announces his intention to praise the deity, using the phrasal verb **me-teš₂ i-i**, the phrasal verb **ser₃ du₁₁**, or a closely related expression (see Metcalf 2015b, 24–28 with examples). This type of formula may also appear later in a hymn and occasionally recurs throughout (Metcalf 2015b, 28).

3.1.2. *Laudes*/Expressions of Praise

Discussing the structural and stylistic features evident in expressions of praise in Sumerian hymns, Metcalf observes:

As far as structure and style are concerned, there is little basis for formulating specific principles. The Sumerian hymns employ all kinds of constructions to describe the attributes and activities of the god: active and passive verbs in the perfective (*hamtu*) and imperfective (*marû*) forms (‘You do such-and-such), participles (‘Doing/being such-and-such’, such-and-such is yours’). Only a few hymns (not usually ‘adab’- or ‘tigi’-songs) restrict themselves to one particular form of predication. Narrative elements are uncommon (Metcalf 2015b, 29).

¹⁹³ By the Old Babylonian period in Mesopotamia, though, the precise selection of epithets may not have been so important as the sheer number of epithets. So Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 87: “Der Gottesname ist in seiner Aussage ganz wesentlich auf den mythologischen, theologischen oder kultischen Kontext angewiesen. So lassen sich in Anzahl und Inhalt der Epitheta eines Gottes in begrenztem Maße Mach- und Funktionszuwachs ablesen. Bereits im Laufe der altbabylonischen Zeit findet jedoch eine Entwicklung statt, in der Qualität durch Quantität ersetzt wird und eine lange, aretalogische Reihung von Epitheta für einen Gott in einem Hymnus keine Auskunft mehr über die tatsächliche Rangstellung eines Gottes innerhalb eines Pantheons gibt, da Epitheta austauschbar und auf verschiedene Götter anwendbar werden.”

In terms of the thematic content, the praise given to the deity conventionally involves two complementary aspects: (1) the deity's relationship to other gods and (2) his or her importance to people.¹⁹⁴ For the first, it is usually the two chief gods, An and Enlil, who serve as the main point of reference. Certain traits that the praised deity possesses in relation to other deities are stressed, including might, justice, wisdom, guardianship, and leadership. The deity is often said to act for or to assist one of the chief gods in a particular capacity—for example, helping to decide fates or to pass judgments, fighting in battle and carrying out the chief god's will, calming the heart of the great god, or serving as an official in the god's household. Additionally, the praised deity is often said to be loved by the chief gods and by other deities. Regarding the praised deity's importance to people, he or she is said to be loving, to provide justice, and to care for humans. Specific responsibilities include giving life and providing prosperity or abundance (Metcalf 2015b, 31–49 with examples).

A particular stylistic device regularly employed in Sumerian hymns is hyperbole, or language that seems to “exaggerate the importance of a particular deity at the expense of the others” (Metcalf 2015b, 40). The deity is thus frequently characterized as possessing “universal” hyperbolic attributes—the two dominant topoi being the deity's power throughout all heaven and earth and his or her possession of the *me*'s—as well as “exclusive” hyperbolic attributes—such as having no

¹⁹⁴ Cf. here Wilcke's list of regularly occurring themes in divine hymns, upon which Metcalf's treatment builds: “1. Familie, besonders die Abstammung von An oder Enlil (fehlt bei diesen beiden Göttern), der Ehepartner und (selten) Kinder; 2. Stadt und Tempel des Gottes (fehlt bei An); 3. Macht des Gottes, meist in den folgenden Aspekten: a) numinose Macht (**ni₂** ‘Furcht’, **me-lam₂** ‘Schreckensglanz’ etc.), b) Verfügungsgewalt über göttliche Kräfte (**me**, **garza**, **biluda**), c) besondere Fähigkeiten und Bereiche der Zuständigkeit; 4. überragende Stellung im Pantheon, Betreuung mit bestimmten Aufgaben durch die höchsten Götter; 5. Bedeutung für die Welt der Menschen, besonders a) Fruchtbarkeit von Land und Tieren und b) kultische und soziale Ordnung; 6. Gebet für den Herrscher [...], teils als Dankgebet berichtend von dem guten Tun der Gottheit (oft mit Schicksalsentscheidung), teils dieses für die Zukunft erflehend” (Wilcke 1972–1975, 541).

rival or being foremost among the gods (Metcalf 2015b, 40–44). Even within the realm of hyperbole, An and Enlil remain ultimately superior (Metcalf 2015b, 44–49).

A number of Sumerian hymns also include self-referential passages, in which the singer alludes to himself, to the singing of the hymn, or to some element of the ritual setting in which the hymn was performed (see Metcalf 2015b, 20–21). This includes the singer’s use of the so-called “ich-will-preisen” formula mentioned above (section 3.1), as well as other expressions, at the ends of hymns, in which a singer alludes to his or her praise of the deity “as if promising to keep celebrating the god if he will hear them” (Metcalf 2015b, 20).

3.1.3. *Preces*

When a Sumerian hymn includes a passage that could be considered as *preces*, it most often takes the form of a short prayer, especially on behalf of the king, formulated with a precative verbal form and usually making a general request for life, health, and/or prosperity. In some hymns the *preces* include, in place of or in addition to a prayer, a short exclamation of the deity’s past deeds benefitting the suppliant (the king).¹⁹⁵ These words of prayer or acknowledgment most frequently appear either at the mid-point or at the end of a hymn, sometimes set off from the body of the text and labeled with a liturgical rubric (for example, *uru* in *adabs*, *ĝešgiĝal* in multiple hymnic types) (Metcalf 2015b, 29–31). Because of their positional prominence, Metcalf suggests that the *preces*—specifically in the form of a prayer for the king—may well “have been understood as a characteristic formal element by the ancients” at least in certain types of hymns (2015b, 22 with n. 19), and he proposes that prayer was “probably the most important element of the song from

¹⁹⁵ Cf. no. 6 in Wilcke’s list of hymnic themes quoted above (n. 34).

perspective of the worshipper” (31), constituting the main objective of the hymn (77). In the case of the preserved *širgida* hymns, although some prayer-like passages do occur, they are not formally set apart from the rest of the hymn’s content. Nonetheless, prayer does seem to be an important part of their function (see Chapter 6).

3.1.4 Doxology

The only clear formal unit that regularly recurs in the preserved *širgida* corpus is a closing doxology built around the term **za₃-mim** “praise.” In most cases, the **za₃-mim** expression itself is preceded by a series of epithets reiterating the divine qualities that the singer has highlighted throughout the hymn. Occasionally, the singer also refers explicitly to himself or to his praise of the deity.

3.2 Overview of Preserved *Širgida*-Hymns

3.2.1 *Angim dimma*

Invocation: ll. 1–6

The text of *Angim* begins, as expected, with the singer invoking the praised deity through a series of epithets and by name. The opening lines exhibit partial ornamental repetition similar to Wilcke’s type R-2, in which line *a*’ repeats line *a* with the addition of another word, usually a name (Wilcke 1976a, 214).

Ex. 3.1 Angim 1–2 (OB version, composite text)¹⁹⁶

1 an-<gen> dim₂-ma dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂

¹⁹⁶ Citations of *Angim* in this chapter represent the Old Babylonian composite text with selected variants, unless otherwise noted. Line numeration follows that of ETCSL (i.e. the Old Babylonian version), with the corresponding line numbers of Cooper’s edition indicated after a slash where different.

2 ^dnin-urta ^den-lil₂-gen₇ ^rdim₂^l-ma ^dnin-tur₅-e du₂-da

Created <like> An, son of Enlil,
Ninurta, created like Enlil, born of Nintur,

Here *a'* makes further changes to *a* beyond the addition of the divine name, replacing An with Enlil as the point of comparison for Ninurta, and replacing Enlil with Nintur as Ninurta's parent. As is usual for Sumerian hymns, the divine name is held back until the second line, and the praised deity's divine genealogy is highlighted.

The singer continues with epithets concerning Ninurta's position vis-à-vis other deities in the pantheon, namely to the *Anuna*-gods, and highlighting his strength.

Ex. 3.2 *Angim* 3–4

3 a₂-ĝal₂ diĝir da-nun-ke₄-ne ħur-saĝ-ta e₃-a
4 ni₂ ħuš ri-a dumu den-lil₂-la₂ ne₃-ne₂-ta nir-ĝal₂

Most powerful of the Anuna-gods, who came forth from the mountain
Laden with furious fearsomeness, son of Enlil, who trusts in his own strength

Here we might see a loose chiasm in the use of **a₂-ĝal₂** at the start of line 3 and **nir-ĝal₂** at the end of line 4, as well as the use of a *ħamtu* participial phrase at the end of line 3 (**ħur-saĝ-ta e₃-a**) and the start of line 4 (**ni₂ ħuš ri-a**).

These opening lines conclude with a variation on the so-called “Ich-will-preisen” formula, in which the singer employs the phrasal verb **me-teš₂ i-i**, construed in a third-person precativ form. The lines also represent an ornamental repetition of Wilcke's type R-1, an epithet in line *a* being replaced with a name in line *a'*:

Ex. 3.3 *Angim* 5–6

5 lugal-ĝu₁₀ ši-maĥ-e-en nam-maĥ-zu me-teš₂ ħe₂-i-i (1st m. version: ga-^ri^l-[i])
6 ^dnin-urta ši-maĥ-e-en nam-maĥ-zu me-teš₂ ħe₂-i-i (1st m. version: ga-^ri^l-[i])

My king, you are truly grand, let your grandness be praised! (1st m. version: let me praise)

Ninurta, you are truly grand, let your grandness be praised! (1st m. version: let me praise)

Expressions of praise (second person): 7–15

After invoking Ninurta, the singer continues with two more series of praise for Ninurta, one in the second and one in the third person, before launching into the narrative that comprises most of the composition. Lines 7–15 form a clear unit dealing with Ninurta’s “powerful arms” and the entities carried by him. Lines 7–8 exhibit yet another type of ornamental repetition, in which the grammatical structure is identical but some of the terms are replaced with synonyms:

Ex. 3.4 *Angim* 7–8

7 lugal kur-kur-ra **nam a₂** gur-ra-zu-še₃
8 ur-saĝ ^den-lil₂-la₂ **nam a₂** kala-ga-zu-še₃

King of all the lands, *thanks to* your powerful arms,
Valiant warrior of Enlil, *thanks to* your mighty arms,

Lines 9–15 form a series of parallel lines (cf. Wilcke 1976a, “parallele Reihung”), each ending in the verbal form **mu-e-il₂** “you *bear*” (lit. “have taken up”).

Ex. 3.5 *Angim* 9–15

9 ur-saĝ huš **me an-gen₇ mu-e-il₂**
10 dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂ **me ki-gen₇ mu-e-il₂**
11 **me** kur-ra **an-gen₇** dugud-da-am₃ **mu-e-il₂**
12 **me** eridu^{ki}-ga **ki-gen₇** maḥ-am₃ **mu-e-il₂**
13 diĝir-re-e-ne ^rx ki⁷-a **mu-e-il₂**¹
14 ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne šu ĝar-ĝar-ra-am₃ **mu-e-il₂**
15 ^dnin-urta **a₂** nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ šu du₇-a [**mu-e-il₂**]

Fierce valiant warrior, you *bear* (lit. have taken up) the *me*’s that are like heaven
Son of Enlil, you *bear* the *me*’s that are like the earth
You *bear* the *me*’s of the mountain, which are as heavy as heaven
You *bear* the *me*’s of Eridu, which are as great as the earth
You *bear* ... the gods
You bear retribution *for* (i.e. *on behalf of*) the Anuna
Ninurta, [you *bear*] a perfect “Arm” of valor

The first two lines of this sequence are syntactically and semantically parallel, following the pattern: “[epithet] **me** [cosmic realm]-**gen**₇ **mu-e-il**₂.” The allusion to Ninurta’s power in the two cosmic realms, heaven and earth, is expanded upon in lines 11–12, which again form a syntactic and semantic pair. These four lines represent two of the universal hyperbolic divine attributes identified Metcalf, namely control over the *me*’s and authority in heaven and earth. The next two lines (13–14) continue with the repeated verbal form **mu-e-il**₂. Finally, the last line in the unit serves as a climax, addressing Ninurta by name and returning to the topic of the first lines in the sequence, his mighty arms (**a**₂).

Narrative (third person): Expressions of praise: 16–29

With line 16, with the singer switches to speaking of Ninurta in the third person, a perspective maintained throughout the remainder of the *laudes*. It is here or in the next several lines that the narrative portion of the hymn begins.

Lines 16–17 form a repetitious pair similar to type R-1, an epithet being replaced with the divine name, and the word **du**₁₁-**ga** “statement” being replaced with **enim** “word.”

Ex. 3.6 Angim 16–17

16 lugal-la du₁₁-ga-ne₂ u₄-dam [...]

17 en ^dnin-urta-ke₄ enim-ma-ne₂ u₄-dam [...]

The statement of the king, being a storm, ...

The word of lord Ninurta, being a storm, ...

The next several lines are too damaged to determine their original structure, and it is unclear whether this section of text belongs to the narrative portion of the composition or continues with simple expressions of praise.

Narrative (third person), cont.: Ninurta's victory and the start of his return: 30–69/30–68

Lines 30–31 introduce a narrative section evidently recounting Ninurta's initial defeat of the enemy lands. These introductory lines recall lines 7–8, in which the roughly synonymous expressions **nam a₂ gur-ra-zu-še₃** and **nam a₂ kala-ga-zu-še₃** appeared in parallel at the start a literary unit.

Ex. 3.7 *Angim* 30–31

30 lugal-ĝu₁₀ a₂ nam-¹ur¹-saĝ-ĝa₂-ne₂[?]-še₃
31 ^dnin-urta dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ nam a₂ kala-ga-ne₂-še₃

My king, *thanks to* his arms of valor,
Ninurta, son of Enlil, *thanks to* his arms of might,

Hear, again, we have an elaboration on ornamental repetition type R-1 used to mark a literary transition. Like the sequence introduced by lines 7–8, this sequence again continues with a series of parallel lines,¹⁹⁷ this time listing the various enemies defeated by Ninurta.

Ex. 3.8 *Angim* 32–40/32–39a

32 še₉ saĝ aš₃ kur za-gin₃-na-ta nam-ta-an-e₃
33 ušum ur-saĝ bad₃ gal kur-ra-ta nam-ta-an-e₃
34 ma₂-gi₄-lum muš₃ abzu-ka-ne₂ nam-ta-an-e₃
35 gud-alim [saĥ]ar me₃-ka-ne₂ nam-ta-an-e₃
36 gu₅-li-an-na an-šar₂ ki-šar₂-ta nam-ta-an-e₃
37 niĝ₂ babbar₂-ra saĥar ĥur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ta nam-ta-an-e₃
38 uruda [niĝ₂ kala-ga] ĥur-saĝ dar?-ra-ta nam-ta-an-e₃
39 [mušen anzu]^[mušen] ĝeš¹ ĥa-lu-ub₂ ĥar-[ra]-na-ta nam-ta-¹e₃
40/39a [muš] ¹saĝ¹ ¹umun⁷ ¹x x¹ kur-ra-[ta] ¹nam¹-ta-an-e₃

brought out the six-headed wild sheep from the mountain of lapis lazuli,
brought out the dragon, the valiant warrior, from great fortress of the mountain,
brought out the *magilum*-ship from his ... of the Abzu,
brought out the bison from his dust of the mountain,
brought out the “friend of An” from the expanse of heaven and earth,
brought out the *gypsum* from the ore (lit. “earth”) of the mountain,

¹⁹⁷ Or perhaps to be characterized as an *Aufzählung*; see Wilcke 1976a, 219.

brought out the “[mighty] copper” from the *split* mountain,
 brought out the *anzu*-bird from the *halub*-trees of the road,
 brought out the seven-headed serpent from the ... of the mountain.

The text following these lines is fragmentary, but, as far as it is preserved, seems to recount a second victory of Ninurta’s against an uprising of the enemy land (**kur**).¹⁹⁸ This section closes with five lines rich in ornamental repetition (type R-1).

Ex. 3.9 Angim 47–51/46–50

47/46 [ur-saĝ²]-[e¹ iri^{ki} mu-[un-gul²] kur [ad₆-e¹-eš mu-un-AK
 48/47 [en² d¹nin¹-urta iri^{ki} mu-[un]-gul²] kur [ad₆-e¹-eš mu-un-AK
 49/48 miri-a-ne₂ [x¹ ki-bala-a su₇-[re]-eš mu-[un¹-du₈-du₈
 50/49 lugal-e a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ga₂-[(ne₂²)]-še₃ šu²-na mi²-ni-in-ge₄
 51/50 en d¹nin-urta a₂-nam-ur-saĝ-ga₂-[(ne₂²)]-[še₃] šu²-na? mi²-ni-in-ge₄?

[the valiant warrior²] [destroyed²] the cities. He *treated* the enemy land (**kur**) *as a corpse*!
 Lord² Ninurta destroyed² the cities. He *treated* the enemy land (**kur**) *as a corpse*!
In his anger, he heaped up the [...] in the rebel land (**ki-bala**) as piles of grain.
 The king, *thanks to* (his²) arms of valor, returned them into his hands?
 Lord Ninurta, *thanks to* (his²) arms of valor, returned² them into his hands?

Here, as in line 7–8 and lines 30–31, the transition to a new sequence is marked with a pair of parallel lines referencing Ninurta’s valorous arms (**a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ga₂-(ne₂²)]-še₃**) (50–51).

The next section of narrative (lines 52–63/51–62) deals with Ninurta’s chariot. After one line introducing the chariot,¹⁹⁹ we encounter another series of parallel lines or an *Aufzählung*—repeating the list of enemies defeated by Ninurta, this time as they are attached to parts of the chariot. Each line follows the pattern: [enemy]-(**a**)-ne₂ [chariot part]-**a bi₂-in-la₂** “he *tied* the [enemy] to the [chariot part].” After this interlude detailing the parts of the chariot, the singer’s

¹⁹⁸ See esp. line 41/40 [... **mu**]-**un-na-an-zi-zi** “[...] *arose there against him*” and lines 47–48/46–47, cited below.

¹⁹⁹ 52/51 ^{geš}**gigir za-gin₃ ni₂ huš guru₃ru-ne₂ [x (x)]** “[...] his lapis-lazuli chariot laden with furious fearsomeness.”

perspective returns to the chariot as a whole (line 64/63), and he continues with a short narration of the scene as Ninurta and his entourage process towards Nippur (64–69/63–68).

Narrative (third person), cont.: Ninurta’s arrival at Nippur and dialogue with Nuska:70–97/69–97

The next portion of the text, as far as it is preserved, evidently comprise a series of epithets praising Ninurta, culminating in his name in line 74/73. The narrative then continues with Ninurta’s furious approach to Nippur and Nuska’s coming out from the Ekur to meet him. Nuska addresses Ninurta in a speech directly quoted by the singer, introduced with the words “He spoke a greeting to lord Ninurta” (line 89/79)²⁰⁰ and employing some of the same literary devices already observed in the hymnic and narrative portions of the hymn. Nuska’s speech begins with two lines of ornamental repetition (type R-1), in which Nuska tells Ninurta to calm down, followed by a seven-line admonition of Ninurta for the fear has caused, and closing with another ornamental repetition (type R-1).

Ex. 3.10 Angim 81–89/80–88

81/80 lugal-ĝu₁₀ ur-saĝ šu-du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ĝeš-tu₉ ĝeštu-zu
 82/81 ^dnin-urta ur-saĝ šu-du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ĝeš-tu₉ ĝeštu-zu
 83/82 me-lim₄-zu e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂-ka tu₉-gen₇ im-dul
 84/83 ĝeš-gigir-za gu₃ du₁₀ MURUM ša₄-a-be₂
 85/84 ĝiri₃ gub-ba?-za an-ki tuku₄-e-be₂
 86/85 a₂ il₂-la-[za] ĝessu ^lla₂?-a?¹-^lbe₂¹
 87/86 [^da-nun-^lna diĝir gal-gal¹-e-ne NIĜ₂ [šar₂?-ra?...tar]
 88/87 aia-zu ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-ib-ĥu-luĥ
 89/88 ^den-lil₂ ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-ib-ĥu-luĥ

“My king, perfected valiant warrior, heed yourself!
 Ninurta, perfected valiant warrior, heed yourself!
 Your awesome radiance covers the house of Enlil like a garment.
 The sweet, rumbling noise of your chariot,
 your journey’s shaking of heaven and earth,
 and your raised arm’s casting of shadows

²⁰⁰ en ^dnin-urta-ra silim-ma mu-na-ab-[be₂?]

[have made] the Anuna, the great gods, [*scatter every*]*where*.
 They have frightened your father in his residence!
 They have frightened Enlil in his residence!”

In addition to the ornamental repetition marking the beginning and end of this sequence (lines 81–82, 88–89), three of the intervening lines exhibit syntactic parallelism, following the format: [NP]-**za(k)** [NP+participle]-**be₂** (lines 84–86). Note also the symmetry in the admonition’s opening and closing with reference to Enlil’s residence (**e₂** ^d**en-lil₂-la₂(k)** in line 83, **ki-tuš-a-na** in line 89).

The second part of Nuska’s address, in which he flatters Ninurta and promises gifts from Enlil, begins with the now familiar *topos* of two parallel lines referencing Ninurta’s mighty arms (90–91). This is followed by two lines of epithets (92–93), then another example of ornamental repetition spanning four lines (94–97).

Ex. 3.11 Angim 90–97

90 aia-zu a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-zu ṛniĝ₂ ḥa-ra-ba-ba-e¹
 91 ^den-lil₂ a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-zu niĝ₂ ḥa-ra-ba-ba-e
 92 lugal ḡeš^srab₃ an-na gu₂-gal diĝir-re-e-ne
 93 kišeb-la₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂ zi-ša₃-ĝal₂ e₂-kur-ra
 94 ur-saĝ kur saĝ um-ma-ab-gi₄-a-aš
 95 za₃-zu aia-zu diĝir deš nu-um-ma-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
 96 ^dnin-urta kur saĝ um-ma-ab-gi₄-a-aš
 97 za₃-zu ^den-lil₂-le diĝir deš nu-um-ma-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄

“Let your father give you gifts *for* your arms of valor!
 Let Enlil give you gifts *for* your arms of valor!
 King, neckstock of An, foremost of the gods,
 “grip”²⁰¹ of Enlil, “living-breath” of the Ekur
 valiant warrior, to the mountain that was blocked off,
 your father does not send any other god at your side!
 Ninurta, to the mountain that was blocked off,
 Enlil does not send any other god at your side!”

²⁰¹ Lit. “wrist”

Nuska’s entire address thus begins and ends with parallel lines in which first Ninurta’s epithet appears, replaced by his name in the repetition. Parallel lines doing the same with Enlil’s name occur at the end of the first part of the address, the beginning of the second part, and at end of the entire address.

Narrative (third person), cont: Ninurta’s entrance into the Ekur, dialogue with Ninlil, and self-praise: 98–174

After Nuska’s speech, the next section of the hymn narrates Ninurta’s putting away his chariot gear and weapons, setting in order his plunder, and entering the Ekur, at which point Enlil, Nanna-Suen, and Ninlil address him with prayers and flattering words (lines 98–109). Ninurta’s name is held back until the final line of this sequence, where an exchange between Ninurta and Ninlil is introduced: “(Ninlil) rightly spoke flatteringly to lord Ninurta” (109).²⁰² The three lines of Ninlil’s speech, in which she evidently praises Ninurta, are fragmentary (110–112). The beginning to Ninurta’s response, introduced with the words “Lord Ninurta answered her” (113)²⁰³ is likewise fragmentary, but most likely exhibited some kind of ornamental repetition, with the word **ama-ĝu₁₀** “my mother” in 114 replaced with **^dnin-lil₂** in 115. With this, Ninurta launches into a long sequence of self-praise, which continues for the next seventy lines.

The speech of self-praise begins with three lines probably displaying syntactic parallelism, each beginning with “[NP]-**gen₇**,” although the ends of the lines are broken (116–118). There follows a series of statements in which Ninurta extols his own terrifying might and the fear he has instilled among the Anuna (119–127).

²⁰² en **^dnin-urta-ra mim zi a-mu-un-ne**

²⁰³ en **^dnin-^lurta¹-ke₄ mu-na-ni-ib₂-ge₄-ge₄**

Ninurta then begins a new section of self-praise, starting with the temporal clause: “After I ret[urned] my arms of valor *to* the mountain...” (128).²⁰⁴ Similarly to lines 52–63/51–62, where a reference to Ninurta’s chariot launched into a long series of parallel lines detailing the individual parts, this line is followed by a series of lines enumerating Ninurta’s weapons or arms (**a₂**). The first two lines in the sequence mention Ninurta’s two most iconic weapons, Šarur and Šargaz:

Ex. 3.12 *Angim* 129–130

129 a₂ zi-da-ĝu₁₀ šar₂-ur₃-ĝu₁₀ mu-da-an-ĝal-[la-am₃]
 130 a₂ gabu₂^{bu}-ĝu₁₀ šar₂-gaz-^lgu₁₀^l mu-da-an-ĝal-la-^lam₃^l

At my right side I carried my “Leveler of the multitudes” (Šarur),
 At my left side I carried my “Destroyer of the multitudes” (Šargaz)

Each subsequent line in the series follows the pattern: “[weapon name (weapon type)]-**ĝu₁₀ mu-da-an-ĝal-la-am₃**” (“I carried my [weapon name (weapon type)]”) (lines 129–151/152). Twenty weapons are listed in all (including Šarur and Šargaz, counting weapons paired with accessories—bow and quiver, (composite-)bow and shield—as single weapons).

At the end of this interlude, Ninurta switches from praising himself and his weapons to addressing Enlil and describing the treatment he deserves as reward for his victory. This speech, like the other addresses encountered thus far, begins with the addressee’s title and withholds the divine name until the second line.

Ex. 3.13 *Angim* 152–153/153–154

152/3 aia-ĝu₁₀ me₃-ĝu₁₀ ĥa-ma-ni-ib-ku₄-ku₄-ne
 153/4 ^den-lil₂ a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ a ĥe₂-em-^ltu₅-tu₅^l-[ne[?]]

“My father, let *them* bring in my “battle” for me
 Enlil, let them wash my arms of valor!”

²⁰⁴ kur-re a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ ki-be₂ u₃-mu-[...]

Ninurta's address continues with a series of lines (154–156) using the same verbal construction as 152–153 (transitive third-person plural precativ, in some cases with a first-person dative), followed by two syntactically parallel lines dealing with the enemies captured by Ninurta (157–158).

Ex. 3.14 *Angim* 154–158/155–159

154/5 a₂ ḥuš ^{ĝeš}tukul-ĝa₂ a gub₂-ba ḥa-ma-ni-ib₂-be₂-[ne]
 155/6 ^{ĝeš}gal ^{ge}gerin-na gu₂-en-na si ḥa-ma-ab-sa₂-e-ne
 156/7 ^{ĝeš}gigir an-na-ĝu₁₀ ki-gal-la ḥe₂-em-mi-in-gub-bu-ne
 157/8 ur-saĝ dab₅-ba-ĝu₁₀ am du₇-du₇-gen₇ saman(EŠ₂.SUD.NUN.EŠ₂.KU₄) ḥe₂-me-šub
 158/9 lugal dab₅-ba-ĝu₁₀ u₄ an-na-gen₇ giri₁₇ šu ḥa-ma-an-ĝal₂

Let *them* pour lustration water on the fierce arms *of* my weapons for me.
 Let them prepare a *splendid*²⁰⁵ seat in the throne room for me.
 Let them install my heavenly chariot on a pedestal.
 Let a tether be put on the valiant warriors whom I captured, as on charging wild bulls.
 Let the kings whom I captured pay homage to me, as to the light of the heavens!

After this, Ninurta begins another sequence of self-praise, opening with a pair of copular clauses—first with epithets, then with Ninurta's name—followed by a subjunctive-optative ({**ḥe₂**})-clause (159–160). The next seven lines expand on this pattern, comprising a series of six copular clauses followed by a {**ḥe₂**}-clause (161–166). There then follows a condensed version of the pattern, comprising a single copular clause and a {**ḥe₂**}-clause (167).²⁰⁶

Ex. 3.15 *Angim* 159–167/160–169

159/60 kala-ga kur gaba nu-ge₄-me-en
 160/1 ^dnin-urta-me-en mu-ĝu₁₀-še₃ KA ki su-ub ḥa-ma-ke₃(AK)-ne
 161/2 šu maḥ saĝ piriĝ-ĝa₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂ ne₃-ni-še₃ du₂-da-me-en
 162/3 u₄ an-ne₂ ^{ĝeš}rab₃ diĝir-^rre-ne-me¹-en
 163/4 ^ran¹-ne₂ a₂ gal-^rla-ne₂-eš pa₃-da¹-me-^ren¹
 163a/5 ^rTUMU?¹ kur ^rgul-gul an-ta nam-lugal DU-a-me-en¹ (so II; Y fragmentary)
 164/6 ^ra₂ kala-ga me₃-^ra zi-ša₃-ĝal₂¹ ^dinnana-^rme-en¹

²⁰⁵ Lit. “flowering.”

²⁰⁶ On this pattern of copular clauses followed by epistemic subjunctive-optative clauses, cf. the best-known example in the opening lines of Šulgi A.

165/7 ur-saĝ nam ʿtar¹-ra ^den-ki-da me ħuš DU(-/.)[...-me-e]n
 166/8 nam-lugal-ĝu₁₀ za₃ an-ki-še₃ pa ħe₂-em-ʿma¹-ni-[(x)]-ʿe₃¹
 167/9 a₂-ĝal₂ diĝir-re-e-ne-me-en ni₂ gal ħu-mu-u₈-da-ri

“I, being the mighty one, a mountain that cannot be repelled,
 being Ninurta, they bow down to me at my name!
 I, being the one with magnificent hands, with the head of a lion, born to be the strength of
 Enlil,
 being the storm *in* the heavens, the neckstock of the gods,
 being the one chosen by An to be his great might,
 being the *wind/rainstorm(?)* that destroys the mountains, *that brought kingship down from*
heaven,
 being the mighty arm in battle, the breath of life of Inana,
 being the valiant warrior who decided fate, who with Enki ... the fearsome *me*’s,
 I have made my kingship appear brightly to the ends of heaven and earth.
 I, being the strongest of the gods, have instilled great fear of me”

In the closing section of his speech, Ninurta turns to the topic of his city, Nippur, to pronounce
 a blessing upon it. The transitional line (168), carries over the verbal structure of the preceding
 line (*ħamtu* transitive with {*ħe*₂} prefix), while introducing the subject of the following lines.

Ex. 3.16 *Angim* 168–174/170–176

168/170 iri ki-aĝ₂-ĝu₁₀ eš₃ nibru^{ki} an-gen⁷ ʿgu₂ ħe₂-eb₂-us₂¹
 169/171 iri-ĝu₁₀ iri ses-ĝu₁₀-ne-ka gu₂-gal-be₂ ħe₂-a
 170/172 e₂-ĝu₁₀ e₂ ses-ĝu₁₀-ne-ka A-MIR zi-be₂ ħe₂-a
 171/173 ki-sur-ra ki iri-ĝa₂ pu₂ a du₁₀-ga ki-en-gi-ra ħe₂-a
 172/174 ^da-nun-na diĝir ses-ĝu₁₀-ne ħe₂-em-ši-gurum-e-de₃-eš
 173/175 mušen dal-la-be₂ iri-ĝa₂ gud₃ ħe₂-em-ma-an-us₂
 174/176 lu₂ kar-ra-be₂ ĝessu-ĝu₁₀-še₃ ni₂ ħe₂-em-ši-ib-TE.EN.TE.EN

My beloved city, the shrine Nippur, *raised* its neck (as high) as heaven.
 Let my city be foremost of the cities of my brothers!
 Let my temple be *the rising*²⁰⁷ *flood wave* of the temples of my brothers
 Let the borders of my city’s *territory* be the sweet-water wells of Sumer
 Let the *Anuna*, the gods, my brothers bow down before it (Nippur)
 Let their (the *Anuna*’s) birds that have taken flight make their nests in my city
 Let their fugitives refresh themselves *under* (lit. *towards*) my shade.”

²⁰⁷ Or “good, fertile.”

The second and third lines of this closing sequence are syntactically and semantically parallel, following the pattern: “Let my [city/temple] be the [positive attribute/feature] of the [cities/temples] of my brothers” (169–170). The subsequent line expresses a similar sentiment, proclaiming that Ninurta’s city and territory are to be the sweet-water wells of Sumer, repeating the verbal form **he₂-a**.



Narrative (third person), cont.: Ninkarnuna’s appeal; Ninurta’s return to the Ešumeša and blessing of the king: 175–198/177–200

After Ninurta’s speech, the singer briefly narrates the god’s departure from the Ekur and the approach of the god Ninkarnuna²⁰⁸ with an entreaty, which is quoted directly (175–179).

²⁰⁸ As already recognized by numerous scholars—e.g., Cooper 1978, 136 ad 180; Litke 1998, 48–49 ad 242a; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001a—Ninkarnuna is most likely to be understood as a male deity. This is evidenced by his appearance in the first-millennium god list An = *Anum* I 242–243 (Litke 1998, 48–49) as the brother (ses) of ^d**enim-ma-ne₂-zi**, as well as the spouse of ^d**kinda-zi**—the latter evidently here to be understood as a female deity (on Kindazi see further Lambert 1976–1980; note also the pairing of Ninkarnuna with Kindazi in the OB version of the list TCL 15 10 ii 24–25 [Richter 2004, 76]). The appearance of Ninkarnuna in first-millennium god-litanies, however, would seem to point to an alternative understanding as a female deity; in the litany entry occurring in *Mutin Nunuz Dima* c+310 (CLAM pp. 238, 249) and 1st m. *Elum Gusun* c+184 (CLAM pp. 307, 315), Ninkarnuna is qualified as the “good child,” rendered in Akkadian with the feminine form *mārtu damiqtu* “good daughter”: **du_s-mu sig_s ^dnin-kar-nun-na** : *mar-^rtu₄¹ [da]-^rmi-iq-tu₂¹ ^dr_{MIN}¹*. Although neither bilingual source for this line preserves the complete expression, the feminine *mārtu damiqtu* can be reconstructed in both, as indicated in the following score. Sources: K 4629 (SBH III) + Rm 132 (5R 52 1); VAT 415+ (SBH 50) + MMA 86.11.360+ (CTMMA 2 11); VAT 55+ (SBH 48).

K 4629+	du_s¹-^rmu¹ [...]	
	<i>mar-^rtu₄¹</i> [...]	
VAT 415+	[...]-ga	^dnin-^rkar¹-[...]
	[...] <i>-^rmi¹-^riq¹-^rtu₂¹</i>	^d r _{MIN} ¹
VAT 55+	du_s-mu sig_s-ga	^dnin-kar-nun-na

The OB version of this litany, however, as observed by Cavigneaux and Krebernik, presents Ninkarnuna a male deity; one of the two preserved sources writes Emesal **u₃-mu-un** “lord” in place of **nin** (MAH 16066 [unpublished *balaḡ* to Utu] rev. ii 3 **dumu e₂-a-ke₄ u₃-mu-un-kar-^rnun¹-[...]**). The other OB source instead replaces the god Ninkarnuna with the goddess Ninkununa (VAT 607+ [VAS 2 11; *Elum gusun* OB version e+228, CLAM pp. 286, 296] rev. iii 4

dumu sa₆-ga ga-ša-an-ku₃-nun-na-ra). Note the graphic similarity between **ku₃** () and **kar** () in VS 2 11 rev. iii 4) and **kar**, which may account for the confusion between the two deities. Cavigneaux and Krebernik suggest that the later understanding of Ninkarnuna as a female deity, as attested the first-millennium version of the litany, may be based on this confusion.

Ninkarnuna's speech begins, as we would expect, with two lines of ornamental repetition (type R-1), withholding the divine name until the second line. These are followed by a third variation on the line, in which Ninurta's name/epithet is omitted entirely and instead the second element, Ninurta's city, is elaborated on.

Ex. 3.17 *Angim* 180–182/182–184

180/2 ʾlugal¹-ĝu₁₀ iri ki-aĝ₂-zu ʾša₃-zu^{ʾ1} ĥe₂-em-[ma]-ĥuĝ
 181/3 ʾen¹ [ʰ]ʾnin¹-urta iri ki-aĝ₂-zu ša₃-zu ĥe₂-[em-ma]-ĥuĝ
 182/4 eš₃ nibru^{ki}-ke₄ iri ʾki¹ aĝ₂-zu ša₃-zu ĥe₂-[em-ma]-ĥuĝ

“My king, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Lord Ninurta, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Let your heart [be calmed] towards the shrine of Nippur!”

The expressions eš₃ nibru^{ki}(-k) “shrine of Nippur” and iri ki-aĝ₂-zu “your beloved city” recall the words of Ninurta's speech, where the two appear in inverse order: iri ki-aĝ₂-ĝu₁₀ eš₃ nibru^{ki} “my beloved city, the shrine Nippur” (168/170).

The next line of Ninkarnuna's speech, mirroring Ninurta's blessing of Nippur, follows the reference to his city with a reference to his temple, e₂ ki-aĝ₂-zu “your beloved temple,” echoing the repeated phrase iri ki-aĝ₂-zu “your beloved city” but beginning a new thought. Ninkarnuna requests that Ninurta, when he enters his temple, pronounce a blessing on the king:

Ex. 3.18 *Angim* 183–186/185–188

183/5 e₂-šu¹-me-ša₄ e₂ ki aĝ₂-zu(-)[(še₃)] DILI ʾku₄¹-[ku₄-da-zu]-ʾne^{ʾ1}
 184/6 ĝešdana-zu-ur₂ ki-sikil^d[ʾnin-nibru^{kj}]ⁱ
 185/7 ša₃-ga du₁₁-mu-(ʾun¹)-na-ab bar-ra du₁₁-[mu-(un)-na-ab]
 186/8 enim du₁₀ lugal-la ʾsud¹-ra₂-a-še₃ ʾdu₁₁-mu-na-ab¹

“When you, *alone*, e[nter] your beloved temple, the Ešumeša,
 say to your wife, the young lady [Ninnibru],
 what is on your mind! Say to her what is in your heart!
 Speak to her favorable words concerning the king, for eternity!”

The singer's narration of events continues with Ninurta finding pleasure in the prayer and deciding a favorable fate for Ninkarnuna (187–194). The syntax of these lines is unusual. They begin with Ninkarnuna, referred to by epithet then by name, probably in the ergative case.²⁰⁹ The subsequent line begins with **u₄-ba**, a fixed expression that most often, in Sumerian literature, serves as a discourse marker, marking a point-of-view shift in which “a paragraph is followed by a second paragraph that reimagines the same time from a different vantage point” (Crisostomo 2017, 53), often translatable as “meanwhile” or “now at that time.” This nuance of **u₄-ba** fits well with the context—shifting from the utterance of Ninkarnuna's words to Ninurta's reaction as they were being spoken—but the placement of **u₄-ba** in the second line of the sentence is odd. Perhaps Ninkarnuna's epithet and name are moved to the head of the sentence as a kind of fronting, for the sake of focus or on some other stylistic grounds. The long, complex sentence ends with the simple line **ša₃ dⁿⁱⁿ-urta¹-ke₄ ba-sa₆** “to the heart of Ninurta, (these things) were pleasing,” with Ninurta's name having been withheld to this point (193). The scene with Ninkarnuna closes with the statement “Lord Ninurta looked on him (Ninkarnuna) favorably; he decided a good fate for him” (194), which leads into the final section of narrative.

Ex. 3.19 *Angim* 187–194/Cooper 189–196

187/189 a nun-e ri-a dⁿⁱⁿ-kar-nun-na-ke₄
 188/190 u₄-ba KA šiškur₂-ra-ka-ne₂¹
 189/191 ša₃ kadra₂^a a se₂₉ su₃-a-ne₂
 190/192 niĝ₂ nam-ĥe₂-a bi₂-in-du₁₁-ga-ne₂
 191/193 me niĝ₂ ul-e pa e₃ AK-e
 192/194 e₂-šu-me-ša₄ pa e₃ dib-dib-be₂-da-ne₂
 193/195 ša₃ dⁿⁱⁿ-urta¹-ke₄ ba-sa₆
 194/196 en dⁿⁱⁿ-urta-ke₄ igi zi mu-un¹-ši-in[?]-bar[?]

The offspring of a prince, Ninkarnuna—
 at that time, the *words* of his offering-prayer,

²⁰⁹ Less likely is the demonstrative suffix {e}.

his *sprinkling cool water on (Ninurta's) heart (as) a gift—*
the things he had said concerning prosperity—
to the one who makes the *me's*, the eternal things, appear in full glory,
who *proceeds* in full glory into the Ešumeša,
to the heart of Ninurta, (these things) were pleasing.
Lord Ninurta looked on him (Ninkarnuna) favorably; he decided a good fate for him.

The narrative ends with Ninurta returning to the Ešumeša and pronouncing a blessing on the king.

Ex. 3.20 *Angim* 195–198/197–200

195/197 e₂-šu-me-ša₄ ʽe₂ ki¹-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂ am₃-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
196/198 ĝešdana-ne₂(-er) ki-sikil ^dnin-nibru^{ki}
197/199 ša₃-ga mu-un-da-ab-be₂ (II and O; Z: -na-) bar-ra mu-un-da-ab-be₂
198/200 enim du₁₀ lugal-la! sud-ra₂-še₃ mu-un-na-ab-be₂ (Z and BB; II: -da-)

He (lord Ninurta) entered the Ešumeša, his beloved temple (with offerings)
To his wife, the young lady Ninnibru,
he said what was on his mind, he said to her what was in his heart.
He spoke to her favorable words concerning the king, for eternity.

These lines represent an example of so-called “epic” repetition (*epische Wiederholung*), as defined by Wilcke 1976a, 212–213.

Expressions of praise (third person): 199–201/201–203

The main body of *Angim* concludes with the singer proclaiming that Ninurta's greatness in the Ekur had been established. One source, which deviates from the main text in a number of lines, changes the first two lines of this passage to echo the earlier instances of ornamental repetition in lines dealing with Ninurta's valiant or mighty arms.

Ex. 3.21 *Angim* 199–201/Cooper 201–203

199/201 ur-saĝ (II adds: a₂) nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ne₂ pa-e₃ bi₂-in-AK-a²¹⁰
II adds: 199a a u₄-ta-u₁₈!-lu ʽa₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ne₂ pa-e₃ bi₂-in-AK¹
200/202 ^dnin-urta dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄

²¹⁰ Z omits -a, probably either making this a main clause, as does II, or reflecting the spelling AK to represent {AK + 'a} typical of earlier periods (?) (Attinger 2005a: 48: {AK} + {'a} written AK = aka in ancient periods, (-)AK-a once in pre-Sargonic, not rare from Ur III, quasi standard starting in the OB period).

201/203 nam-maḥ-a-ne₂ e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ ki ba-ni-ib-(u₂)-us₂

The valiant warrior who made his valor (II: his arms of valor) shine forth gloriously,
II adds: Utaulu, who made his arms of valor shine forth gloriously
Ninurta, *this* son of Enlil,
his greatness is established *in* the house of Enlil.

Epithets and Doxology: 202–207/204–209

A **za₃-mim** doxology for Ninurta, preceded by a series of epithets, is recited at the end of the hymn.

Ex. 3.22 Angim 202–207/204–209

202/204 en kur gul-gul gaba-ri nu-tuku-a
203/205 me₃ maḥ-be₂ SUMUR-be₂ du₇-du₇
204/206 ur-saḡ gal a₂-ni-ta e₃-a
205/207 kala-ga a-ma-ru ^den-lil₂-la₂
206/208 ^dnin-urta dumu maḥ e₂-kur-ra
207/209 nir-ḡal₂ aia ^uugu₆-na za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-^rga¹-am₃

Lord who destroys the enemy land (**kur**), who has no rival,
charging angrily to that great battle,
great valiant warrior who goes forth of his (own) strength,
mighty one, flood of Enlil,
Ninurta, exalted son of the Ekur
trusted one of the father who engendered him, your praise is sweet!

The last three lines of this passage represent a variant of a standardized formula appearing in several other doxologies to Ninurta, including in the hymns Ninurta A (also a *širgida*), Ninurta K (aka Ninurta’s Journey to Eridu II, Wagensonner 2005, 105–128), and *Lugale*. The basic formula contains the following series of epithets, followed by the expression **za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃** “your praise is sweet!”

Recurring Elements of Ninurta Doxology

en gal ^den-lil₂-la₂ “Great lord of Enlil”
^dnin-urta dumu maḥ e₂-kur-ra “Ninurta, exalted son of the Ekur”

nir-ĝal₂ aia "ugu-na “Trusted one of the father who engendered him”

The closing passage in *Angim* varies from the conventional format in that it addresses Ninurta as the “flood of Enlil” rather than the “great lord of Enlil.” In this variant, along with the additional epithets included prior to the standardized formula, which allude to Ninurta’s defeat of the enemy land (**kur**), the singer highlights Ninurta’s destructive power, thus tying the doxology to the main content of this particular piece.

Observations

The text of *Angim* does not include an *elatio* in the sense of a short passage recounting Ninurta’s elevation by An or Enlil. However, the fact of Ninurta’s elevation in the Ekur, subsequent to his victory, is one of central points of the entire narrative, and, as such, the entirety of the *laudes* can in a way be understood as a kind of expanded *elatio*. Differently from the typical *elatio*, recited in the past tense to explain the present status of the deity, it is unclear whether the events described in *Angim* are to be understood as occurring in the mythological past and/or were concurrently recreated in the ritual present.

Although *Angim* does not include a passage directly petitioning the deity or celebrating his past favor, the usual forms adopted by the *preces* of a Sumerian hymn, a similar type of request is put in the mouth of Ninkarnuna within the narrative portion of the hymn (Ex. 3.17). This request for a blessing on the king is granted by Ninurta at the very end of the narrative, and it clearly represents an essential component of the hymn itself. Its significance is discussed further in the chapters on kingship and on prayer.

As is evident from this overview, the text of *Angim* represents a skillfully crafted composition, the singer making sophisticated use of ornamental repetition and other poetic devices to carry the

themes of the hymn along and to tie the composition together as a coherent piece. The style and structure of the hymn differ significantly from most of the other *širgida* texts, and it is many ways more similar to other mythological works of Sumerian literature known in their written forms from the copies of scribal students—for example, in its protracted length, its narrative style and arc, and its use of “epic” repetition. Nonetheless, certain features of the text are recognizable in other preserved *širgida* texts, although they are by no means limited to this hymnic type. These include the direct invocation of the deity at the beginning of the hymn, reference to the singer’s praise in the “ich-will-preisen” formula at the end of the invocation, the closing **za3-mim** doxology referring back to divine characteristics and accomplishments highlighted throughout, and a structure that draws attention to the deity’s blessing of the king (for this last point, see further Ch. 4).

3.2.2 Ninurta B

In Ninurta B, as in *Angim*, the singer devotes a significant portion of the hymn to narrating a journey of Ninurta’s (Seg. A 1–Seg. B 17). The opening lines evidently invoke Ninurta through epithets and then by name in an ornamental repetition, although the lines are poorly preserved. The singer continues immediately with the narrative portion of the hymn, listing Ninurta’s aims in traveling to Eridu, recounting his journey, and describing the scene as he is invested with the *me*’s and symbols of rulership by Enki. This is followed by expressions of praise for Ninurta in the third person (Seg. B 18–22), after which the remainder of the hymn (as far as it is preserved) is addressed directly to Ninurta, in the second person (Seg. C 1–30, Seg. D 1–21). Unusually for a *širgida* hymn, the singer does not end Ninurta B with a doxology, at least according to the one preserved textual source.

The structure, style, and themes of Ninurta B are similar to that of *Angim* in a number of ways: the singer makes sophisticated and extensive use of repetition and parallelism throughout the hymn (esp. Seg. A 5–28; Seg. D 8–14, 15–20); a journey of Ninurta and his subsequent investiture are narrated, followed by a long hymnic section praising Ninurta’s greatness and majesty, and Ninurta’s position in the Ekur and his relationship with Enlil are emphasized.

3.2.3 Ninurta A

Because much of the text of Ninurta A is broken or illegible, it is difficult to determine the extent to which its poetic features overlap with those of *Angim* and Ninurta B. It is clear that it opens with an invocation of Ninurta and closes with a **za₃-mim** doxology that echoes the main themes of the hymn overall, namely Ninurta’s importance among the gods and relationship to the great gods. Additionally, some sequences of syntactically parallel lines are evident (e.g., Seg. B 13–17). The entire hymn would appear to be in the third person.

The closing epithets and doxology in Ninurta A represent the conventional sequence discussed above under *Angim*, used and adapted in at least four different hymns (**en gal** ^d**en-lil₂-la₂** “Great lord of Enlil,” ^d**nin-urta dumu maḥ e₂-kur-ra** “Ninurta, exalted son of the Ekur,” **nir-ḡal₂ aia** ^u**gu₆-na** “Trusted one of the father who engendered him”):

Ex. 3.23 Ninurta A Seg. B 21–24

21 u₄-ta-u₁₈-lu en diḡir-re-e-ne
 22 ur-saḡ gal an-na¹ en gal ^den-lil₂-la₂
 23 ^dnin-urta dumu maḥ e₂-kur-ra
 24 nir-ḡal₂ aia ^ugu₆-na ¹za₃¹-¹mim¹-zu du₁₀-ga-¹am₃¹

Uta-ulu, the lord of the gods,
 great hero of An, great lord of Enlil,
 Ninurta, exalted son of the Ekur,
 trusted one of the father who engendered him, your praise is sweet!

3.2.4 Nuska A

The *širgida* Nuska A appears to have been sung entirely in the second person, directly addressing Nuska. The singer's invocation of the deity at the beginning of the hymn is almost entirely missing. The remainder of the hymn comprises a long series of praise, covering topics such as the trust Enlil has placed in Nuska (expressed in a past-tense *elatio*) (Seg. A 5–19); Nuska's service in the Ekur and his preparation of divine banquets (Seg. A 20–43); his possession of the *me*'s (Seg. A 44–48); his relationship with Enlil (Seg. A 49–Seg. B 16); Nuska's spouse and the deciding of fates (Seg. B 20(?)–27); and his blessing of the king, concluding with a precative formulation similar to the “ich-will-preisen” formula (using **me-teš₂ i-i**) (Seg. B 28–45)

The hymn closes with a long series of epithets that end in the exclamation “your praise is sweet!” (**za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-!ga-am₃!**) (Seg. B 46–56)

On the surface, Nuska A appears to be less structurally sophisticated than the *širgida* texts examined above, lacking, for example the tight patterns of ornamental repetition and series of parallel lines so prominent in *Angim* and Ninurta B, although some looser echoing of structures or themes is apparent. On the other hand, the singer does demonstrate a sophisticated use of modal and temporal prefixes throughout the hymn to express nuanced relationships between clauses. The impact is largely lost on the modern reader, due to the opacity of the prefix **{ša}**, but style of the hymn is not as simple and straightforward as it might seem.²¹¹

²¹¹ The alternation among modal prefixes throughout the text of Nuska A, especially prefixes with epistemic functions, is noteworthy. As Delnero demonstrates in the case of Sumerian lamentational liturgies, written versions of Sumerian laments tend to reflect strong oral influences, as seen, among other features, in their additive nature—defined, following Ong, as “the presentation of a sequence of events, actions, descriptive details, etc. without specifying the logical relation between the laments in the sequence through the simple use of conjunctions (like the English conjunction ‘and’ and its equivalents), instead of adverbs like ‘when’, ‘thus’, or ‘therefore’ (which are used to specify different types of logical relations between clauses)” (Delnero, forthcoming b). The oral, performative nature of Nuska A and several other *širgidas* is not, in contrast, reflected in an additive style in the written versions; on the contrary,

3.2.5 Nuska B

The second preserved *širgida* to Nuska is likewise sung entirely in the second person. The initial invocation of Nuska begins with an ornamental repetition (type R-1) (Seg. A 1–2), and the invocation ends in an unusually elaborate “ich-will-preisen” formula, using the verbs **me-teš₂** (adv.) **i** and **ser₃** (adv.) **du₁₁**:

Ex. 3.24 Nuska B Seg. A 3–6

A4 sugal₇ zi me<<AŠ>>-teš₂-e ga-i
 A5 ^dnuška sugal₇ maḥ ^den-lil₂-la₂ za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃ ku₇-ku₇-da
 A6 lugal-ḡu₁₀ ser₃-re-eš₂ ga-am₃-^rdu₁₁¹

Let me extol the true vizier!
 Nuska, exalted vizier of Enlil, your praise is good, it most sweet!
 Let me celebrate my king in song!

After this, main body of the hymn comprises a long series of parallel clauses each ending in the second-person enclitic copula {**men**}. The first part of this series, as far as it is preserved, deals predominantly with Nuska’s relationship to other deities and the roles he serves within the pantheon, while the second part focuses on his command over the *me*’s.

After the series of copular clauses, the hymn closes with a series of epithets and a variation on the traditional **za₃-mim** doxology, utilizing both the phrasal verb **za₃-mim du₁₁** (referencing the praise spoken of Nuska) and **za₃-mim** alone (invoking praise on Nisaba).

Ex. 3.25 Nuska B Seg. B 22–24

B22 za₃-mim du₁₁-ga kiḡgal ^dnuška
 B23 ^rmunus¹ zi mul an-da ša₃ kuš₂-u₃
 B24 ^dnisaba za₃-mim

the relationships among clauses in this hymn are laid out in quite a complex way, expressed through the poorly understood epistemic modal prefix {**ša**} (Seg. A 10, 33, 35, 43, 48; Seg. B 24–25, 30, 37, 42), the non-negative modal prefix {**na**} (Seg. A 25), and the temporal prefix {**u₃**} (Seg. A 44–45).

(*For*) the praise spoken of assembly leader Nuska,
 let the true, shining woman who takes counsel with An,
 Nisaba, be praised!

This type of doxology, though far less frequently attested than the other versions of the **za₃-mim** doxology, is known from several other Sumerian hymns, including the *širgida* Ninurta J discussed below.

The structure and style of Nuska B are substantially different from those of the *širgidas* considered to this point. Rather than incorporating a variety of complexly related clauses and/or narrative components, the text of Nuska B is quite formulaic, consisting almost entirely of copular clauses. A few particular elements do overlap with other preserved *širgida* hymns, however, such as the use of a **za₃-mim** doxology and the “ich-will-preisen” formula at the end of the singer’s invocation of Nuska.

3.2.6 *Širgida* to Sud

The very brief invocation of Sud begins with two partially broken lines, in which the singer references Sud’s being “named with a good name”—one of the most prominent themes of the hymn—and her relationship to Enlil. These are followed by an “ich-will-preisen” formula, using the expression **ser₃ ku₃** (+poss. suff.) **i** and invoking Sud by name.

Ex. 3.26 Širgida to Sud 1–3

- 1 ʾx xʾ ʾxʾ mu du₁₀ še₂₁-a
- 2 [x x] ^den-lil₂-la₂ ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂ ze₄-e-me-en
- 3 ʾama^{?1} ʾgalʾ ^dsud₃^{ki} A ser₃ ku₃-zu ga-an-ʾiʾ-ʾiʾ

..., named with a good name,
 you are the [...] of Enlil, his beloved.²¹²

²¹² Or: “you are the beloved of [...] Enlil.”

Great mother[?] Sud, I want to bring forth your pure songs!

The hymn continues with expressions of praise for Sud, interrupted around the halfway point and near the end of the hymn with brief passages of prayer or thanksgiving that resemble the *preces* known from other hymnic types. The first of these was originally set off formally from the text that followed (see below). It occurs at the end of the first half of the hymn, where the singer recounts the investiture and coronation of the king Bur-Suen by Sud (13–23). It begins with five lines in the present tense, introducing some of Sud’s subordinates, who carry out her instructions and help to prepare her rites.

Ex. 3.27 Širgida to Sud 13–16

13 ^dsud₃ A nam-maḥ-zu ^da-nun-na-ke-ne
14 a₂ aḡ₂-ḡa₂ zi-de₃ ši-im-ma-ra-an-su₈-ge-eš
15 i₃-du₈ gal-zu ḡeš tuku ^dasar-lu₂-ḫi
16 šu-luḫ me ku₃-ga si ḫu-mu-ra-ab-sa₂
17 ^rsugal⁷-zu ^dnin-ḡidru-ke₄ {lu₂} a-ra-zu enim¹-ma-še₃ ša-ra-ab-DU

Oh Sud, *for* your greatness, the Anuna
stand by ready (to perform) your just commands!
Let your head gatekeeper, the attentive one, Asarluḫi,
prepare for you the lustration rites and the pure rituals (**me**)!
Your vizier, Ninḡidru, *stands by for you* ... supplication *and* ...

The remainder of the passage deals with the investiture of the king.

Ex. 3.28 Širgida to Sud 17–23

18 ^dr¹bur¹-^dsuen-e aga zi dalla mu-ni-in-e₃
19 ^rmen¹ zalag-ga-zu saḡ-ḡa₂-na u₃-mu-e-ḡal₂
20 ^rx¹ [x (x)]^rḡidru¹ ^ruḡ₃¹ si sa₂-sa₂-e ^rsaḡ[?]¹-^re[?]¹-eš ^rmu¹-^rni¹-^rin¹-^rrig⁷¹
21 ^rd¹^rbur¹-^dsuen¹ sipa nun-be₂ na-nam
22 ^rsibir²¹ uḡ₃ lu-a e-ne-ra u₃-mu-na-e-šum₂
23 kur-kur ki-ḡar-zu kilib₃-be₂ ḫa-ra-ab-laḫ₅-e

He (Ninḡidru) made the true crown shine brightly *for* Bur-Suen
After you placed your bright *men*-crown on his head
He bestowed on him [...] the scepter that keeps the people in order

Bur-Suen is indeed their princely shepherd (or: their shepherd and prince)!
Since you have given him the staff of the numerous people
he leads (or: may he lead) the lands, your entire territory for you!

Here, as in Nuska A, the relationships between the clauses are complex, marked with a combination of the epistemic modal prefixes {**he**₂} (16, 23(?)) and {**ša**} (14, 17), the subordinate temporal prefix {**u**₃} (19, 22), the non-negative modal prefix {**na**} (21), as well as non-subordinate indicative forms (18, 20). The passage is immediately followed by the scribal notation **nu-KU**₅, discussed below.

The second passage that contains prayer-like language occurs at the end of the text, just prior to the closing doxology. In a two-line supplication, the singer alludes to a petitioner standing before Sud and asks her to accept his gifts.

Ex. 3.29 Širgida to Sud 44–45

44 lu₂ a-ra-zu siškur₂ ma-ra-^r{x}¹-da-ab-be₂-{en²}
45 kadra₂^a-ne₂ šu ti-ba-ab lu₂(-)²KAS²(-)zu he₂-a

A man makes prayers and offerings to you.
Receive his gifts; let *him* be *your* ...

As with most of the preserved *širgidas*, the *širgida* to Sud does not include an *elatio* in the sense of a past-tense narrative, but the singer does emphasize the goddess's previous elevation by alluding the various names she has received (28–35). For similar examples of a singer or ritual officiant enumerating the names a goddess has received, likely as “a means to define the nature and to praise the attributes” of the praised goddess, see Metcalf 2015b, 172–175.

The hymn to Sud ends in a **za₃-mim**-doxology preceded by epithets, although the form of the doxology is different from those encountered thus far. After a series of copular clauses and epithets addressing Sud, the singer exclaims simply “Praise be to Sud!”

Ex. 3.30 Širgida to Sud 46–50

46 saĝ gegge-še₃ ama ʾarḫuš¹-a-me-ʾen¹
47 ʾkur¹-ʾkur¹-ʾre¹ saĝ en₃-tar-be₂-me-ʾen¹
48 ḫe₂-ʾdu¹ e₂-maḥ-a nin e₂-ki-si₃-ga
49 ʾmunus¹ ʾsa₆¹-ga e₂-dim-gal-an-na
[(...)] nu-TAR {sa-gid₂-da AN}
50 ʾd¹ʾsud₃¹ A za₃-mim

For the black-headed people, you are the compassionate mother
For all the lands, you are their caregiver
Fitting ornament of the Emaḥ, lady of the Ekisiga
Beautiful woman of the Edimgalana
Praise (be to) Sud!

Uniquely among the preserved *širgidas*, the writer of the tablet on which the hymn is inscribed marked a clear division between the first and the second halves of the hymn, similarly to hymnic types divided by rubrics, such as *adabs* and *tigis*. After the *preces* ending in line 23, the signs **nu-KU₅** are inscribed at the center of an otherwise blank line. The same signs appear again at the end of the tablet, between lines 49 and 50. Although the precise significance of this inscription remains obscure (see the comment in Appendix II for discussion), it is clear that the transcriber, at least at one point in his writing process, understood a conceptual or perhaps performative break between the two parts of the hymn.

Of all the known *širgida* texts, this one thus follows most closely the patterns of other hymnic types praising a deity and dealing with the king, especially *adabs* and *tigis*: it includes *preces* for the king at the halfway point and the end of the text, it mentions a historical ruler by name, and the writer of the one preserved source evidently understood the hymn as comprising two distinct parts, similar to those demarcated with rubrics in other hymnic types. The hymn’s basic structure, though, beginning with an invocation of the deity, including an “ich-will-preisen” formula,

followed by praise for the deity that starts out broad and then narrows to her support for the king, and closing with a **za₃-mim**-doxology, is recognizable in nearly all of the known *širgida* hymns.

3.2.7 Ninisina A

After a brief invocation of Ninisina through epithets and her name (reconstructed), the singer continues with praise for the goddess, expressed in the third person and in full sentences, focusing on her skill as a physician (**a-zu**) (4–29) and her role as an *isib*-priest and healer who hears the prayers of the human sufferer (29–54), including a brief *elatio* stating that she received this office from Enki (30–31). The first half of the hymn concludes with a passage directly addressing Ninisina in the second person, expressing a sufferer’s praise for her healing.

The thematic content changes significantly in the second half of the hymn, in which the singer resumes the third-person perspective. This part begins with a past-tense interlude recounting the invention of nursing and Ninisina’s role in it (61–82). This is followed by sequence of self-praise put in the mouth of Ninisina herself, in which she speaks/sings of her provision of abundance and prosperity (82–104) and of her military exploits on behalf of Enlil (105–120).

The hymn ends with a series of epithets and exclamations echoing themes encountered throughout the *širgida*, including Ninisina’s control of the *me*’s, her role as *isib*-priest, her relationship with An and Uraš, and her provision of abundance (121–126); her fearsomeness and destructive power (127–133); and her character as a caring deity who hears the prayers of the human sufferer (134–135). These conclude with a simple **za₃-mim** exclamation, as in the *širgida* to Sud: “Praise (be to) pure Ninisina!” (135).

The text of Ninisina A shares many structural and stylistic features with the *širgida* hymns already discussed, beyond the characteristic presence of a **za₃-mim** doxology. It makes

sophisticated use of repetition in various forms, including Wilcke’s ornamental repetition type R-1, “epic” repetition of an entire block of text, and repetition of the expression **nin-ĝu₁₀** “my lady” throughout the composition. The syntax is again complex, the singer praising the goddess in full sentences with relatively complicated structures—making use, for example, of epistemic modal prefixes (**he₂**, **ši**), subordinate temporal clauses (introduced by **u₄-ba**, **u₃**), and purpose clauses.

3.2.8 Martu A

Martu A opens with two sets of repeated lines, invoking Martu by epithets and then by name. It continues in the first half of the hymn with a sequence of largely hyperbolic praise, in the third person, focusing on Martu’s military strength and including a type of *elatio* in 5–12 and in 31–32.

The second half of the hymn, prior to the closing doxology, is devoted entirely to celebrating Martu’s relationship with the human king (35–56). Its contents thus align generally with the content of the *preces* in certain other hymnic types, especially *adabs* and *tigis*, although they are not restricted to a short, clearly defined passage. The hymn closes with a short doxology for Martu. Here the *nar*-musician references himself in the third person, in a statement similar to the “ich-will-preisen” formula but proclaiming that praise has been spoken, rather than announcing his intention to praise the deity.

Ex. 3.31 Martu A 57–59

57 mim zi du₁₁-ga diĝir lu₂ ĥur-saĝ a-re-eš dib¹-ba-am₃
 58 ʾnar¹-re ser₃ ku₃-ga im-mi-in-du₁₁ mu-ne₂ pa bi₂-in-e₃
 59 ^dĝar₇-du₂ dumu an-na za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃

True praise spoken (of) the god, the man of the mountain land (ĥur-saĝ), who is surpassing in praise,
the nar-musician has uttered in pure song! He has made manifest his name!
Martu, son of An, your praise is sweet!

Like most of the preserved *širgida* hymns, Martu A makes considerable use of ornamental repetition, and the singer ties the piece together by echoing certain themes—especially military strength and unrivaledness—at different points throughout.

3.2.9 Ninurta J

Only the very end of Ninurta J is preserved, the few partially legible lines representing the closing doxology. Although the **za₃-mim** formula in the final line is only partially preserved, it most likely follows the pattern encountered in Nuska B, in which another deity is praised for the praise spoken of the addressee. A possible reconstruction is as follows (see further Appendix II.4.4).

Ex. 3.32 Ninurta J Seg. A 4

A4 za₃-mim du₁₁-ga ʾna^{?1}-[de^{s?} dⁿⁱⁿ-urta DN za₃-mim(?)]

For the praise spoken of the adv[isor,[?] Ninurta, praise be to ...! (?)]

3.2.10 Lulal A

The *širgida* to Lulal opens with a two-line invocation of Lulal, praising him in hyperbolic terms, representing a type of ornamental repetition. The hymn continues with a series of epithets celebrating Lulal's violent strength, listing his weapons, both abstract and concrete (Seg. A 3–4), and comparing him to various wild or mythological animals (Seg. A 5–13). The remainder of the hymn is almost entirely missing, aside from a few signs preserved in col. iii and at the very end of the text.

A single line of the closing doxology is partially preserved, beginning with the divine name **d^{lu}₂-la₃**. The remainder of the line is fragmentary. One would expect Lulal's name to be followed by an epithet or epithets and the line to end with **za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃** “your praise is sweet!”

However, if the proposed reading of the traces after the Lulal's name as 'lugal' a₂' šum₂' is correct, the beginning of the lacuna should probably be reconstructed [-ma DN-{ak}], for “king giv[en] strength [by DN],” which would leave little space for the **za₃-mim** doxology.

Ex. 3.33 Lulal A Seg. C 2

C2 [d]¹lu₂¹-la₃ 'lugal'¹ 'a₂'¹ 'šum₂'¹-[ma' x x x (x x x)]

3.2.11 *Utu ursag*

The *širgida* to Utu begins, unusually, with Utu's name as the first word, and his name is invoked repeatedly in the first sixteen lines of the hymn. These lines address Utu at least primarily in the second person, including with a possible variation on the “ich-will-preisen” formula (Seg. A 13). After a break in the preserved text (along with a short formulaic passage that may or may not belong to the *širgida* composition, preserved only in ms Esi), the text resumes in an address to Utu with the characteristics of a personal lament. A sufferer bemoans the inevitability of death for humankind (Seg. C 1–9), asks to Utu to reveal the error that caused his or her personal deity to turn away (Seg. C 10–14), and laments his or her own suffering (Seg. C 15–20(?)).

The hymn closes with a plea for reconciliation and forgiveness (Seg. C 21–26), followed by an expanded “ich-will-preisen” formula in which the singer announces his desire to praise Utu:

Ex. 3.34 Utu ursag Seg. C 27–28

C27 ^dutu ki al-du diġir dur₂-ru-ne₂-eš₂ ^{geš-tu₉} ġeštu ser₃^{!?} ga-mu-ra-¹x¹ [(x)] tab-us₂ an-ke₄ ħe₂-me-¹en¹

C28 sul ^dutu en dumu ^dnin-gal-ke₄ mim du₁₁-ga ka-tar-zu ga-sil

Utu, at the place where the gods dwell, ... let me [praise?] you in song! You are second (only) to An!

Young man Utu, lord, son favored by Ningal, let me praise you!

Here, rather than the usual **za₃-mim** formula, the singer incorporates the expression **mim du₁₁-ga**.

Throughout the hymn, especially in the personal lament, ornamental or refrain-like repetition is common.

3.2.12 *Širgida* to Nergal

Most of the obverse of the tablet bearing a *širgida* to Nergal is missing or damaged, with only a few words legible here and there. After a pair of opening lines, the second of which is likely repeated in lines 3–4, the singer evidently praises Nergal in his manifestation as Meslamtaea (Seg. A 11) and presumably Lugalirra (cf. the doxology).

The reverse of the tablet preserves only the final few lines of the hymn, with the very end of the tablet left blank. These lines comprise epithets and a **za₃-mim** doxology to Nergal as Meslamtaea and Lugalirra.

Ex. 3.35 Širgida to Nergal Seg. B 3–5

B3 ʾ^{d1}lugal-ʾ¹irra^{1ra} ḡeš[?]rab^{3?} ʾ¹kalam^{1?}ma ʾ¹šu¹ du⁷

B4 [x] ʾ¹x¹ ʾ¹Kiš^{ki}-a dumu^den-lil₂-la₂

B5 ^dmes-lam-ta-e₃-ʾ¹a¹ en ^dlugal-irra^{1ra} / za₃-mim-be₂ maḥ-am₃

Lugalirra, neckstock[?] of the land[?], perfect,²¹³

[...] of *Kiš*, son of Enlil

Meslamtaea and lord Lugalirra—their praise is great!

3.2.13 Summary

As is evident in this summary, the preserved *širgida* texts encompass a wide variety of literary structures and poetic styles, reinforcing the idea that this category of hymn was defined by some extra-textual feature of performance. Still, although there are few features attested consistently

²¹³ Or “who perfects”

across the entire corpus, certain patterns or recurring elements do emerge: most of the *širgidas* include a **za₃-mim** doxology of one sort or another; in many the singer makes reference to his own praise of the deity; and the hymns tend to each hold together as a coherent piece, even if the stylistic devices that allow them to do so—such as use of repetition, echoing of themes, overall structure of the text, etc.—differ. Additionally, nearly all of the preserved *širgida* texts treat kingship as a central theme (see further Ch. 4), and many include language that serves to reiterate the elevation and the favored status of the praised deity.

3.3 Rhetorical and Affective Language

3.3.0 Introduction

The remainder of this chapter considers the language employed in the preserved *širgida* texts in terms of its potential impact on the experience of a hymn's listeners and performers. In recent years, scholars have started to move away from the traditional Assyriological framework of analyzing Sumerian liturgical works as written literary pieces and have begun to lay the groundwork for interpreting these works in light of their performative, non-textual aspects. Despite the fact that, in most cases, the written text of a hymn or lament is all that remains to us, it is possible to ask questions of these textual remains which, in combination with what we do know about Old Babylonian ritual practice and about ritual performance cross-culturally, can shed light on certain non-textual aspects, such as the overall tone a piece might have set in a communal gathering or the potential emotional impact its singing might have had on an audience.

In a forthcoming book on ritual lamenting, Paul Delnero shows how the cultural significance of Sumerian lamentational texts, i.e. the written records of laments, can only be appreciated in conversation with the laments' experiential context and the emotional involvement of the listeners.

This is not to say that the semantic content of the hymns is not important, but rather that it is designed to work in conjunction with non-semantic elements of performance.

While the emotional experience of Sumerian laments is inseparable from, and would have been facilitated and intensified by, the ritual contexts and manner in which they were performed, the affective responses the laments might have been intended to generate are also evident in their formal structure, their recurrent themes, and in the emotional valence of the words and expressions that occur repeatedly in these compositions (Delnero, forthcoming c)

Delnero demonstrates that, when viewed as belonging to a performative ritual piece rather than a static literary work, the structure, themes, and language of Sumerian laments can be recognized as an essential part of “how Sumerian laments were used to generate, sustain, and heighten the emotions associated with lamenting” (Delnero, forthcoming c).

Although Sumerian hymns served very different functions from laments, many of Delnero’s observations concerning the laments also apply in the case of hymnic liturgies. Although most preserved hymns possess more of the aesthetic qualities valued in literary works than do laments—lacking, for example, the long, monotonous litanies and god lists and the endless repetition of monothematic tropes—they were, like laments, not intended to be read as works of literature but to be experienced as performed pieces, and their functions are inseparable from this context.

Before considering the ways in which various verbal or semantic elements of the *širgida* hymns may have contributed to the overall ritual aims of their performance, it is necessary to address the question of what these aims included.

As is the case in the Greek hymns studied by Furley (see below), a basic function served by Sumerian hymns was to not only express the singer’s joy and gratitude towards the deity but also to allow the listeners to feel part of that joy in listening to the performance. When performed well, the sounds of a hymn were supposed to be pleasing, bringing enjoyment and delight to the

audience. This is evident in Mesopotamia specifically in numerous references to hymns and musicians throughout Sumerian literature; for example, in Sumerian proverbs that locate a *nar*-musician's value in his or her ability to make songs "good" (**sa**₆) or "sweet" (**du**₁₀) (see Jaques 2006, 14), or in the vivid description of a *nar*-musician's "joy-bringing songs" (**ser**₃ **ša**₃ **hul**₂-**la**-**k**²¹⁴) in Iddin-Dagan A 204–207.

This pleasing quality of Sumerian hymns was aimed, first and foremost, at least from the point of view of the worshippers, at the deity; its primary goal was to positively affect the experience of the deity, providing him or her with pleasure. In conjunction with the delightful sounds of the performance, some words of the hymns also appear designed to delight and especially to flatter the deity, aiming to stir in them emotions of geniality and good will. Ultimately, as in Greek hymns, the conscious aim of a hymn was to encourage or to convince the deity to grant some request, either implied or explicitly stated in the form of a prayer. Metcalf recognized this essential aim in his identification of prayer as the most important element of Sumerian hymns (see above, section 3.1.3). Furley, in his study of Greek hymns, goes so far as define a "hymn" as a particular type of prayer, namely one that is sung and is designed to delight the listener through its sounds (Furley 2007, 118–119).

In the case of Greek liturgical hymns, Furley treats every component of a hymn—including the sounds, sights, and smells accompanying the performance—as part of a combined effort to bring the deity pleasure and to entice and/or convince him or her to hear the prayers of the worshippers. The language of the hymn—the "words which the prayer or singer deploys in his attempt to make his case irresistible"—belong to the hymn's rhetoric, which works in conjunction

²¹⁴ Lit. "songs of the joyful heart." On the construction NP **ša**₃ **hul**₂-**la**-**k** meaning "joy-bringing NP," see the treatment of **ša**₃ **hul**₂-**la** in Attinger 2019k (s.v. **hul**₂(-la)): "N du coeur joyeux" = "N qui réjouit le coeur, plonge le coeur dans la joie, l'allégresse, la liesse," with references.

with its contextual frame (Furley 2007, 119). Here I follow Furley's definition of rhetorical strategies as "'strategies of persuasiveness' used largely unconsciously by the speaker/singer" (Furley 2007, 122).

In addition to the singer's communication with the deity, the communication that took place between the singer and the human audience—what Furley refers to as the hymn's "external communication," as opposed to the "internal communication" between singer and deity—is equally important, especially when it comes to understanding the hymns' socio-political or ideological import. As observed by Rendu Loisel in the case of Sumerian *tigi*-hymns recited in joyful ritual contexts, "their description of positive emotions does not only concern the god for whom the *tigi* is dedicated, but also it is addressed to the community present during the recitation of these compositions" (Rendu Loisel, forthcoming). Just as the composite components of a Sumerian lament were designed to heighten the negative emotions associated with lamenting in an observing or participating group, the components of hymns aimed to heighten the positive emotions associated with praising, such as joy, awe, and gratitude.

The performance of Sumerian hymns thus had at least two fundamental goals, which both the semantic and non-semantic components aimed to serve: (1) to invite the deity to experience pleasure and good will and to convince them to deal favorably with the supplicants, and (2) to viscerally convey to the human audience the inexpressible awe, gratitude, confidence, and joy warranted by the deity's presence.

Three of the particular poetic strategies potentially serving these goals are discussed below: the use of hyperbole, the use of self-reference and the so-called "ich-will-preisen" formula, and the use of emotive or affective language.

In the *širgida* corpus, the ultimate beneficiary of these strategies is generally the Mesopotamian king. He is understood to be the direct recipient of the deity's blessing, and, according to the ideological framework underlying the hymns, it is through the blessing of him that the entire land is blessed, enjoying military success, peace and security, justice, and material prosperity.

3.3.1 Hyperbole

One strategy evident in the *širgida* texts is the use of hyperbole, or language that, in the words of Metcalf, “can seem to exaggerate the importance of a particular deity at the expense of the others” (see above, section 3.1.2). Throughout the *širgidas*, the singer frequently glorifies the deity in hyperbolic terms, especially characterizing the deity as foremost or without rival among the gods; describing how the other deities fear and worship them; extolling their control over the *me*'s and their power throughout heaven and earth; and proclaiming the incomparable authority of their word and decisions.

The trope of the deity having no rival is especially common for young warrior gods, including Martu, Ninurta, and Lulal. In Martu A, in particular, the singer repeatedly proclaims Martu's supremacy throughout the first half of the hymn, as seen in the examples below.

Ex. 3.36 Martu A 5–12

- 5 ni₂ gal guru₃^{ru} an ku₃-ge du₂-da me šar₂-ra dalla e₃
- 6 ama ^uugu₆ ^dnin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ke₄
- 7 alan-na-ne₂ me-dim₂-ta^{1?215} im-mi-in-điri na-me saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂
- 8 ^da-nun-na diĝir gal-gal-e-ne <na-me saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂(?)>
- 9 nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ a₂ mu-ni-in-maḥ-e-eš gu₃ zi ^rmu¹-[na]-^rde²¹-eš
- 10 nam-nir-ĝal₂ me₃-a gaba-ne₂-še₃ DU da-da-ra-še₃ mi-ni-[in-du₁₁-ge-eš(?)]
- 11 ^{ĝeš}tukul ^{ĝeš}mitum pana¹(NU) gal ti mar-ru₁₀ šu ^rmaḥ¹-a-ne₂ [...]
- 12 nam-diĝir-ra šu gal mi-ni-in-du₇-uš za₃ ša₄ nu-mu- [...tuku...]

²¹⁵ Written **ša**.

Laden with great fearsomeness, born of pure An, he who made the myriad *me*'s appear brilliantly!

His mother who engendered him, Ninḥursaġa,

made his figure surpassing *of limb*. No one can oppose him!

Of the Anuna, the great gods, <no one can oppose him(?)>!

They (the Anuna) have made his strength great *in valor*. They have spoken justly [to him?].

[They have] girded him with authority that goes before him in battle,

[They have set(?)] a weapon, a *mitum*-mace, a great bow, arrows, and a quiver his grand hands.

They have fully perfected *him in divinity*. [He has]²¹⁶ no rival!

Ex. 3.37 *Martu A 24–32*

24 mu-be₂ mu maḥ-am₃ ka-ge dib¹-ba lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-[x (x)]

25 diġir šu sikil šu-luḥ! me dadag-ga me-ne₂ <lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-x (x)>

26 niġ₂-erim₂ niġ₂-a₂-zi im-mi-in-gul niġ₂-ge-na bi₂-in-gub

27 diġir ḥuṣ¹-ḥa¹ ḏi¹ si-sa₂ ku₅-ku₅ eš-bar-re gal-zu

28 [ša₃] kuš₂-u₃ aia enim-ma-ne₂ sig₁₀-ga-ne₂

29 aia u₆-ne₂ en diġir-re-e-ne ḥun¹ ḥam¹ tar-re-de₃

30 an su₃-ud ḥi¹ daġal-ba im-mi-in-si gaba gi₄ nu-um-mi-in-tuku

31 ḥur-saġ sikil kur ^{na₄}za-gin₃-na saġ-e-eš mu-ni-in-[rig₇]

32 kur ġar₇-du₂ <kur ^{na₄}za-gin₃-na saġ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇>

That name, being an exalted name, transcending speech, no one can [...].

God with clean hands, who purified the lustration rites and the *me*'s—his *me*'s <no one can ...

>

He has destroyed evil and violence and has established stability.

The furious god, who gives just verdicts, expert in decisions,

[*deli*]berator of (*his*) father, after he laid down his word,

his father who engendered him, the lord of the gods, the prince who establishes fate,

made him fill the distant heavens and the wide earth. He has no challenger!

The pristine mountain (**ḥur-saġ**), the mountains (**kur**) of lapis lazuli, he bestowed on him!

The Martu land (**kur**), < the mountain (**kur**) of lapis lazuli, he bestowed on him!>

Similarly, the singer praises the god Lulal as being supreme over all other warriors in the opening lines of *Lulal A*.

Ex. 3.38 *Lulal A Seg. A 1–5*

A1 ur-saġ nam-sul-la za₃ dib-ba kala-ga saġ ge₄-ḥa¹

A2 ḏlu₂-lal₃ ur-saġ-e-ne-er dib-ḥa¹ ḥala¹-ga saġ ge₄-[a]

A3 ša₃-ta nam-ur-saġ ni₂ me-lim₄ da-ḥa¹-ra-še₃ du₁₁-g[a[?]]

²¹⁶ Or: “they have let him have.”

A4 ^{a2}an-kara₂ mi-tum a₂ me₃ za₃ zu₂-keše₂ a[k?]
 A5 amar ab₂ ku₃-ga i₃(-)gara^{1?} mu₇-m[u₇] amaš-a gu₂ peš-¹a¹

Valiant warrior, supreme in youth, mighty one, unassailable!
 Lulal, supreme over (all) valiant warriors, mighty one, unassailable!
 From the womb girt with heroism, fear, and awesome radiance,
Who has equipped himself with the ankara-weapon, the mitum-weapon, the “arm of battle,”
 (1–5)

Ninurta, as well, is extolled as “Lord who destroys the mountain-land, who has no rival (**en kur gul-gul gaba-ri nu-tuku-a**) in the closing doxology of *Angim* (202/204).

A closely related hyperbolic trope attested in several of the preserved *širgida* texts is the singer’s use of superlatives to characterize the deity as supreme among the gods and his depiction of the other deities showing fear or deference to the addressed deity. This is particularly evident in the text of *Angim*, where a central theme drawn out by the singer is Ninurta’s elevation within the Ekur. Ninurta is addressed in the opening lines as “most powerful of the Anuna” (**a₂-ġal₂ diġir ^aa-nun-ke₄-ne ħur-saġ-ta e₃-a**) (3), and his terrifying power and his supremacy vis-à-vis the other deities is alluded to throughout. The two passages cited below, taken from Ninurta’s speech of self-praise, exemplify this theme.

Ex. 3.39 *Angim* 117–124

117 ¹a-ma-ru-gen₇ zi-¹x x x x x-šum₂[?]¹-mu[?]
 118 kur ge-sig-gen₇ ¹iš[?]¹ gid₂[?]-¹x¹ [x x x x]
 119 me₃-ġu₁₀ a ¹maḥ¹ e₃-a-¹gen₇¹ kur-¹re¹ ba-¹ra-ab¹-[e₃]
 120 kuš piriġ sa piriġ-ġa₂ ki-bala zi-zi-i[?]
 121 diġir am₃-mi-tar ħur-saġ-ġa₂
 122 buru^{mušen}-gen₇ a₂-bulug-ba mu-¹un¹-da-¹tub₂[?]¹-[...]
 123 am bad-ra₂ u₂-a mu-un-su₈-ge-eš
 124 me-lim an-gen₇ dugud-a saġ nu-mu-un-ġa₂-ġa₂

When I have risen like a flood, [who can] confront[?] (me)?
 When I have ... the enemy land like a reed enclosure, [who can ...]
 My battle goes out to the enemy lands like an onrushing flood
 body and the muscles of a lion, rising *in* the enemy land,
 I have made the gods *scatter* in the mountain-land

Like sparrows in their nooks ...
distant aurochs, they stand in the grass.
 No one can op[pose] (my) terrible brightness, as heavy as heaven

Ex. 3.40 Angim 168–174/170–176

168 iri ki-aĝ₂-ĝu₁₀ eš₃ nibru^{ki} an-gen₇ ʾgu₂ ħe₂-eb₂-us₂¹
 169 iri-ĝu₁₀ iri ses-ĝu₁₀-ne-ka gu₂-gal-be₂ ħe₂-a
 170 e₂-ĝu₁₀ e₂ ses-ĝu₁₀-ne-ka a-mir zi-be₂ ħe₂-a
 171 ki-sur-ra ki iri-ĝa₂ pu₂ a du₁₀-ga ki-en-gi-ra ħe₂-a
 172 ^da-nun-na diĝir ses-ĝu₁₀-ne ħe₂-em-ši-gurum-e-de₃-eš
 173 mušen dal-la-be₂ iri-ĝa₂ gud₃ ħe₂-em-ma-an-us₂
 174 lu₂ kar-ra-be₂ ĝessu-ĝu₁₀-še₃ ni₂ ħe₂-em-ši-ib-te-en-te.en

My beloved city, the shrine Nippur, raised its neck (as high) as heaven.
 Let my city be foremost of the cities of my brothers!
 Let my temple be the *rising* flood-wave of the temples of my brothers!
 Let the borders of my city's *territory* be the sweet-water wells of Sumer!
 Let the *Anuna*, the gods, my brothers, bow down before it!
 Let their (the *Anuna*'s) birds that have taken flight make their nests in my city!
 Let their fugitives refresh themselves *under* my shade!

In Ninurta B, the singer likewise alludes to the exaltation and obeisance given Ninurta by the other deities, referencing the absolute authority of his word.

Ex. 3.41 Ninurta B Seg. C 7–15

C7 ^dnin-urta abzu ʾeridu^{1ki}-ga an-da nam tar-ra
 C8 enim du₁₁-ga-ʾzu¹ niĝ₂-me-ĝar-am₃
 C9 nam-ʾtar-ra¹-zu niĝ nu-kur₂-ru-dam
 C10 enim-zu-a nam-tar-ra-zu-še₃
 C 11 diĝir ur-saĝ abzu-ke₄-ne giri₁₇ šu ʾma[?]-ra[?]-ĝal₂[?]-x-eš¹
 C 12 ʾlugal¹ abzu-ta saĝ ħe₂-ʾil₂¹ x-zu [x]
 C 13 ^dnin-urta eridu^{ki}-ta saĝ ʾħe₂-il₂¹ x-ʾzu¹ [x]
 C 14 nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ ʾmi¹-ni-in-i-ʾi-ne[?]¹
 C 15 diĝir ^dʾa-nun¹-[ke₄-ne] ʾgu₃[?]¹ mu-un-de₂[?]-ʾx¹

Ninurta, who, in the Abzu, in Eridu, *has decided* fate with An,
 The word you have spoken brings (lit. is) silence
 The fate you have decided is unchangeable!
 Eloquent one, *because of* the fate you have decided,
 the gods, heroes of the Abzu, pay homage to you!
 King, you raised your head from the Abzu, ...
 Ninurta, you raised your head from Eridu, ...
 They *praise you* in valor!

The power of the deity's word and his or her authority in decreeing the fates appear as tropes throughout the preserved *širgida* corpus. In the *širgida* to Sud, for example, the singer elaborates on these characteristics of Sud's in a sequence of praise near the beginning of the hymn, and returns to them near the end of the hymn in the epithet **enim** 'uru₁₆' **an-ki-a me maḥ-ta saĝ il₂** "(Having) a mighty word in heaven and earth" (40).

Ex. 3.42 Širgida to Sud 4–12

- 4 nin-ĝu₁₀ du₁₁-ga-zu diĝir maḥ-gen₇ rib-ba
 5 igi il₂-la en ^dnu-nam-nir-re
 6 ʾgal¹-zu e₂-kur-ra nin gal ki-ur₃-ra
 7 nin nam zi tar-tar-re ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne
 8 munus zi me gal-gal-la an-ki-da nu-sa₂
 9 igi bar-ra-zu lu₂ mu-un-til₃-le
 10 ^dsud₃ A ka ʾba-a-zu¹ lu₂ mu-un-sa₆-ge
 11 ^eenim-zu niĝ₂ nu-kur₂-ru-dam
 12 ka-ta e₃-a-zu saĝ-be₂-še₃ e₃-a

My lady, whose word is as surpassing as (that of) the greatest god,
 Chosen by lord Nunamnir,
 Wisest of the Ekur, great lady of the Kiura,
 Lady who decides just fates for the Anuna,
 True lady of the great *me*'s, *who cannot be equalled in heaven and earth*,
 Your gaze lets men live!
 Sud, your utterance makes men well!
 Your word is a thing that cannot be altered!
 That which comes out of your mouth is foremost!

Further examples of this type of hyperbole are found in the *širgidas* to Nuska, whose instructions have authority throughout the universe and whose decisions cannot be altered.

Ex. 3.43 Nuska A Seg. A 7–8

- A7 an ki niĝ₂-daĝal-ba umum AK ʾna¹-ʾde₅¹ ʾe₂¹-ʾkur¹-ʾra¹
 A8 ^dnuška kur gal ^den-lil₂-ʾle¹ / me-ne₂-še₃ mu-un-pa₃-ʾde₃¹-ʾen¹

who gives instruction throughout²¹⁷ the vastness of heaven and earth, the advisor of the Ekur, Nuska, great mountain Enlil chose you for his *me*'s.

Ex. 3.44 Nuska A Seg. B 25–27

B25 ^dnuška¹ an-ne₂ mim du₁₁-ga nam ši-me-da-ab-tar-re

B26 ^rnam¹ tar-ra-zu niĝ₂ nu-kur₂-ru-^rdam¹

B27 ^ren¹ du₁₁-ga-zu kur gal ^den-lil₂-gen₇ niĝ₂ saĝ-^rba¹ du-am₃

Oh Nuska, one treated favorably by An, she (Sadarnuna?) decides fates with you.

The fate that you have decided cannot be changed!

Oh lord, that which you have spoken, like (the utterance of) great mountain Enlil, is foremost!

Closely connected to expressions of hyperbolic praise is the singer's use of mythology, especially allusion to or narration of the praised deity's previous elevation in the pantheon or investiture with certain powers, appearing in the form of an epithet, *elatio*, or an extended narrative. Discussing the role of mythology in Greek cultic hymns, William Furley has demonstrated how the singer uses mythological narrative to please the invoked deity, to remind them of their past elevation and benevolence, and to encourage them to act in accordance with the power and benevolence established permanently in a mythological time. Invocation of mythology would seem to function similarly in Sumerian hymns. While Furley's studies focus on the communicative relationship between the singer and the deity, we can also imagine the effect these references to mythology might aim to evoke in a human audience. The singer, activating cultural knowledge of mythological traditions through allusion or narration, could model his unwavering confidence in the deity's powers and remind the listeners of the deity's functioning on a timeless, superhuman plane—thus heightening the significance of the deity's presence in the temple and his or her direct contact with the ritual participants.

²¹⁷ Lit. "in."

Once the singer of a *širgida* has established the deity as foremost and all-powerful among the gods, through hyperbolic praise and mythological allusions, he frequently devotes a line or a longer passage to the fact that this deity chose and supports the human king, for the sake of humankind. It is through the king that this almighty deity provides security and abundance, and it is through the king's maintenance of the cult, including ritual celebrations like the one at which the hymn was presumably being sung, that a good relationship between humans and the god could be sustained.

3.3.2 “Ich-will-preisen” formula and insertion of speaker

Several of the *širgida* invocations include a type of expression in which the singer announces his intention to praise to the deity, referred to above as an “ich-will-preisen” formula. The singer may also use similar expressions at the end of a *širgida*, either exclaiming “I want to praise you” or proclaiming that he, the *nar*-musician, has praised the deity. A potential function of such expressions is to establish and to publicly perform the singer's relationship with the deity; the content of the hymn to follow or preceding the “ich-will-preisen” expression is not merely abstract praise sung into the ether, but represents direct communication between the singer and the deity. By drawing attention to his own participation in this relationship, the singer heightens the sense of connection with the deity and reminds the audience of the deity's actual presence in the ritual space, while also modelling for the audience the correct response to that deity's presence: namely humble awe and adoration.

The most frequent place for a singer to refer to his own or to the people's praise of the deity is in the *invocatio* at the beginning of the hymn, especially as the conclusion to this section, as seen in the following examples.

Ex. 3.45 Nuska B Seg. A 1–6

A1 [lugal²] du₂-[da-zu e¹-kur-ta ʔ^den-lil₂-le² x¹-[(x)] ʔ¹x¹(-)-in¹-[du₁₁-ga²]
 A2 [ʔ^d]nuška du₂(tu)-da-zu <ditto>
 A3 ʔ^{en} ʔ^{nu}-dim₂-mud-e ʔ^{abzu}¹-ta ʔ^{lugal}¹ ʔ^{nam}¹-[ʔ^{he}² ʔ¹mim¹ mu-ri₂-in-du₁₁]
A4 sugal₇(sukkal) zi me<<áš>>-teš₂-e ga-i
A5 ʔ^{nuška} sugal₇ maḥ ʔ^den-lil₂-la₂ za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃ ku₇- ku₇-da
A6 lugal-ḡu₁₀ ser₃-re-eš₂ ga-am₃-[du₁₁]¹

[Oh king²,] Enlil decreed your birth from the Ekur!
 Oh Nuska, <Enlil decreed> your birth <from the Ekur>!
 Lord Nudimmud, *in* the Abzu, *favored you as the king of abundance!*
Let me extol the true vizier!
Nuska, exalted vizier of Enlil, your praise (i.e. to praise you) is good, it is most sweet!
Let me praise my king in song!

Ex. 3.46 Širgida to Sud 1–3

1 ʔ^x x¹ ʔ^x¹ mu du₁₀ še₂₁-a
 2 [x x] ʔ^den-lil₂-la₂ ki aḡ₂-ḡa₂-ne₂ ze₄(za)-e-me-en
 3 ʔ^{ama}² gal¹ ʔ^{sud}₃^{ki} A ser₃ ku₃-zu ga-an-[i-i]¹

[Oh ...], named with a good name,
 You are the [...] of Enlil, his beloved,
Great mother² Sud, I want to sing (lit. "bring forth") your pure songs!

Ex. 3.47 Angim 1–6

1 an-<gen₇> dim₂-ma dumu ʔ^den-lil₂-la₂
 2 ʔⁿⁱⁿ-urta ʔ^den-lil₂-gen₇ ʔ^{dim}₂¹-ma ʔⁿⁱⁿ-tur₅-e du₂-da
 3 a₂-ḡal₂ diḡir ʔ^a-nun-ke₄-ne ḥur-saḡ-ta e₃-a
 4 ni₂ ḥuṣ ri-a dumu ʔ^den-lil₂-la₂ ne₃-ne₂-ta nir-ḡal₂
5 lugal-ḡu₁₀ ši-maḥ-e-en nam-maḥ-zu me-teš₂ ḥe₂-i-i (post-OB me-teš₂ ga-[i¹]-[i] : luna² 'id)
6 ʔⁿⁱⁿ-urta ši-maḥ-e-en nam-maḥ-zu me-teš₂ ḥe₂-i-i (post-OB me-teš₂ ga-[i¹]-[i] : luna² 'id)

Created <like> An, son of Enlil,
 Ninurta, created like Enlil, born of Nintur,
 Most powerful of the Anuna-gods, who came forth from the mountain
 Laden with fierce fearsomeness, son of Enlil, who trusts in his own strength
My king, you are truly grand, let your grandness be praised! (post-OB: “let me praise”)
Ninurta, you are truly grand, let your grandness be praised! (post-OB: “let me praise”)

Similar expressions recited near the ends of hymns occur, for example, in Nuska A, just prior to the closing doxology, and in Martu A and in *Utu ursag*, in the doxology itself.

Ex. 3.48 Nuska A Seg. B 38–45

- B38 ʾninta¹ kala-ga a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ ʾme₃¹-ʾše₃¹ ʾsaĝ¹ ĝa₂-ĝa₂
 B39 UG₃ du₆-ul-du₆-ul-e ʾNE.RU¹-ʾe¹ izi ʾšum₂¹-ʾmu¹ / ħulu ga-an²¹⁸-ʾzi¹-ʾir¹ ʾma₅¹-ʾma₅¹
 B40 kur gu₂ du₃-a-ba ĝiri₃ saga₁₁ di kur nu-še-ʾga¹
 B41 gud a₂ gur-ra udu zulumĥi niĝdaba ʾgal^{ʾ1}-ʾgal^{ʾ1}-ʾda^{ʾ1}
 B42 ʾnuška en an-ne₂ ʾki¹ ʾaĝ₂¹ / ša-mu-ʾra¹-da-an-ʾku₄¹-ku₄¹
 B43 me-ʾzu¹ kur-kur-ra IZIM²¹⁹-ba šu ʾzi¹ ʾ*ša¹-ba-an²²⁰-ʾ*ĝa₂¹-ʾ*ĝa₂¹
 B44 ĝarza nam-maĥ gal-gal-zu ʾniĝ₂¹ ʾša¹-ʾba¹-ʾab¹-/gu-ul-ʾgu¹-ʾul¹-ʾu₃^{ʾ1}
 B45 ʾnuška en gal dumu an-na me-teš₂ ʾĥe₂¹-ʾi¹-[i]

A mighty man, (having) arms of valor, advancing to battle,
gathering all the people, setting fire to the enemy, consuming the evil *with* flame,
 trampling their hostile land, the disobedient land—
 with gnarled-*legged*²²¹ bulls, long-haired sheep, great^ʾ food offerings,
 he enters before for you, oh Nuska, lord beloved by An!
He rightly carries out your rituals (*me*) in the *festivals* of all the lands.
 For your (divine) rites of exceeding greatness *he* provides abundantly.
May you, oh Nuska, the great lord, the son of An, be praised!

Ex. 3.49 Utu ursag Seg. C 24–28

- C24 ʾen₃-bar-ʾgen₇¹ nar^{ʾ?} mu-un-dab-be₂-be₂ mu-un-sun₅¹-sun₅¹-ne-eš
 C25 tumu niĝ₂ du₁₀-ga-ke₄^{ʾ?} su ħu-mu-un-tuku₅-tuku₅-ru
 C26 ša₃ diĝir-ĝu₁₀ ki-be₂ ĥa-ma^{ʾ?}-ge₄-ge₄
 C27 ʾutu ki al-du diĝir dur₂-ru-ne₂-eš₂ ʾgeš-tu^{ʾ?} ĝeštu ser₃^{ʾ?} ga-mu-ra-ʾx¹ [(x)] tab-us₂
 an-ke₄ ĥe₂-me-ʾen¹
 C28 sul ʾutu en dumu ʾnin-gal-ke₄ mim du₁₁-ga ka-tar-zu ga-sil

Like an *enbar*-reed ..., they enter there.
 Let a good wind ... the body,
 Let the heart of my personal god return to its place for me!
**Utu, at the place where the gods dwell, ... let me [praise^ʾ] you in song for (your) wisdom;
 you are second (only) to An!**
Youth Utu, lord, son cherished by Ningal, let me praise you!

Ex. 3.50 Martu A 57–59

- 57 mim zi du₁₁-ga diĝir lu₂ ĥur-saĝ a-re-eš dib¹-ba-am₃

²¹⁸ “Modern” DINGIR.

²¹⁹ Paleographically EZEN or ŠIR is better than KEŠDA.

²²⁰ “Modern” DINGIR.

²²¹ Or: gnarled-horned.

58 ʾnar¹-re ser₃ ku₃-ga im-mi-in-du₁₁ mu-ne₂ pa bi₂-in-e₃
 59 ^dġar₇-du₂ dumu an-na za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃

*True praise spoken (of) the god, the man of the mountain land (hur-saġ), who is surpassing in praise,
 the nar-musician has uttered in pure song! He has made manifest his name!
 Martu, son of An, your praise is sweet!*

3.3.3 Affective language

Another rhetorical strategy attested in some of the *širgida* hymns is the use of affective or emotive language. In a forthcoming article dealing in part with Sumerian *tigi* hymns and the importance of emotional participation in the listeners' experience of hymns, Rendu Loisel considers how the language used in *tigis* can contribute to their emotional communicative strategies. Citing numerous text passages, she demonstrates how affective language can contribute to the hymn's aims of, on the one hand, arousing joy and awe in a human congregation and, on the other, inviting the deity to perceive the humans' affective experience and to take pleasure in the musical performance. Frequent examples in the *tigi* corpus include the use of evocative metaphors from nature to help humans conceptualize the divine power and to make it tangible, as well as allusion to pleasant substances to help activate in the listeners a physical memory of previous affective experiences (Rendu Loisel, forthcoming).

Like the *tigi* hymns, the *širgidas* also make use of affective language that invites the listeners to participate emotionally in the performance. The two aspects most often treated in affective terms are, on the one hand, the awesome, terrifying power of the praised deity, and, on the other, the prosperity, joy, and abundance provided by that deity.

Expressions of the deity's unimaginable power frequently resort to metaphors from nature, especially with reference to animals or to meteorological events and to the sounds associated with

them. In *Angim*, Ninurta is addressed as a flood wiping out all things, as a rumbling storm, as an onrushing flood, as having the body and muscles of a lion and making the gods scatter like sparrows (73–75/72–74, 117–124, 162–163a/164–165, 205/207). Ninurta’s war chariot makes the same rumbling sound as a storm, and as he rides he shakes heaven and earth and casts a shadow over the terrified gods—a description built on the image of a threatening storm covering the sky (Ex. 3.51: 81–89/80–88) (so already by Rendu Loisel 2016, 54). The god Lulal is cast as a howling dragon, a roaring lion, a terrifying lion-storm, a bellowing dragon that wipes out the land (Ex. 3.52: *Lulal A Seg. A* 8–12). Martu is described as a terrifying lion and a wild bull, girt with the seven winds and flashing like lightning, and as a southern storm (Ex. 3.53: Martu A 14–19). Nuska is a massive whirlwind covering the earth (Nuska A Seg. B 51). Ninisina describes her destructive power as that of a flood crashing on the land (132). These types of metaphors occur frequently throughout the preserved *širgida* corpus, and just a few examples are quoted here in full.

Ex. 3.51 *Angim* 81–89/80–88

81/80 lugal-ĝu₁₀ ur-saĝ šu-du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ĝeš-tu₉ ĝeš-tu-zu
82/81 ^dnin-urta ur-saĝ šu-du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ĝeš-tu₉ ĝeš-tu-zu
83/82 me-lim₄-zu e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂-ka tu₉-gen₇ im-dul
84/83 ĝeš-gigir-za gu₃ du₁₀ MURUM ša₄-a-be₂
85/84 ĝiri₃ gub-ba[?]-za an-ki tuku₄-e-be₂
86/85 a₂ il₂-la-[za] ĝessu ^lla₂?-a[?]^l-^lbe₂^l
87/86 [^d]a-nun-^lna diĝir gal-gal^l-e-ne NIĜ₂ [šar₂?-ra?...tar]
88/87 aia-zu ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-ib-ĥu-luĥ
89/88 ^den-lil₂ ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-ib-ĥu-luĥ

My king, perfected valiant warrior, heed yourself!

Ninurta, perfected valiant warrior, heed yourself!

Your awesome radiance (me-lim₄) covers the house of Enlil like a garment.

The sweet, rumbling (MURUM ša₄) noise of your chariot,

your journey’s shaking of heaven and earth,

and your raised arm’s casting of shadows

[have made] the Anuna, the great gods, [*scatter every*]where

They have frightened your father in his residence.

They have frightened Enlil in his residence.”

Ex. 3.52 *Lulal A Seg. A 8–12*

- 8 ušum a₂-ur₂ sa₆ ninta ʽusuʼ ga[l tuku?] kisa[-ʽeʼ še₂₆ ʽge₄ʼ-[ge₄?]
9 [am?] dubur un₃-na si-ʽmuš₃ʼ ʽsa₆ʼ-ʽsa₆ʼ(-)ʽxʼ [x x]
10 ʽgud/amʼ?ʼ kuĝ₂? piriĝ am gal a₂ sud-sud kur-ʽraʼ [x x (x)]
11 usu piriĝ gu₃ mur u₄-ug₂ ʽu₃ʼ-[na gub-ba(?)] ni₂ kur-ra dul-[la]
12 [x] ni₂ TE ušum ad-ba g[u₃? di?] kalam-ma šu ur₃-[ur₃-(r)e]

Dragon with fine limbs, male [having] great strength, howling *against* the courtyard,
[...] *on the high foundation*, (having) fine horns, [...],
Bull/aurochs *having a lion's tail*, great aurochs, *running*, [...] in the mountain,
(Having) strength, a roaring lion, “lion-storm” re[ady to attack(?)], who [has] covered the
foreign land with fear,
Frightening [...], dragon that b[ellows?] loudly, that wip[es] out the land

Ex. 3.53 *Martu A 14–19*

- 14 maḥ gal-la-am₃ a₂ piriĝ ĝal₂-la [...]
15 piriĝ ban₃-da-gen₇ ni₂ mu-un-da-[ri]
16 am a₂ gur-ra-gen₇ <ni₂ mu-un-da-[ri]>
17 TUMU umun₇-na za₃ mu-ni-in-ʽkeše₂ʼ izi ʽmuʼ-[-...]
18 me₃ šen-šen aga-kara₂ si₃-si₃-ga nim-gen₇ [...(ĝir₂)]
19 ni₂ maḥ-a-ne₂ ḥul-ĝal₂ dab₅-dab₅-be₂ u₁₈-[lu...]
20 iri nam ku₅-ra₂-a-ne₂ a₂-be₂ ki-be₂ nu-ʽge₄ʼ-[-ge₄]

He is exceedingly great, having the strength of a lion, [...]
Like a young lion, he [instills] fear,
Like a wild bull with gnarled *horns*, <he [instills] fear>
He has girded himself with the seven winds. [He ...] fire.
Victorious in battle and conflict, [he flashes] like lightning,
Great fear of him seizing the evil, a southern storm [...]
The city cursed by him does not restore its strength.

At other points in the *širgida* corpus, the singer uses affective language to evoke images of material prosperity and abundance. The blessings secured by the deity's good favor are often described in concrete terms, with reference to pleasant sounds, smells, sights, and tastes belonging to a temple setting.

In Ninurta B, the effects of the god's visit to Eridu are listed in terms of various topoi, comprising a so-called "stock strophe" that appears somewhat regularly in Sumerian literature (Seg. A 8–28). The singer mentions fragrant plants, cream and milk in the cattle pen and sheepfold, the rejoicing of the shepherd, the roaring of the Tigris and Euphrates, fish in the marshes, reeds in the canebrakes, wild animals in the steppe. Ferrara showed that most of these images are conventional, highly evocative stand-ins for success across several primary zones of sustenance in southern Mesopotamia, namely irrigation and field cultivation; fishing, fowling, and gathering; and pastoralism, along with success in the complementary domain of distribution and mediation as implemented by political and economic institutions. By using concrete imagery, the singer relies on the listeners' past experience of pleasant and abundant food or other resources to stir sensory memories of enjoyment, a more emotionally engaging strategy than listing the more abstract concepts of successful field cultivation, animal husbandry, etc.

In Martu A, although the conventional topoi are not used, the god's blessings on the land are likewise expressed in terms of natural fertility and abundance, the singer evoking images of animals in the sheep and cattle pens, abundant birds and fish, fresh fruit, and good things to eat and drink (36–45). In Nuska A, the singer paints the scene of a lavish banquet in the temple provided for by Nuska: first-rate fat and cream are prepared, the temple is filled with joyful sounds, hot and cold dishes and beer and milk are served (Seg. A 26–43). In Ninisina A, the singer creates an image of Ninisina's temple as a fragrant forest with undying scent, with dates piled up in heaps, the temple itself shining like the moon and the sun, and the water of Ninisina's river yielding grains, syrup, and wine.

Ex. 3.54 Ninisina A 90–103

90 e₂-ĝu₁₀ e₂ i₃-si-in-na bulug an ki
 91 ter šem ĝeš^geren-na ir-be₂ nu-gul-e

92 ša₃-be₂ kur ħe₂-ġal₂-la ki us₂-sa
 94 e₂-ġu₁₀ kur delmun^{ki} nu-me-a ġeš^{ġeš} ġešnimbar-ta ba-an-du₂
 95 zu₂-lum-be₂ gada-maḥ ġeš la₂-a-gen₇ kuru₁₃-ġe₃ ba-an-dub
 96 ^da-nun-na diġir gal-gal-e-ne mu-da-gu₇-u₃-ne
 97 e₂-ġu₁₀ (ki) silim-ma giri₁₇ ki ulutim₂ kalam-ma
 98 ġe₆-u₃-na iti₆-gen₇ ma-e₃
 99 an-bar₇-GANA₂ u₄ ZALAG-gen₇ ma-e₃
 100 ġešdana₃-ġu₁₀ en ^dpa-bil-saġ dumu ^den-lil₂-ke₄
 101 ša₃-ba e-ne ad-be₃ mu-da-an-nu₂ ki-nu₂ mu-ni-ib-du₁₀-ge
 102 i₇-ġu₁₀ kir₁₁-sig ħe₂-ġal₂ gu₇-e KIB₃-še₃[?] ba-KU-la₂
 103 ša₃-ba a NI-le ma-ra-il₂-il₂

My house (is) the house of Isin, the *axis* of heaven and earth,
 a fragrant cedar forest whose scent cannot be destroyed,
 its interior a mountain founded in abundance
 My house, when the land of Dilmun did not (yet) exist, was born from the date-palm!
 Isin, when the land of Dilmun did not (yet) exist, was born from the date-palm!
 Its dates, like fine linen ..., were piled up into a heap!
 The Anuna, the great gods eat with me.
 My house (is) a place of wellness and profusion, the birth-place of the land
 By night it shines forth for me like moonlight!
 By morning it shines forth for me like bright daylight!
 My spouse, lord Pabilsaġ, son of Enlil,
after he has down with me ... inside it. He “makes the bed sweet” there.
 My river, the *Kirsig* that *lets (people)* eat plenty, *that* ... —
 in its interior, the flowing water rises for me.
 Its banks let syrup and wine grow there, they make their yield expand for me.

The language used in these and other examples, with its focus on the material and sensorial experience of divine blessing, invites the listeners to feel a sense of joy and gratitude, presumably heightened by their experience of ritual celebration as the hymn was being sung. The imagery might also invite the deity to recall the reciprocal relationship that exists between gods and humans—gods providing abundance but humans then doing the work to prepare lavish feasts for the gods, like the one they were likely enjoying at the hymn’s recitation.

The king’s role in all of this is again apparent, in several cases the singer making subtle or explicit reference to his role in ensuring economic prosperity and providing for the gods (e.g., Nuska A Seg. B 41–44, Ninisina A 123).

3.3.4 Conclusion

When considered as one factor contributing to the overall experiential impact of the performance of *širgida* hymns, the language used in these hymns can be fruitfully interpreted from a functional or practical, as opposed to a literary, standpoint. For example, the singer's frequent reference to his own performance of praise can be understood in light of his need to establish a particular relationship with the deity, in which he publicly externalizes or performs feelings of awe and joy in a song intended to elicit delight. Expressions elevating the deity, though extremely diverse in their literary style, draw on cultural knowledge of mythology to highlight certain aspects of the deity's eternal being, especially their unrivaled power and their inclination to help humankind, perhaps aiming to stir a sense of confidence in the listeners and to lend an air of sacredness to the king who directly interacts with the divine being. Finally, affective language is used throughout the *širgidas* to help convey to a human audience the inexpressible power and benevolence of the deity, using metaphors and natural images to communicate and perhaps activate the kind of awe and gratitude this deity's presence should inspire.

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CHAPTER 4

KINGSHIP AND THE *ŠIRGIDAS* AS “ROYAL HYMNS”

4.0 Introduction

A central thesis of this dissertation is that *širgida* hymns belonged to the realm of royal ritual, and that their verbal content and other aspects of their performance can therefore be examined in order to better understand the role that ritual played in the ideological discourses surrounding kingship in the Old Babylonian period. Whereas most preserved *širgida* texts have been traditionally classified as “divine hymns” rather than “royal hymns,” in this chapter I argue that this distinction among hymns addressed to deities, which is based primarily on the presence or absence of a royal name, is artificial, and that *širgida* texts, though rarely mentioning a historical ruler by name, can in fact be studied as “royal hymns” in the same sense as other hymnic types such as *adabs* and *tigis*, in which a king is regularly named. In the first section, I address the ancient characterization of *širgidas* as “praise of kingship” or “royal praise.” This is followed by a survey of the preserved *širgida* texts, identifying ways in which the human king plays a central, though often previously overlooked, role. I conclude that the king is in fact an important figure in the majority of *širgidas*, and that these hymns show particular concern for his relationship with the deity being praised. In the second part of the chapter, I briefly examine the imagery of kingship associated with divine figures in the *širgida* texts.

4.1 “Praise of Kingship”

4.1.1 Primary Sources

The *širgidas* as a hymnic type are explicitly associated with kingship in two literary compositions known from the Old Babylonian period, namely the royal praise-poems Šulgi E and

Išme-Dagan A+V. The relevant passages have already been discussed in Chapter 2, among evidence for the place of *širgida* hymns in Ur III and Old Babylonian cultic practice, but they will be cited here again in full.

In the self-praise poem Šulgi E, in a passage where Šulgi is outlining his numerous deeds commemorated in various types of songs, he includes “*širgidas*, royal praise” (**ser₃-gid₂-da ar₂ nam-lugal-la**), alongside *šumunšas*, *kunġars*, and *balbales*.

Ex. 4.1 Šulgi E 23–30 (composite text with selected variants)

- 23 sig-še₃ ^{ġeš}tukul ab-be₂ bala-e-ġa₂
 24 kur elam^{ki} u₂ abula-gen₇ dab₅-be₂ ma-gid₂-da
 25 igi-nim-ta UN še-gen₇ dul-le-ġa₂
 26 kur za₃ til-la-aš me₃ DU[?]-ġa₂
 27 anše šu-ge₄ kaskal ma₂ nu-kuš₂[?] kur[?] nim-ta DU-ġa₂
 28 šu TUKU₄-a ki-ġiri₃-ġen-na-ġa₂
 29 ser₃-gid₂-da a-a-^lar¹ (var. ar₂) nam-lugal(-la)
 30 šumun-ša₄ kuġ₂-ġar bala-bala-e-be₂ mu-ši-in-ġar-ġar-re-eš₂ (var. -ra)

As for the fact that I brought weapons across the sea, to the south,
 that the land of Elam, ... like grass at the gate, *stretched out* for me,
 that I covered the *people like grain*, from the north,
 that I *send*[?] battle to the very ends of the foreign land,
 that I ... *old donkey* of the road, ..*boat* ...,
 my exploits ... :
 they (= the masters *and composers of* ...) ²²² composed *širgidas*, royal praise,
šumunšas, *kunġars*, and *balbales* of these things!

In a later passage, where Šulgi provides instructions for the performance of his hymns to eternity, the hymnic types treated in lines 16–38 are repeated, following the same order:

Ex. 4.2 Šulgi E 53–62

- 53 en₃-du-ġu₁₀ a-da-ab ħe₂-em tigi ma-al-ga-tum ħe₂-em
 54 ser₃-gid₂-da ar₂ nam-lugal-la
 55 šumun-ša₄ kun-ġar bala-bala-e ħe₂-em
 56 gi-gid₂ za-am-za-am ħe₂-em
 57 ^{ġeš-tu₉}ġeštu-ge nu-dib-be₂ ka-ta nu-šub-bu-de₃

²²² Line 20: **um-mi-a MIR[?](-re) ġar-ġar-ġu₁₀-ne**. See Appendix I.3.5.

58 ki-šu-ke₄ lu₂ nam-bi₂-ib₂-da₁₃-da₁₃-a
 59 e₂-kur za-gin₃-na muš nam-ba-an-tum₂-mu
 60 ^den-lil₂-ra eš₃ u₄-šakar-ra-ka-na ħe₂-na-du₁₂
 61 eš₃-eš₃ kaš ^ggerin a-gen₇ su₃-su₃-u₃-da-be₂
 62 ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-da tuš-a-ra ħe₂-en-ne-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ĝa₂

As for my hymns—be they *adabs*; be they *tigis* or *malgatums*;

be they *širgidas*, royal praise,

šumunšas, *kunĝars*, or *balbales*;

be they *gigids* or *zamzams*—

so that they will not escape memory and will not fall from the mouth,

let no one abandon them at the cult-place (**ki-šu-k**).

Let them not cease in the gleaming Ekur.

Let them be played (**du₁₂**) for Enlil in his new-moon shrine.

When they pour pure beer like water at the *ešeš*-festival,

let them be *recited* repeatedly (**ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ĝa₂**) for Enlil and Ninlil, as he sits with her.²²³

Similarly, in Išme-Dagan A+V, among various hymnic types composed for Išme-Dagan, the king includes “*širgidas*, my royal praise, whose content is complete” (**ser₃-gid₂-da <za₃>mim nam-lugal-ĝu₁₀ ša₃-be₂ niĝ₂ til-la**).

Ex. 4.3 Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 335–339

A335 a-da-ab tigi₂ ʾšumun-ša₄¹ ma-al-ga-tum
 A336 ser₃-gid₂-da <za₃>-mim nam-ʾlugal-ĝu₁₀ ša₃¹-be₂ niĝ₂ til-ʾla¹
 A337 a-ra-ḫi bala-bala-ʾe¹ za-am-za-am kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂
 A338 nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a
 A339 en₃-du ki du₁₂-ba mu-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-gal-eš-a

*Their*²²⁴ *adabs*, *tigis*, *šumunšas*, *malgatums*,

širgidas, my royal praise, whose content is *a complete matter*,

araḫis, *balbales*, *zamzams*, and *kunĝars*—

that the wise *nar*-singers have composed them for me,

that they have made my name great in the places where hymns (**en₃-du**) are played (**du₁₂**),

...

²²³ Lit. “for Enlil, who sits with Ninlil—let them be *performed* repeatedly for them”; or “Let them be *performed* repeatedly for the seated Enlil and Ninlil?”

²²⁴ I.e. the *nar*-musicians? Or: “Those.”

4.1.2 “Royal Praise:” **ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)** and **za₃-mim nam-lugal**

The interpretation of these passages adopted here, that **ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)** and **<za₃>-mim nam-lugal** occur in apposition to **ser₃-gid₂-da**, has sometime been called into question, the alternative being to take one or both of these terms as designating a separate hymnic type. Claus Wilcke, for example, suggested that **ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)** might refer to “epische Texte wie Šulgi A, D, F und O” (Wilcke 1976a, 257). As already observed by Ludwig, however, it is unlikely that so general a term would have been included in a list alongside much narrower hymnic classifications like *šumunša*, *kunġar*, and *balbale* (Ludwig 1990, 36 n. 50). Another possible suggestion, that “praise of kingship” serves as a technical term for a specific class of hymns comparable to the terms *širgida*, *balbale*, etc., is unlikely. Firstly, given that we have two roughly synonymous terms occurring in nearly identical contexts (immediately following **ser₃-gid₂-da** in a sequence of hymnic types), it is far more likely that both serve to modify the preceding term than that they refer to two distinct hymnic types— especially since neither **ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)** nor **za₃-mim nam-lugal** is attested elsewhere in a context that would point to a technical term for a hymnic type, either as a subscript or in a catalogue or lexical list. Secondly, both **ar₂ nam-lugal** and **za₃-mim nam-lugal** occur in other compositions where there is no indication that they designate a particular type of hymn. Instead, they appear as general terms encompassing all songs or compositions commemorating or celebrating the greatness of a particular king. These references are discussed below.

4.1.2.1 ar₂ nam-lugal-la

Aside from Šulgi E, the term **ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)** also occurs in three other OB compositions. The most informative of these is a royal inscription of Sin-iddinam, where **ar₂ nam-lugal-la** refers to general praise sung for this ruler.

Ex. 4.4 Sin-iddinam 14 (RIME 4.2.9.14; Kärki 1980 Sin-iddinam 7) 21–27

21–22 ma-da-na / ki-tuš ne-ḥa tuš-u₃-de₃
23–24 erin₂ daḡal-la-na / u₃ du₁₀ ku-ku-de₃
25–27 u₄ ul-li₂-a-aš / **ar₂ nam-lugal-la-ka-ne₂** / uḡ-e AK-AK-de₃

In order that peaceful abodes might be settled in his land,
In order that his expansive troops might sleep pleasantly,
In order that the people would sing (AK) **his royal praise** for eternity,
(... he built the great wall of Bad-tibira)

A similar passage occurs in another inscription of the same king, preserved on MS 5000 (CUSAS 17 No. 37), where the immediate context is partially broken.

Ex. 4.5 Sin-iddinam CUSAS 17, 37 (MS 5000) iv 35–43

35–37 ^dzuen-i-din-na-am / ^llu₂ sipa zi / ^mmu¹ sa₆-^gga¹ i₃-me-en
38–39 mu nam-ur-^ssaḡ¹-ḡa₂-ḡu₁₀ / ul-še₃ ḥa-ba-pa₃-de₃
40–43 **^lar₂ nam-lugal¹-la-ḡu₁₀** / ^sša₃[?]-be₂[?] (x)¹ du₁₀-ga-a / kur-kur su₃-ud-ra₂-še₃ / gal-be₂ ḥe₂-
AK-ne

I am Sin-iddinam, the true shepherd (having) a good name!
May my heroic name *be proclaimed* forever!
May all the lands greatly sing (AK) **my royal praise**, ..., for eternity!

The use of **ar₂ nam-lugal-la** with the verb AK, attested in both these passages, indicates that it is not to be considered a technical term designating a particular type of hymn: AK occurs relatively frequently with the noun **ar₂** meaning “to sing one’s praises, to praise,” but does not occur with

terms for hymns or hymnic types.²²⁵ Compare especially the use of **ar₂ AK** in the final line of the royal inscription Rim-Sin I 15:

Ex. 4.6 Rim-Sin I 15 (Kärki 1980 Rīmsīn 27, RIME 4.2.14.15) 59–60

59 ʾte¹-me-en mu pa₃-da nam-lugal-ĝa₂ a-ar₂ u₃-bi₂-sar
60 ʾu₄¹-ul-li₂-a-še₃ uĝ₂ šar₂-ra a-ar₂ mu-un-AK-AK-ne

Since I have written praise on the foundation-cone *of kingship on which my name is proclaimed*,²²⁶
the myriad people will sing (my) praise (**a-ar₂ AK**) for eternity.

In these passages it is clear that a king’s “royal praise” refers in general to the praise given him by the people, inspired by the magnificent building projects that preserve his memory.

A similar usage is attested in the hymn to Ḥammurabi preserved on Ni 4577 (ISET 1 p. 112, pl. 54), discussed briefly by Sjöberg in his article on prayers for Ḥammurabi (Sjöberg 1972b, 59 no. 6). The fourth and best-preserved column reads as follows:

Ex. 4.7 Ḥammurabi Hymn Ni 4577 (ISET 1 p. 112, pl. 54) iv 1’–6’

1’ ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi ki-ʾaĝ₂¹ ^dAMAR.UTU
2’ nam-maḥ-zu kalam-ma pa ḥe₂-ni-ʾe₃¹
3’ **ar₂ nam-lugal-la-zu** e₂-dub-ba-a / ka-ka i₃-ĝal₂
4’ dub-sar umum AK ^dnisaba ^{ĝeš-tu₉}ĝeštu diri-ga
5’ mu-un-na-an-šum₂-ma-a
6’ ša₃-ga-ne₂ a-la i₃-ʾĝal₂¹ / du₁₁-ga-zu NE ʾx¹ / me-teš₂ mi-ni-ʾi¹?-[i?]

Ḥammurabi, beloved of Marduk
Since your loftiness has appeared in full glory in the land,
your royal praise is in (everyone’s) mouth in the Edubba’a!
The heart of the sagacious scribe,
to whom Nisaba gave exceeding wisdom,
is full of joy.²²⁷ ... he *praises* .

²²⁵ On **ar₂ AK**, see Attinger 1993, 440, § 272, Attinger 2005b, 218 ad 5.41.

²²⁶ Lit. “on my ‘foundation(-cone)-(on which)-the-name-is-proclaimed’ *of kingship*.”

²²⁷ For **ša₃** + poss. suff. (dir.) **a-la ĝal₂** see Wagensonner 2011, 29 ad iv 3 and Jaques 2006, 368–369 n. 382, with previous literature.

Comparable to the use of **ar₂ nam-lugal-la-zu** “your royal praise” in this passage is use of **ar₂-zu** “your praise” in Lipit-Eštar B, in a similar context.

Ex. 4.8 Lipit-Eštar B 57–61 (composite text with selected variants)

57 ^dli-pi₂-it-eš₄-tar₂ dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-me-en
 58 niĝ₂-ge-na-zu ka-ka mi-ni-in-ĝal₂ (// in-ĝar; niĝ₂-ge-na-zu-še₃ ka-ka i₃-ĝar)
 59 za₃-mim-zu e₂-dub-ba-a-ka im mu-e-ni-du₁₁-du₁₁ (// im-e nam-da₁₃-da₁₃; ¹im¹-me na-an-da₁₃-da₁₃)
 60 dub-sar-re a-la (//a-le) ĥe₂-em-ši-AK-e
 60a²²⁸ gal-le-eš ĥe₂-i-i (//ĥe₂-em-mi-i-i)
 61 **ar₂-zu** e₂-dub-ba-a-ka muš₃ nam-ba-an-tum₂-mu

You, being Lipit-Eštar, the son of Enlil,
 your faithfulness *has been placed* in one’s mouth!²²⁹
One has made the clay speak your praise among the ones of the edubba’a (//may the clay not abandon it/ may it not be removed from the clay)
 May the scribe rejoice *because of it!*
 May he praise you greatly!
 May **your praise** among the ones of the Edubba’a never cease!

In these two passages we thus have another instance where **ar₂ nam-lugal-la** (+ poss. suff.) appears in nearly identical context to **ar₂** (+ poss. suff.), further indicating it is not to be understood as designating a specific hymnic type.

In summary, the “royal praise” (**ar₂ nam-lugal(-la)**) of a king refers, in general, to the eternal commemoration and celebration of his kingship. It can be expressed in hymns or compositions to be spoken or sung and passed down by scribes in the Edubba’a (**Ni 4577** iv 3’), or it can refer simply to praises sung by the people at large (Sin-iddinam 14 [RIME 4.2.9.14] 26–27, Sin-iddinam MS 5000 iv 40–43).

²²⁸ Vanstiphout 1978 lines 60–60a = ETCSL line 60

²²⁹ Lit. “One made it be in the mouth.”

4.1.2.2 <za₃>-mim nam-lugal-la

It is generally assumed in Assyriological treatments that **mim nam-lugal** in Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 336, preserved only in ms E+F+O+,²³⁰ is to be amended to <za₃>**mim nam-lugal**.²³¹ This is supported by the fact that **mim**, to my knowledge, is otherwise unattested in a genitival construction with an abstract noun.²³²

The amended expression, **za₃-mim nam-lugal**, occurs with certainty only in a royal inscription assigned to Sin-iqišam of Larsa commemorating the dedication of a statue in Nippur.

Ex. 4.9 Sin-iqišam 1 (RIME 4.2.11.1) iii 13–20

- 13 ʿeš₃¹ [e₂]-kur-ra-ka
 14 saĝ(-)ʿx¹ du₁₂-ʿdu₁₂¹-ʿde₃¹
 15 enim du₁₀ **za₃-mim nam-lugal-ĝa₂**
 16 ʿx¹ ʿki¹ ĝa₂-ĝa₂-de₃
 17 [alan] ʿni¹-[ni]
 18 dumu ʿni¹-ʿni¹
 19 urdu lu₂ ʿx x¹ [x]
 20 bi₂-in-dim₂

In order to ... in the shrine of the Ekur,
 in order to *establish* the good words **of my royal praise** ...,
 I fashioned a [statue] of so-and-[so], son of so-and-so, servant of

Here, like **ar₂ nam-lugal**, the expression **za₃-mim nam-lugal** designates general praise for a particular ruler inspired by his temple building and dedications. It is similar in usage to **za₃-mim nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂** “praise of valor” or “valorous praise” in the royal inscription Sin-iddinam 2

²³⁰ CBS 13904 (SEM 112) + CBS 14028 (STVC 74) + CBS 14137 (STVC 125) + N 2823 (both BPOA 9 167) + CBS 15116 + N 874 + N 7461 + UM 29-16-760 (all BPOA 9 pl. 36).

²³¹ E.g., ETCSL, Shehata 2009, 277.

²³² A possible exception is in Šulgi B 286 **mim šudu₃ ser₃ nam-ku₃-zu-ĝu₁₀**, where the genitive expression **nam-ku₃-zu** may modify **ser₃** alone or **mim**, **šudu₃**, and **ser₃** together. For **mim** occurring in context with **ser₃**, evidently designating some type of oral praise, see also Šulgi B 290–291.

(RIME 4.2.9.2) 19–20,²³³ further suggesting that it is to be understood as a productive use of **za₃-mim** + genitive modifier rather than a fixed expression designating a class of hymns.

4.1.3 Sumerian “Royal Hymns” and History of Scholarship

The passages of Šulgi E and Išme-Dagan A+V cited above thus characterize *širgida* hymns as “royal praise” commemorating the greatness of Šulgi and Išme-Dagan, respectively. The reason for this characterization has long puzzled Assyriologists, as none of the preserved *širgida* texts explicitly deal with a king’s glorious deeds or even—until recently—so much as mention a ruler by name. In what way do these hymns then represent praises sung for the king’s glorification, and where do they fit with the corpora of Sumerian hymns traditionally treated by Assyriologists as “royal hymns”?

Despite the ancient association of the *širgidas* with kingship, most modern treatments of the individual texts classify them rather as “divine hymns” or even in some cases as myths, rather than as “royal hymns.” The modern category “royal hymn” generally includes all hymns in which a particular ruler is mentioned by name, and is traditionally understood to encompass two, somewhat distinct, hymnic groups. On the one hand, it includes texts that, following ETCSL, can be described as “royal praise poems,” which consist entirely of praise for the king and, at least in the Old Babylonian period, belonged primarily to a school context. On the other hand, it includes hymns labeled with liturgical subscripts, such as *adabs* and *tigis*, that are addressed to deities but name a specific Mesopotamian king, invoking a prayer for him or celebrating the deity’s acts of favor towards him. This definition and classification of royal hymns goes back to Römer’s

²³³ Sin-iddinam 2 (RIME 4.2.9.2) 19–22 **a-ra₂ za₃-mim / nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ / u₄-da egir-be₂-še₃ / pa-e₃ maĥ AK-de** “In order to make my ways and valorous praise appear in full glory to eternity.”

systematic 1965 treatment of topic and is reflected in the way Sumerian hymns have been published ever since—both in the publication of collective treatments of hymns referencing the same ruler or dynasty²³⁴ and in the conventional names assigned to hymns in which a king is named, such as Šulgi A, Iddin-Dagan A, or Ur-Namma B (see Römer 1965, 5–55).²³⁵

Already in the 1970s and 1980s, some scholars were moving away from the strict classification of hymns to gods based on the presence or absence of a royal name, and some efforts have been made to expand the definition of “royal hymns” to include hymns in which no king is named, but in which kingship nevertheless plays an important role (e.g. Reisman 1969, Klein 1997, 99–101). Ludwig 1990 goes so far as to suggest that *all* liturgical hymns, presumably written and performed at the behest of or sanctioned by the king, can be considered in some sense “royal.”²³⁶

When one examines the preserved textual record of Sumerian liturgical hymns addressed to deities, it becomes clear that the line between “royal” hymns and non-royal hymns—presuming the latter category exists—is not fixed. The two classes of liturgical hymns most clearly and consistently written and performed on behalf of a particular king are *adabs* and *tigis*. As discussed in the preceding chapter, hymns of these types typically include a structural unit near the middle or at the end of the text in which a particular king is mentioned by name, either in order to request a blessing upon him or to honor the deity for his or her support of him. Hymns of other types also

²³⁴ E.g. Klein 1981a, 1981b, 21–28, Ludwig 1990, Tinney 1996, 63–85, Flückiger-Hawker 1999, Brisch 2007.

²³⁵ Note that in ETCSL’s naming system, all hymns naming a ruler are classified as “royal hymns” [2.4] and assigned a title based on the ruler’s name. However, ETCSL also distinguishes the hymns in this category either as a “praise poem of RN” or as a “[HYMNIC TYPE] to DN for RN.” Investigations into the ritual settings in which hymns were performed are also influenced by this classification and sub-classification of royal hymns, following Falkenstein’s original assumption that hymns to gods mentioning kings belong to a temple setting, while hymns directly devoted to kings belong in a courtly setting. Cf., e.g., Hallo 1970, Klein 1981b, 21–28.

²³⁶ “Bei einer so engen Verknüpfung von weltlicher und religiöser Macht wie zur Zeit der Könige von Ur III und Isin-Larsa ist ja mit einiger Sicherheit anzunehmen, daß nur solche Hymnen im Kult gesungen und schriftlich fixiert wurden, die einem königlichen Kanon angehörten und daher „Königshymnen“ waren. In jedem Götterlied liegt also möglicherweise eine Königshymne vor“ (Ludwig 1990, 40).

frequently include such units, though less regularly than *adabs* and *tigis*. Even within the preserved *tigi* and probably *adab* corpora, though, there are exceptions to the rule, indicating that the actual naming of a king is not essential to the function of these hymnic types.²³⁷ Even in cases where no royal name appears in the texts of the hymn, it is likely that *adabs* and *tigis* were sung during the course of a royal ritual and in this sense can still be considered royal hymns. Further, the absence of the king's name in the text of a given hymn does not necessarily mean that he or his kingship was not mentioned. Especially if the king was physically present at the hymn's performance, a reference to "the king" would clearly point to him, without his name being required.

4.1.4 Scholarship on *širgidas* as "praise of kingship"

The tension between the modern conception of what makes something a "royal hymn" and the ancient association of the *širgidas* with kingship has been dealt with in various ways over the past seventy years. Adam Falkenstein, in the first part of his series on Sumerian religious texts, assumed that Šulgi E's reference to "royal praise" did not describe the hymnic type *širgida* as a whole, but rather indicated that there must have been praise hymns similar to the *širgidas* addressing deities, but dedicated to kings instead (Falkenstein 1950, 86).

The first study to seriously consider the role of kingship in the preserved *širgida* texts was Cooper 1978, in the introduction to his edition of *Angim*. Going through the corpus text by text, Cooper observed that (a) a petition and blessing for the king are included in the text of *Angim*; (b) the king "figures prominently" in Nuska B and Martu A; (c) the king "is alluded to" in Ninurta B and possibly Nuska A and Lulal A; and (d) only Ninurta A and Ninisina A "definitely exclude

²³⁷ E.g., Inana E (*tigi*), Nanna I (*tigi*), Nintur A (*tigi*), Nergal C (*tigi*), and probably Ninurta D (*tigi*) and Ninlil A (*adab*). In the case of Nergal C, the hymn is attested in an *adab* version where Šulgi is mentioned and in a *tigi* version where the royal name is replaced with the epithet **sul zi** (Peterson 2015, 48).

mention of the king” (Cooper 1978, 4). Cooper goes on to acknowledge, however, that these texts “deal with the divine favor expressed toward the ruler,” rather than praise for the king himself, and that, while concern for the king might be considered a unifying feature among the *širgidas*, “the nature and extent of the concern varies significantly from composition to composition, and the expressions of concern are by no means unique to this genre” (Cooper 1978, 4).

Ludwig (1990) takes Cooper’s analysis a step further, explicitly making the distinction between (a) references to a god as king and (b) reference to a human king. Because the latter (b) never consists of praise for the king, she theorizes that the “praise of kingship” represented in these hymns might occur indirectly through the former (a)—the human king being identified with the divine king, in the same way he is identified with Dumuzi in the Dumuzi-Inana love songs. In this connection, she points out that the *širgida* texts tend to represent the addressed deity as “der jugendliche Held, der Gesandte seines Vaters mit dem Auftrag, für Volk und Land Sicherheit und Wohlstand zu gewährleisten”—exactly the role that was expected of a king (39).

Shehata (2009) incorporates the observations of both Cooper and Ludwig in her analysis, following the latter’s interpretation in her remark: “Das Širgida preist vor allem kriegerische Aspekte der adressierten Gottheit, der Bezug zum Königtum und dessen Preis wird trotz fehlender Namen impliziert” (277).

While this recognition of parallelism between the god and the king is certainly an important part of the picture, and one that will be returned to at the end of this chapter, the focus of this chapter will be on the so far underappreciated role of the human king himself in the *širgidas* texts. With the identification of new additions to the corpus, along with reexamination of previously known texts, it is now clear that the Mesopotamian king is not just present at an implied or analogical level but is explicitly mentioned as a central figure in almost all of the well-preserved

širgida texts, and that these hymns directly address the relationship that exists between him and the god or goddess being praised.

4.2 Role of the King in *Širgida* Texts

In this section, the role that the king plays in each of the preserved *širgida* texts will be discussed, in order to support the claim that *širgidas* can be considered “royal hymns” in the same sense as *adabs*, *tigis*, and other liturgical hymns in which a particular king is named. This is crucial for our understanding of *širgidas* as liturgical pieces because it points to their use in rituals of kingship at which the Mesopotamian ruler would have been present and in which he probably participated.

4.2.1 *Širgida* to Sud

The clearest textual indication that a closer look at the *širgidas*’ explicit portrayal of the Mesopotamian king is warranted occurs in the recently identified *širgida* to the goddess Sud. Uniquely among the known *širgida* texts, this hymn includes a unit dealing with the deity’s investiture of a named ruler, namely Bur-Suen, the seventh king of the first Isin dynasty, who ruled ca. 1895–1874 BCE.

The hymn begins with the singer praising Sud directly establishing her position within the pantheon of divine beings and her relationship with the earth. The singer highlights first her relationship with the chief god Enlil, from whom she is said to receive favor (ll. 2, 5), mentioning also her wisdom and authority (ll. 4, 6–7). This is followed by her relationship with the Anuna gods, for whom she decides fate (l. 7), then her preeminence in the whole universe and control over the *me*’s (l. 8), and, finally, her relationship to humankind, to whom she gives life and well-

being (ll. 9–10). The next section deals again with the authority of her word and the Anuna's readiness to carry out her will.

At this point in the text, near the halfway point, the singer shifts to recounting to the goddess her coronation of Bur-Suen, and then evidently invokes a blessing upon him very similar to the blessings that occur in other liturgical hymns mentioning kings.

Ex. 4.10 Širgida to Sud 15–23

- 15 i₃-du₈ gal-zu ġeš tuku ^dasar-lu₂-ĥi
 16 šu-lu_ĥ me ku₃-ga si ĥu(over ras?)-mu-ra-ab-sa₂
 17 ^rsugal₇¹-zu ^dnin-ġidru-ke₄ {lu₂} a-ra-zu enim¹-ma-še₃ ša-ra-ab-DU
 18 ^dr^rbur¹-^dsuen-e aga zi dalla mu-ni-in-e₃
 19 ^rmen¹ zalag-ga-zu saġ-ġa₂-na u₃-mu-e-ġal₂
 20 ^rx¹ [x (x)]^rġidru¹ ^ruġ₃¹ si sa₂-sa₂-e ^rsaġ[?]¹-^re[?]¹-eš ^rmu¹-^rni¹-^rin¹-^rrig⁷¹
 21 ^rd^rr^rbur¹-^rd^rsuen¹ sipa nun-be₂ na-nam
 22 ^rsibir₂¹ uġ₃ lu-a e-ne-ra u₃-mu-na-e-šum₂
 23 kur-kur ki-ġar-zu kilib₃-be₂ ĥa-ra-ab-laĥ₅-e

Your head gatekeeper, the attentive one, Asarluĥi
 prepares for you the lustration rites and the pure rituals (*me*).
 Your vizier, Ninġidru, *stands by for you* ... supplication *and* ...
 He (Ninġidru) made the true crown shine brightly *for* Bur-Suen
 After you placed your bright *men*-crown on his head
 He bestowed on him [...] the scepter that keeps the people in order
 Bur-Suen is indeed their princely shepherd (or: their shepherd and prince)!
Since you have given him the staff of the numerous people, he shall lead (or: may he lead) the
 lands, your entire territory for you!

The hymn continues with further praise for Sud, and, at the end, with a second probable reference to the king.²³⁸

Ex. 4.11 Širgida to Sud 44–47

- 44 lu₂ a-ra-zu siškur₂ ma-ra-da-ab-be₂
 45 kadra₂^a-ne₂ šu ti-ba-ab lu₂(-)KAŠ(-)zu ĥe₂-a

²³⁸ On the assumption that the man referenced here is in fact Bur-Suen, see section 6.1.

46 saĝ²³⁹ gegge-še₃ ama ʾarḥuš¹-a-me-ʾen¹
47 ʾkur¹-ʾkur¹-ʾre¹ saĝ en₃-tar-be₂-me-ʾen¹

A man makes prayers and offerings to you.
Receive his gifts; let *him* be *your* ...
For the black-headed people, you are the compassionate mother!
For all the lands, you are their caregiver!

Both of these passages are comparable to references to the king that occur in other “royal” liturgical hymns such as *adabs* and *tigis*, both in terms of their content—praising the goddess for her past support of the king and asking her to continue blessing him—and their placement—occurring halfway through and at the end of the composition.

4.2.2 Martu A

Although the Sud hymn is the only *širgida* text preserving a mention of the king by name, there are two other hymns that, from their textual content alone, could easily be classified as “royal hymns” in the same sense as other liturgical “royal” hymns, like *adabs* and *tigis*—that is, they contain a prayer for the king or a celebration of the god’s favor towards him, with the difference that the king’s name is not mentioned or not preserved.

The entirety of the *širgida* Martu A focuses on two main themes: in the first half of the hymn, the singer extols Martu’s martial prowess and strength, while in the second half he enumerates the blessings that Martu bestows on the unnamed king. Within this framework, some of the themes and patterns encountered in the Sud hymn are again apparent.

The words of the hymn begin with Martu’s relationship to the higher gods in the pantheon—in this case describing the unparalleled attributes he has received from his parents, An and

²³⁹ Looks like KA in photo

Ninḫursaĝa, and concluding with the exclamation that no one can oppose him (**saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂**) (l. 7). The singer then moves on to the Martu's support from the Anuna gods, who have girded him with authority and weapons, similarly with the result that he can have no rival (**za₃ ša₄ nu-mu-[...(**tuku**)]**) (l. 12). After several further exclamations proclaiming Martu's warlike attributes, the singer introduces the Mesopotamian king, at who's service Martu puts all this incredible power into action.

Ex. 4.12 Martu A 21–23

21 lugal-ra kur nu-še-ga-ne₂ mu-na-gul-gul-[e]
 22 sipa zi ša₃ ku₃-ge pa₃-da-ne₂-[er']
 23 ^dĜAR₇-DU₂ dumu an-na šu mu-na-a-DU

For the king, he destroys the land that does not obey him.
 On the true shepherd whom he chose in his pure heart
 Martu, the son of An has laid his hand!

The singer goes on to briefly sing of Martu's governance and judgment, and the listener is again reminded that his authority was given by his father, An, and that he has no rival (**gaba-ge₄ nu-um-mi-in-tuku**) (l. 30).

The second half of the hymn is devoted entirely to the blessings given by Martu to the king, whom the singer describes as “the just man *who has accepted the [firm] decisions*, [who] pray[s] to him (Martu).”²⁴⁰ Most of the blessings find clear parallels in other hymns with blessings for kings, including military success, a long life, agricultural abundance, and a secure line of succession. Towards the end of this sequence, echoing the repeated idea the Martu was given no rival by the other gods, the singer declares that Martu himself lets the king to have no rival or challenger (**za₃-saga₁₁ nu-mu-ni-in-tuku**) (l. 52).

²⁴⁰ Martu A 34 lu₂ 'si-sa₂ di niĝ₂'-[ge-na mu]-un-dab₅-ba e-ne-ra enim sa₆-[x (x)].

Here, as in the Sud hymn, the singer brings out the parallel relationships that exist between the great gods and the praised deity, on the one hand, and the praised deity and the king, on the other. In the Martu hymn this parallelism is encapsulated in the various formulations expressing the idea of having no rival. The first part of the hymn is punctuated with the idea in three places – once it is Ninḫursaĝa who has given Martu no rival, once it is the Anuna gods, and once it is An. In the second half of the hymn, the same idea occurs again—but this time with Martu in the position of power, granting that the king have no rival.

The singer’s description of the king as a just man “praying” or “making entreaties”—literally “speaking beautiful words” to Nuska—is reminiscent of the closing lines of the Sud hymn, imploring the goddess to hear the suppliant’s prayers.²⁴¹

4.2.3 Nuska A

The third preserved *širgida* text containing a long passage on the relationship between the praised deity and the king is Nuska A. Until now, the passage in question has not been recognized as concerning king, instead having been understood as a description of Enlil giving blessings to Nuska. Thanks to the a newly incorporated fragment belonging to the hymn’s only source, it is now clear that the blessings are instead being given by Nuska to the human king; although he is not named, the epithets used in reference to the recipient are known almost exclusively as royal, rather than divine, epithets.

Ex. 4.13 Nuska A Seg. B 28–30

B28 ʾsipa²⁴²¹ d^{en}-lil₂-la₂ uĝ₃-ta kiĝ₂-ĝa₂ šu du₁₁-ʾga¹ an-na

²⁴¹ This theme of prayer and supplication in the *širgida* texts is explored more fully in Chapter 6.

²⁴² [P]A[?].LU

B29 ʽx²⁴³ TAR mu du₁₀-ga še₂₁-a uĝ₃ šar₂-ra pa₃-da
 B30 [x] ʽx¹ ʽku₃¹ e₂-kur-ʽta¹ šu-mu-na-da-ab-šum₂-mu

*To the shepherd of Enlil, sought out from among the people, the creation of An,
 ... , named with a good name, chosen from among the myriad people,
 you, oh pure [...], give (gifts) from the Ekur!*

After this general exclamation that Nuska provides for the king, the singer expands on the statement, specifying the gifts provided—including agricultural prosperity, years of plenty, abundance, and a long life:

Ex. 4.14 Nuska A Seg. B 31–37

B31 [x x x] ʽx x x x x¹ še I₃²⁴⁴
 B32 [...]-e
 B33 [ĝeš-tu⁹] ʽĝeštu¹ daĝal niĝ₂-ʽnam¹-ʽma¹ buru₃-da igi ĝal₂ ki-šar₂-ra
 B34 [ĝeš] ʽra¹ ʽĝeš ʽapin¹ gana₂ ʽzi¹-ʽde₃¹-ʽeš¹ ʽka¹ ʽtuĥ¹-ʽu₃¹ / ab-sin₂ še-gu-nu
 B35 ʽkuru₁₃¹-du₆ kuru₁₃-maš₂-a *a₂ SU₃-[x] / GU₂ IM(.)SI(./-)A²⁴⁵ ʽra¹-ʽx¹ [x]
 B36 ʽmu¹ ʽĥe₂¹-ĝal₂-la giri₁₇ zal-ʽla¹ [x]-ʽx¹ / nam-ĥe₂ til₃ u₄ ʽsud¹-ʽda¹
 B37 ʽd¹nuška eš₃-maĥ-ta ša-mu-na-da-ab-ʽšum₂¹-ʽmu¹

...
 ...

*oh (one who has) broad wisdom, having penetrated into everything, wise throughout the universe—
 the hoe and the plow that rightly open up the fields; the furrows; the fine grain;
 causing the mountainous grain-stacks and small grain-stacks to spread far and wide, ...;
 years of abundance; [...] in profusion; prosperity; and a life of many days,
 you, oh Nuska, give to him from the Ešmaĥ!*

It is likely that the king is also the subject in the following lines, where the singer tells how he enters Nuska's temple with offerings:

²⁴³ ʽnam¹ is possible. di (for di-ku_s) would be paleographically difficult.

²⁴⁴ or -še-er

²⁴⁵ Expected is ... gur, but IM SI A is clearly written.

Ex. 4.15 Nuska A Seg. B 38–44

- B38 ʾninta¹ kala-ga a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ ʾme₃¹-ʾše₃¹ ʾsaĝ¹ ĝa₂-ĝa₂
 B39 UĜ₃ du₆-ul-du₆-ul-e ʾNE.RU¹-ʾe¹ izi ʾšum₂¹-ʾmu¹ / ħulu ga-an²⁴⁶-ʾzi¹-ʾir¹ ʾma₅¹-ʾma₅¹
 B40 kur gu₂ du₃-a-ba ĝiri₃ saga₁₁ di kur nu-še-ʾga¹
 B41 gud a₂ gur-ra udu zulumĥi niĝdaba ʾgal^{?1}-ʾgal^{?1}-ʾda^{?1}
 B42 ^dnuška en an-ne₂ ʾki¹ ʾaĝ₂¹ / ša-mu-ʾra¹-da-an-ʾku₄¹-ʾku₄¹
 B43 me-ʾzu¹ kur-kur-ra IZIM²⁴⁷-ba šu ʾzi¹ ʾ*ša¹-ba-an²⁴⁸-ʾ*ĝa₂¹-ʾ*ĝa₂¹
 B44 ĝarza nam-maĥ gal-gal-zu ʾniĝ₂¹ ʾša¹-ʾba¹-ʾab¹-/gu-ul-ʾgu¹-ʾul¹-ʾu₃^{1?1}

A mighty man, (having) heroic arms, advancing to battle,
gathering all the people, setting fire to the enemy, consuming the evil *with* flame,
 trampling their hostile land, the disobedient land—
 with gnarled-*legged*²⁴⁹ bulls, long-haired sheep, great[?] food offerings,
 he enters before for you, oh Nuska, lord beloved by An!
He rightly carries out your rituals (*me*) in the *festivals* of all the lands.
 For your (divine) rites of exceeding greatness *he* provides abundantly.

4.2.4 *Angim*

In the text of *Angim dimma*, the only explicit references to the human king occur not as an exhortation or exclamation on the part of the singer, but are instead embedded within the hymn’s narrative as a blessing spoken by Ninurta.

Towards the end of the narrative, after Ninurta has made his triumphant return to Nippur and been honored in the Ekur by Enlil and all the other gods, immediately after proclaiming the greatness of Nippur and the Ešumeša and preparing to return to his temple, Ninurta is confronted by Ninkarnuna with a request to bless the king.

²⁴⁶ “Modern” DINGIR.

²⁴⁷ Paleographically EZEN or ŠIR is better than KEŠDA.

²⁴⁸ “Modern” DINGIR.

²⁴⁹ Or: gnarled-horned.

Ex. 4.16 *Angim* 180–186/182–188 (OB version, composite text)²⁵⁰

180/2 ʿlugal¹-ġu₁₀ iri ki-aġ₂-zu ʿša₃-zu^{ʿ1} ħe₂-em-[ma]-ħuġ
 181/3 ʿen¹ [ʰ]nin¹-urta iri ki-aġ₂-zu ša₃-zu ħe₂-[em-ma]-ħuġ
 182/4 eš₃ nibru^{ki}-ke₄ iri ʿki¹ aġ₂-zu ša₃-zu ħe₂-[em-ma]-ħuġ
 183/5 e₂-šu!-me-ša₄ e₂ ki aġ₂-zu(-)[(še₃)] DILI ʿku₄¹-[ku₄-da-zu]-ʿne^{ʿ1}
 184/6 ġešdana-zu-ur₂ ki-sikil^d [nin-nibru^{kj}]ⁱ
 185/7 ša₃-ga du₁₁-mu-(ʿun¹)-na-ab bar-ra du₁₁-[mu-(un)-na-ab]
 186/8 **enim du₁₀ lugal-la ʿsud¹-ra₂-a-še₃ ʿdu₁₁-mu-na-ab¹**

“My king, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Lord Ninurta, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Let your heart [be calmed] towards shrine Nippur!”
 When you, *alone*, e[nter] your beloved temple, the Ešumeša,
 say to your wife, the young lady [Ninnibru],
 what is on your mind! Say to her what is in your heart!
Speak to her favorable words concerning the king, for eternity!”

As Ninurta goes on to enter the Ešumeša, he does exactly as Ninkarnuna requested, and the narrative culminates in a statement of his blessing.

Ex. 4.17 *Angim* 195–198/197–200

195/197 e₂-šu-me-ša₄ ʿe₂ ki¹-aġ₂-ġa₂-ne₂ am₃-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
 196/198 ġešdana-ne₂(-er) ki-sikil^d nin-nibru^{ki}
 197/199 ša₃-ga mu-un-da-ab-be₂ (II and O; Z: -na-) bar-ra mu-un-da-ab-be₂
 198/200 **enim du₁₀ lugal-la! sud-ra₂-še₃ mu-un-na-ab-be₂ (Z and BB; II: -da-)**

He (lord Ninurta) entered the Ešumeša, his beloved temple (with offerings)
 To his wife, the young lady Ninnibru,
 he said what was on his mind, he said to her what was in his heart.
 He spoke to her favorable words concerning the king, for eternity.

After this, the composition concludes with a few concluding lines of praise for Ninurta.

As other commentators have already observed, the position of the blessing at the end of the narrative is significant. Ninurta, at the high point of his achievement and glory, just after he has

²⁵⁰ In this chapter, citations of *Angim* quote the OB composite text with selected variants, unless otherwise noted.

been shown favor and respect by all the other gods, then turns around to ensure a blessing on the human king, representing the ultimate point of the narrative.

4.2.5 Ninurta B

Ninurta B, or Ninurta’s Journey to Eridu, represents a second *širgida* text in which the singer narrates Ninurta’s receiving honor and glory from the other gods and his treatment as a king, then shifts his focus to Ninurta’s support of the human king. Here the reference to the king comes outside of the narrative framework, in the final stanza of the composition. This stanza consists of a formulaic series of exclamations declaring Ninurta’s greatness and his support from Enlil. The final two lines, though partially destroyed, evidently deal with Ninurta’s role in the human institution of kingship.

Ex. 4.18 Ninurta B Seg. D 16–21

- D16 [x (x) nam]-maḥ-zu¹ d^{en}-lil²-la² niĝ² ša³-ga¹-na-ka
D17 [dⁿⁱⁿ-urta] r^{nam}¹-maḥ¹-zu¹ r^{d^{en}}¹-lil²-la² niĝ² r^{ša}³¹-ga-¹na¹-ka¹
D18 [x x x] a² gal r^{aĝ}²¹-e-zu niĝ² ša³-ga-¹na¹-ka
D19 [x x] r^x¹ r^{nam}¹ r^{tar}¹-re¹-zu niĝ² ša³-ga-na-ka
D20 [x x (x)] r^{nam}¹-lugal-la ge-ne²-zu niĝ² ša³-ga-na-ka¹
D21 [x (x)](-)r^{si}¹(-)^{sa}² U⁴ DU⁶-LA² šu-na ĝa²-ĝa²-zu¹ / niĝ² ša³-ga-na-ka

[King[?]], your grandness is Enlil’s desire!
[Ninurta], your grandness is the Enlil’s desire!
that you give great instructions [...] is his desire!
that you decide fates [...] is his desire!
that you make firm the [throne[?]] of kingship is his desire!
That you place the *just* [...] of *eternity* in his hands is his desire!

Whereas the penultimate line in this sequence has long been understood as a reference to human kingship, the expression **šu-na** “in his hand” in the final line was previously unrecognized as a possible direct reference to the king, having been read **-še₃ na-**. The referent of the pronoun

in **-na** is not clear—potentially due to the damage in Seg. D 18 or 19—but the most likely image is that of Nuska putting something, perhaps a scepter or staff, in the hand of the king.

As in the previous hymns, we see here again the parallelism between the god praised and the human king: Ninurta, at the peak of his glory, is first praised for his own greatness, everything he does is endorsed by Enlil, and his own kingship is highlighted—then, at the end of the hymn, the singer closes on the point that Ninurta stabilizes human kingship and supports the human king.

4.2.6 Nuska B

The final *širgida* text in which the singer explicitly addresses the relationship between the king and the god is Nuska B. This hymn, aside from a few framing lines at the beginning and the end, consists entirely of a series of copular clauses ending in **-me-en** “you are,” addressing Nuska. A little more than halfway through the series, the singer references the king.

Ex. 4.19 Nuska B Seg. B 6–9

B 6 [d]ṛnin¹-tur⁵-ra ^{ḡeš}bansur si¹²-ga-me-en
 B7 ^den-nu-ge⁴-ra a² ṛaḡ²ṛ-ṛḡa²ṛ ṛe³ṛ-[a[?]-me]-ṛen¹
 B8 lugal-ra nam-ti³ ṛx¹ṛx¹ -ṛme¹-ṛen¹
 B9 an ki US²-ṛbe²ṛ^{1?}ṛ-ṛše³ ṛx¹-ṛx¹-ṛUD[?]ṛ-me-en

You are he who *has made* the table *lavish* for Nintur!

You are he who [*has*] *issued* commands for Ennugi!

You are he who ... life for the king!

You are he who ...*to/for the foundation of* heaven and earth!

That this line, and possibly the one following it, is not just a passing reference but can be understood as a focal point of the hymn becomes clear when one considers the preceding and following sections. The first part of the hymn begins, as one would expect, with the singer celebrating Nuska as the one favored by Enlil and the other great gods, followed by his

preeminence among the Anuna and the authority of his word. At this point there is a long gap in the preserved text. When it resumes, the singer continues to address Nuska's divine relationships, now with a narrower focus on Nuska's functions within the pantheon vis-à-vis the other gods: for example, he prepares the offering table for Nintur and gives orders to Ennugi. Finally, the singer comes to Nuska's support of the human king, as cited above—probably giving the king life or extending his life and perhaps helping him to preserve order.

After these lines, the singer shifts to a new topic, namely the various *me*'s in Nuska's domain, on which he remains for the rest of the hymn, up until the short closing passage. The reference to the king, therefore, comes at a transitional moment in the text, as the culmination of the first main unit of the hymn. The implicit message is consistent with what we have seen in the other *širgida* hymns, although it is more subtle: the singer first emphasizes Nuska's glory among the great gods, then his critical role at all levels of the pantheon, and finally, at the end of all this, his favorable actions towards the king.

4.2.7 Ninisina A

Among the well-preserved *širgida* texts, only two lack an explicit reference to the human king. In Ninisina A, the text of which is entirely preserved, we can say with certainty that the king is not mentioned. However, Ninisina's participation in the human political realm is dealt with: in her speech of self-praise, Ninisina describes in detail her treatment of the defeated king or kings of the rebel land.

Ex. 4.20 Ninisina A 111–120

- 111 sipa ki-bala-ba ḡeš-tu⁹ ḡeštu-na im-ma-ni-ib-dib-be₂
 112 ka u₃-mu-da-an-tar KA u₃-mu-da-an-si
 113 e-ne-ra ḡeš-tu⁹ ḡeštu-ga u₃-mu-na-ni-in-u₁₈-lu

114 iri ʿba¹-ḫulu-ʿa¹-ʿba² lu₂ nu-mu-un-ši-zu-zu
 115 sipa-be₂ u₂ gu₇-a-na lu₂ nu-mu-ši-pa₃-de₃
 116 a-gen₇ u₃-ʿdab₅² ʿdab₅² buru₁₄-gen₇ ʿu₃¹-[...] ʿx¹
 117 še-gen₇ ḡeš¹bad-ra₂ šu um-ma-ni-ʿti¹
 118 izi-gen₇ u₂numun₂-bur-gen₇ e-ne um-ma-an-la₂
 119 ḡeš¹tukul sag₃-ge saḡ ḡeš ra-ra-ḡu₁₀
 120 aia-ḡu₁₀ d¹en-lil₂-ra nibru^{ki}-še₃ ENIM ga-mu-na-ab-DU

I let the shepherd(s) of those rebel lands pass *out of his memory*!
 After *praises have been sung before me*, after ... *before me*,
 after *he has been* forgotten him,
 in those cities that were destroyed, no one *knows him*.
 As that shepherd eats his food, no one *calls* to him.
 After [...] like water, after [...] like the harvest,
 after *I have* taken him like barley (on) a threshing sledge,
 after *he is has been (treated) like numun-bur-rushes burned by fire*,
 (concerning) my beating him and striking him with a weapon,
 let me bring word to my father, Enlil, in Nippur.

Although the episode is cast in mythical terms—Ninisina says that she is fighting the rebel land on behalf of her father, Enlil—the defeated enemy is clearly a human ruler, the foreign counterpart to the Mesopotamian king. It’s no great leap therefore, to see this as a concrete act of support for the Mesopotamian king, even though he’s not explicitly mentioned.

A second potential oblique reference to the king occurs in the closing lines of the hymn, where Ninisina describes herself as “the one who hears prayers and supplications.” This recalls to some extent the image of the king seen elsewhere in the *širgida* corpus, as one coming before the deity with offerings and prayers (see further Ch. 6).

4.2.8 *Utu ursag*

No explicit reference to the king is preserved in the text of *Utu ursag*, although there is enough damage in the first half of the text that a reference cannot be ruled out. However, the heartfelt

prayer to Utu at the end of the composition, spoken in the first person, could potentially be understood as the words of the king. As discussed in Chapter 6, this section closely parallels the “heart pacification unit” of an *Eršaḫuḡa* prayer, which, at least in the first millennium, was regularly sung by the king himself.

4.2.9 Other *Širgida* Texts

The remaining four known *širgida* texts do not preserve any direct mention of the human king, but they are too poorly preserved to determine whether such a reference occurred in the original text. In Ninurta J, Lulal A, and the hymn to Nergal, the large majority of the text is missing. In the case of Ninurta A, a much greater percentage of the text is preserved, and Cooper even goes so far as to state that mention of the king is definitely excluded (Cooper 1978, 4). I would argue, however, that, given the predominance of the king in the other *širgida* texts, it is entirely possible that he was originally mentioned in Ninurta A as well. The hymn, as one would expect, begins with general expressions of praise for Ninurta, highlighting his relationship to Enlil and his prominence within Nippur. In a fragmentary section, the singer apparently continues with specific descriptions of Ninurta’s relationship to other gods in the pantheon, including Utu and Nanna, as well as depictions of Ninurta as a king, holding a scepter and wearing a *men*-crown. The remaining lines on the obverse of the main source (Seg. A 19–23) are too damaged to read more than a few words here and there, and they are followed by a gap of around 12–16 lines. When the text resumes, the singer seems still (or again?) to be dealing with Ninurta’s divine relations—first Inana, then Enki. The remainder of the text, until the closing doxology, is obscure. Although there are no indications within the text itself that the missing portion would have mentioned the king—the lines before and

after seem rather to deal with Ninurta's status in the divine realm—given the comparative evidence of the other *širgida* texts, there is no reason to exclude this suggestion.

4.2.10 Conclusion

In light of the recently identified textual evidence and reconsideration of previously known texts, it is now clear that the preserved *širgida* texts do, by and large, have the figure of the Mesopotamian king as a central focus. More specifically, they deal with the unique relationship that exists between the king and the god or goddess being praised. The ancient designation “royal praise” is fitting in that, by elevating and legitimizing the authority and greatness of the deity, the singer also elevates the status of the king whom that deity has chosen to sponsor and support, and to whom he or she lends his or her power.

Establishing the role played by the king in the texts of the *širgidas* is significant for understanding the ritual context of the hymns themselves. Given that the singer usually mentions the king, either to request a blessing on him or to extol the deity's support of him, it seems likely that the hymns were intended to be performed in rituals of kingship and that king was probably present while they were sung. Recognizing this likelihood allows us to consider the verbal content of the hymns and its potential impact on an audience from a new perspective, focusing on the ideologies of kingship embedded in the words and overtly or subtly conveyed to the listeners.

4.3 Royal Ideology and the Deity as King

4.3.0 Introduction

A complementary strategy for elevating the status of the king or legitimizing the office of kingship evident in the *širgida* hymn is the drawing of parallels between the Mesopotamian king

and the praised deity. As mentioned above, it has long been recognized that at least some of the preserved *širgida* texts intentionally cast the deity in a kingly role, as described especially by Ludwig (1990). In this section, I will only begin to unpack some of the language used to associate the deity with kingship and its associated functions; a more in-depth study will be published in the future.

4.3.1 Characterizations of the Deity

4.3.1.1 Explicit Kingship

The most explicit way in which the deities addressed in *širgida* hymns are characterized as rulers is through application of the title **lugal** “king” (and, to a lesser extent, **en/nin** “lord/lady” and **nun** “prince”), along with passages describing their royal investiture. Two hymns, in particular, narrate the elevation of the addressed deity (Ninurta in both cases) to a royal status, namely Ninurta B and *Angim dimma*. In Ninurta B, Ninurta is crowned in Eridu with the *men*-crown as a sign of kingship (**nam-lugal**) and invested with the *SUH*-emblem as a sign of lordship (**nam-en**) (Seg. B 15–16). In *Angim*, although no royal investiture is described, Ninurta is likewise elevated to a position of authority in the pantheon, and his kingship (**nam-lugal**) is said to “appear in fully glory to the ends of heaven and earth.”²⁵¹ Throughout both hymns, Ninurta is repeatedly addressed as “king” (**lugal**).²⁵² A third hymn in which Ninurta’s royal investiture is referenced is Ninurta A, where the singer describes the god as holding a scepter and wearing a *men*-crown (Seg. A 11–12). Other deities are also described in explicitly royal terms or terms associated with royal

²⁵¹ *Angim* Seg. 166/8 **nam-lugal-ĝu₁₀ za₃ an-ki-še₃ pa he₂-em¹ma¹-ni-¹e₃¹**.

²⁵² Ninurta B: Seg. B 5, 9, Seg. C 6, 12, 16 ; cf. also Seg. B 19, Seg. C 21, Seg. D 10; *Angim*: 5, 7, 16, 30, 50/49, 73/72, 81/80, 92, 180/2.

authority: for example, Nuska is referred to as “king” (**lugal**) in Nuska B Seg. A 6 and is associated with the term **nuĝun nam-en-na** “seed of lordship,” a regular epithet of the king, in Nuska B Seg. A 11 (cf. also Nuska A Seg. A 11, where he is said to have control over the “*me*’s of princehood,” **me nam-nun-na**). Other titles likely referring to the deity’s royal authority are Ninisina’s titles **in-nin** “lady” (Ninisina A 70), and **nin gal diĝir-re-e-ne** “great lady of the gods” (Ninisina A 126) and Ninurta’s title **en diĝir-re-e-ne** “lord of the gods” (Ninurta A Seg. B 22).

4.3.1.2 Deity as Youthful Warrior for Enlil

The most dominant kingly traits evident in the *širgidas*’ characterization of the praised deity, often mentioned in the same breath as his or her kingship, are the deity’s military strength and his or her success in defending the land against enemy forces on behalf of his or her divine father (usually Enlil). This is one of the main characteristics identified by Ludwig in her treatment of the *širgidas* hymns (see also above):

Alle diese Kompositionen haben eines gemeinsam: Sie stellen, in jeweils unterschiedlicher literarischer Form und Gewichtung innerhalb der Gesamtkomposition, die angesprochene Gottheit in Gestalt eines göttlichen Sohnes (bzw. Tochter bei Ninisina) und jugendlichen, kriegerischen Helden dar, der — als die symbolische Handlung seiner Sohnschaft schlechthin — die Aufträge seines Vaters, d.h. die Sorge für innere Ordnung und Fruchtbarkeit des Landes und das Wohlergehen seiner Bewohner und, eng damit verbunden, den Krieg gegen die Feinde, in mustergültiger Weise ausführt bzw. ausgeführt hat. Die **šir₃-gid₂-da** beschreiben daher ein Verhältnis, das auch zwischen dem König von seinem ‘Vater’ mit bestimmten Aufgaben betraut, die er hervorragend bewältigt, wie zahlreiche Hymnen ausführlich darstellen (Ludwig 1990, 39).

Nearly all of the preserved *širgida* texts thus characterize the praised deity as a youthful warrior endowed with awesome destructive power, which he or she unleashes on the enemies of Sumer and of Enlil—just as the human king is presented in royal ideology as a son engendered or raised

by the gods, whose military campaigns are conducted in order to enforce the will of Enlil and to preserve divine order.

A few of the preserved texts include a passage or passages describing the deity's victorious campaign: for example, Ninurta's victory against enemy lands (**kur, ki-bala**) is the main topic for much of the first half of *Angim* (see esp. 16–25, 41–51/40–50), and Ninisina's treatment of defeated enemy kings is described in Ninisina A 105–120. Elsewhere, the singer frequently references the deity's conquests of enemy or rebel lands (**kur, ki-bala**) or of evildoers (**ERIM₂-du, ħulu-ġal₂**), including the conquests of Ninurta,²⁵³ of Martu,²⁵⁴ and of Ninisina.²⁵⁵

Other epithets used throughout the corpus that emphasize the deity's role as the youthful, powerful warrior of Enlil include “son/child of Enlil” (**dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂**); “valiant warrior” (**ur-saġ**), and “youth” (**sul, meš₃**), as well as variety of epithets referring explicitly to the deity's strength or might and a variety of epithets equating or comparing the deity to a powerful force from nature, such as a storm, a flood, or a wild animal. The extent to which each of these epithets is associated specifically with kingship remains to be explored. Some of the animals with which a deity is equated, for example, are well-known royal symbols, such as the lion and the bull (see, e.g., Watanabe 2002, 42–64; Rendu Loisel 2016, 231), while other metaphors may be more restricted to the divine world or have more general connotations of power. Here, I merely provide an overview of the epithets and descriptions that occur.

In the *širgidas* addressing Ninurta, he is regularly called by his title “son of Enlil.”²⁵⁶ In other epithets expressing the role Ninurta plays in carrying out Enlil's will, he is called “grip” (lit.

²⁵³ *Angim* 94–97, 110–112, 118–120; Ninurta A Seg. A 6; Ninurta B Seg. C 28.

²⁵⁴ Martu A 19.

²⁵⁵ Ninisina A 128.

²⁵⁶ *Angim*: 1, 4, 10, 31, 110, 200/202; Ninurta A Seg. A 1 “noble son” (**dumu nir-ġal₂**) of Enlil; Ninurta B Seg. A 4 (?), Seg. C 3, Seg. D 12. Cf. Ninurta B Seg. C 24 (reference to Ninurta's “father” (**aia**) Enlil).

“wrist”) **kišeb-la₂** of Enlil (*Angim* 93); “flood” (**a-ma-ru**) of Enlil (*Angim* 117); “strength” (**ne₃**) of Enlil (*Angim* 161/2); “great lord” (**en gal**) of Enlil (Ninurta A Seg. B 22); and “valiant warrior” (**ur-saĝ**) of Enlil (Ninurta B Seg. C 29). Nergal, like Ninurta, is addressed as the son of Enlil in the *širgida* to Nergal Seg. B 4. In addition, Ninisina refers to Enlil as her father (**aia**) in Ninisina A 109 and 120, and she is called the “enormous strength” (**a₂ mah**) of Enlil in Ninisina A 83.

One of the most frequently recurring divine epithets throughout preserved *širgida* corpus is **ur-saĝ**, translated in this dissertation as “valiant warrior” (conventionally “hero”). Nearly every one of the deities addressed is referred to with this term: Ninurta,²⁵⁷ Lulal,²⁵⁸ Martu,²⁵⁹ Ninisina,²⁶⁰ Nuska,²⁶¹ Utu²⁶² are each characterized as a “valiant warrior” at least once, and most of them multiple times. The only deities missing from this list are Nergal, whose *širgida* is almost completely destroyed or illegible, and Sud.

Many of these deities are also addressed as “youth” (**sul**) or “young man” (**meš₃**), the latter of which is also a frequent epithet for human kings. The term **sul** is preserved in reference to Ninurta,²⁶³ Martu,²⁶⁴ Lulal,²⁶⁵ Ninisina,²⁶⁶ and Utu,²⁶⁷ and the term **meš₃** in reference to Ninurta²⁶⁸ and probably to Nuska.²⁶⁹

²⁵⁷ *Angim*: 8 (valiant warrior of Enlil), 9 (**ur-saĝ huš**), 77/76 (**ur-saĝ diĝir-re-e-ne**), 81/80, 94, 111, 165/7, 199/201, 204/206; *passim* in the expression **a₂ nam-ur-saĝ(-ĝa₂)**; Ninurta A: Seg. A 1, Seg. B 22 (**ur-saĝ gal an-na**); Ninurta B: Seg. A 13(?), Seg. B 14, Seg. C 22, Seg. C 29 (**ur-saĝ en-lil-la₂**); cf. **nam-ur-saĝ** in Seg. C 3, 14, Seg. D 11.

²⁵⁸ Lulal A Seg. A 1; cf. Seg. A 2 **ur-saĝ-e-ne-er dib-ba**, Seg. A 3 girt with “valor” (**nam-ur-saĝ**).

²⁵⁹ Martu A 1, 33

²⁶⁰ Ninisina A 110 (**ur-saĝ kala-ga**), 130.

²⁶¹ Nuska A Seg. B 11.

²⁶² *Utu ursag* Seg. A 1–2.

²⁶³ Ninurta B Seg. B 18.

²⁶⁴ Martu A 1//2 (**sul mah**).

²⁶⁵ Lulal A Seg. A 1 (**nam-sul-la za₃ dib-ba**).

²⁶⁶ Ninisina A 83, 110, 130.

²⁶⁷ *Utu ursag* Seg. C 28/71.

²⁶⁸ Ninurta A Seg. A 3; cf. Seg. A 17, where Ninurta is compared to a “*meš*-tree ripe with fruit “ (**meš₃-gen₇ gurun-na si₁₂-ga**).

²⁶⁹ Nuska A Seg. B 12?.

Another metaphor having to do with the deity's strength and enforcing of divine law that occurs particularly frequently in the *širgida* corpus is that of the deity as a “neckstock” (^{ĝeš}**rab**₃), applied to Ninurta,²⁷⁰ to Nuska,²⁷¹ to Ninisina,²⁷² and possibly to Nergal (as Lugalirra).²⁷³ A similar concept lies behind the epithet of the deity as a battle-net, as attested in Nuska A;²⁷⁴ on this fairly well-attested metaphor, applied to both deities and human kings, see Steinkeller 1985, 40–41.

The military strength of the deities addressed in is also conveyed using a variety of expressions explicitly characterizing the deities as powerful or mighty, including epithets built on the terms **kala-ga**,²⁷⁵ **usu**,²⁷⁶ **a₂-ĝal₂**,²⁷⁷ and others,²⁷⁸ and expressions that proclaim the deity to be unrivaled or insurmountable.²⁷⁹

Epithets associating the deity with a strong, ferocious animal are used in the preserved *širgida* hymns for three gods in particular: Ninurta, Martu, and Lulal. These gods are most frequently described as a lion (**piriĝ**) or as having lion-like features,²⁸⁰ followed by epithets associating them with a wild bull (**am**), or, less frequently, a domesticated bull (**gud**).²⁸¹ Both Ninurta and Lulal are also described as a “dragon” (**ušum**, **ušumgal**).²⁸² Other animal metaphors attested only once in

²⁷⁰ *Angim* 92 ^{ĝeš}**rab**₃ **an-na**, 162/3 ^{ĝeš}**rab**₃ **diĝir-re-ne**; Ninurta A Seg. A 5 **rab**₃? **SUMUR-ra₂**? **diĝir-re-e-ne**.

²⁷¹ Nuska A Seg. A 6 ^{ĝeš}**rab**₃ [**diĝir-re-e**]-**ne**.

²⁷² Ninisina A 133 ^{ĝeš}**rab**₃ **kalam-ma**.

²⁷³ *Širgida* to Nergal Seg. B 3 ^{ĝeš}? **rab**₃? **kalam**?-**ma**

²⁷⁴ Nuska A Seg. B 49 **a₂ sa-par₄ NE.RU-du-še₃ la₂-a**.

²⁷⁵ *Angim* 159/60 **kala-ga kur nu-ge₄-me-en**, 164/6 **a₂ kala-ga me₃-a**, 205/207 **kala-ga**; Lulal A Seg. A 1//2 **kala-ga**.

²⁷⁶ Lulal A Seg. A 8 **usu gal** 'tuku?', Seg. A 11 **usu piriĝ-ĝa₂**.

²⁷⁷ *Angim* 167/9 **a₂-ĝal₂ diĝir-re-e-ne**; Ninisina A 130 **a₂-ĝal₂ kalam-ma**; Nuska B Seg. B **a₂-nun-ĝal₂**.

²⁷⁸ Ninisina A 125 **piš₁₀-ĝal₂ gaba-ĝal₂**.

²⁷⁹ *Angim* 202/204 **gaba-ri nu-tuku-a**; Martu A 7 **saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂**, 12 **za₃ ša₄ nu-mu-[...]tuku...]**, 30 **gaba ge₄ nu-mi-in-tuku**; Lulal A Seg. A 1//2 **saĝ ge₄-a**.

²⁸⁰ *Angim* 70/69 **piriĝ**, 120 **KUŠ piriĝ sa piriĝ-ĝa₂**, 161/2 **saĝ piriĝ-ĝa₂**; Martu A 3//4 **usu piriĝ huš**, 14 **a₂ piriĝ ĝal₂-la**, 15 **piriĝ banda₃^{da}-gen₇**, 33 **saĝ piriĝ**; Lulal A Seg. A 11 **piriĝ gu₃ mur**. Cf. Lulal A Seg. A 11 **u₄-ug₂**.

²⁸¹ *Angim* 26 **am si**, 28 **am gal**, 110 **am a₂ huš il₂-il₂**; Lulal A Seg. A 9 [**am**?], 10 **am gal**; Martu A 16 **am a₂ gur-ra-gen₇**; Lulal A Seg. A 10 'am?' (or **gud**)¹ **kuĝ₂ piriĝ**; Ninurta A Seg. A 2 **gud huš**, 6 **gud du₇-du₇**.

²⁸² Lulal A Seg. A 8 **ušum a₂-ur₂ sa₆**, 12 **ušum**; Ninurta B Seg. C 19 [**GAL**].**UŠUM**.

the preserved corpus are: **šeg, lu-lim**, referring to Ninurta,²⁸³ and **amar** and **maš₂-lu-lim**, referring to Lulal.²⁸⁴

Additionally, the destructive power of the addressed deity, especially Ninurta or Martu, is frequently expressed by reference to destructive natural phenomena. Both deities (and in one case Nuska), are described as a violent storm, either as in a direct metaphor or in a comparison.²⁸⁵ Similarly, Ninurta is repeatedly described as a flood in the text of *Angim*, and Ninisina is once compared to a crashing wave in Ninisina A.²⁸⁶

4.3.1.3 Deity in Priestly Roles

Another potentially kingly function attributed to deities in the *širgida* hymns is the fulfilment of priestly duties or service as a particular type of “priest” or ritual officiant. This includes especially the completion or “purification” of the “hand-washing” or lustration rites, which is attributed to Ninurta,²⁸⁷ Nuska,²⁸⁸ and Martu.²⁸⁹ Additionally, both Ninurta and Nuska are characterized as a **ša₃-gada-la₂** priest,²⁹⁰ either directly or indirectly, and Ninurta as an *en*-priest.²⁹¹ Both Ninurta and Ninisina are associated with the office of *isib*: Ninisina’s role as *isib*-priestess is a prominent topic in the text of Ninisina A,²⁹² and Ninurta is addressed in Ninurta B as an expert

²⁸³ *Angim* 27.

²⁸⁴ Lulal A Seg. A 5 **amar**, 6 **maš₂-lu-lim**.

²⁸⁵ **u₄**: *Angim* 74/73, 75/74, 162/3; **u₁₈-lu**: Martu A 19; **uru₁₇™**: Nuska A Seg. B 51; **tumu**: *Angim* 163a/5(?); cf. Martu A 17, where Martu wields the power of the storm-winds (**tumu**), and Martu A 18, where he flashes like lightning (**nim-gen₇**).

²⁸⁶ **a-ma-ru**: *Angim* 73/72, 117, 205/207; **a mah e₃-a**: *Angim* 119; **a-ĝe₆**: Ninisina A 132.

²⁸⁷ Ninurta B Seg. C 6 **šu-luḥ ku₃-ga**, Seg. D 3 **šu-luḥ dadag-ga**.

²⁸⁸ Nuska A Seg. A 14 **šu-luḥ sikil dadag-ga**, Nuska B Seg. B 20 **šu-luḥ [x (x)]**.

²⁸⁹ Martu A 25 **šu-luḥ me dadag-ga**.

²⁹⁰ Ninurta B Seg. C 5 **ša₃-gada-la₂**; cf. Nuska B Seg. B 15 **me[™]tuba ša₃ gada la₂-a**.

²⁹¹ Ninurta B Seg. C 5 **nam-en-na tum₂-ma** “suited to *en*-ship.” “Lordship” is also possible, but the context suggests the office of the *en*-priest.

²⁹² Mentioned explicitly in Ninisina A 30, 36, 122.

in the office of *isib*-priest.²⁹³ Finally, in Nuska A, Nuska is repeatedly characterized as a *šita*-priest or said to perform the *šita*-rites,²⁹⁴ as well as being characterized as a *susbu*-priest,²⁹⁵ and, in Martu A, Martu is described as having “clean hands” (**šu sikil**), a feature associated with the correct performance of ceremonial rites.²⁹⁶

The extent, if any, to which each of these roles overlaps with the priestly duties of the human king remains a topic for future research. Likewise, the related roles of providing for the gods, (attributed, e.g., to Nuska²⁹⁷ and to Utu²⁹⁸) and ensuring abundance in the land remain to be explored, along with their potential parallels to human kingship.

4.3.1.4 Deity as Wise Counselor and Arbiter of Justice

The language used to praise the deity in many of the *širgidas* additionally highlights his or her role as judge, counselor, and defender of justice, duties also associated with human kingship. Ninurta, Nuska, Martu, and Utu, for example, are directly referred to as judge (**di-ku_s**), or their ability to make decisions (**eš-bar, ka-aš bar**) is praised.²⁹⁹ Ninurta, Martu, and Utu are also extolled for their defending of justice and stability (**niĝ₂-ge-na**) and their protection of the powerless.³⁰⁰ Relatedly, many *širgida* hymns address the deity’s role as a wise counselor,

²⁹³ Ninurta B Seg. C 6 **nam-isib-zu**.

²⁹⁴ *šita*-priest: Nuska A Seg. A 25 **šita abzu**, Seg. B 46 *šita ku₃*; *šita*-rites: Nuska A Seg. A 27 **šita ku₃ du₃-du₃-du₃**, probably Seg. A 14 **šita ku₃**.

²⁹⁵ Nuska A Seg. A 25.

²⁹⁶ Martu A 25 **diĝir šu sikil** (followed by **šu-luḥ me dadag-ga**).

²⁹⁷ Nuska A *passim*, esp. Seg. A 42 **saĝ-us₂ ĝa₂-la nu-dag-ge**; Nuska B Seg. B 6.

²⁹⁸ *Utu ursag* Seg. A 6–7.

²⁹⁹ Ninurta A Seg. A 4 **di-ku_s unken-na**; Ninurta B Seg. C 4 **en eš-bar zi**; Nuska A Seg. A 18 **eš-bar gal-gal-la ĝiri₃ gā₂-ĝa₂**, Seg. B 48 **di gal ku_s-ru, ka-aš bar an-ki-a**; Martu A 27 **di si-sa₂ ku_s-ku_s, eš-bar-re gal-zu**; *Utu ursag* Seg. A 4 **di-ku_s maḥ**, 5 **en ka-aš bar**.

³⁰⁰ Ninurta B Seg. A 26 **niĝ₂-ge-na di-da**, Seg. C 22 **KALAM mu-ni-ib-ge-en-e**; Martu A 26 **niĝ₂-erim₂ niĝ₂-a₂-zi im-mi-in-gul, niĝ₂-ge-na bi₂-in-gub**; *Utu ursag* Seg. A 14–16, 18 **niĝ₂-ge-na ki-aĝ₂**.

deliberator, or assembly leader (including hymns to Nuska, Martu, Sud, and possibly Ninurta),³⁰¹ as well as his or her authority in giving instructions or commands (**a₂ aĝ₂**) (Ninurta, Nuska, and Sud).³⁰²

4.3.1.5 Conclusions

Concluding this survey, one must caution that these representations of the addressed deities in kingly roles are of course by no means unique to the *širgida* corpus, nor necessarily even more prevalent in the *širgida* hymns than in other hymns to deities or literary compositions of different genres. The point of the above survey is rather to draw attention to instances where representations of divine kingship occur in the *širgida* corpus, in order to help flesh out our understanding of the messages about kingship these hymns might have conveyed.

4.3.2 Parallels Between Deity and King

At least two of the preserved *širgida* texts draw more direct parallels between the praised deity and the human king, as mentioned already above. In Martu A, the fact that Martu was invested with authority by the other gods and is unopposable represents a recurring motif in the first half of the hymn. His lack of rival is stated three times, each time using different language. The first instance is as the culmination of blessings received from his mother, Ninĥursaĝa:

Ex. 4.21 Martu A 6–7

- 6 ama ^ugu₆ ^dnin-ĥur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ke₄
 7 alan-na-ne₂ me-dim₂-ta¹⁷ im-mi-in-điri na-me saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂

³⁰¹ Counselor/deliberator: Nuska A Seg. A 6 **ka-mud-ĝal₂**, 7 **umum AK**, **na-de₅ e₂-kur-ra**, Seg. B 48 **en sa₂ gal pa₃-da**; Martu A 28 [**ša₃**] **kuš₂-u₃**; *Širgida* to Sud 41 **ša₃ ENIM ĝal₂**; Ninurta J 4' **'na³1-[de₅']**; Assembly leader (**kiĝgal**): Nuska A Seg. A 13, Seg. B 56.

³⁰² Ninurta B Seg. D 18 [...] **a₂ gal aĝ₂-e**; Nuska B Seg. B 7 **^den-nu-ge₄-ra a₂-aĝ₂-ĝa₂**; *Širgida* to Sud 14 **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃**.

His mother who bore him, Ninḫursaġa,
made his figure surpassing of limb. No one can oppose him!

Several lines later, after listing the weapons and powers with which Martu was endowed by the Anuna gods, the singer proclaims:

Ex. 4.22 Martu A 12

12 nam-diġir-ra šu gal mi-ni-in-du₇-uš za₃ ša₄ nu-mu-[...(tuku)]

They have fully perfected *him in divinity*. [He has]³⁰³ no rival!

Thirdly, at the end of the hymn's first half dealing with Martu's strength, the singer concludes with Martu's inheritance from his father, An, in a similar exclamation:

Ex. 4.23 Martu A 29–32

29 aia ^ugu₆-ne₂ en diġir-re-e-ne ʾnun nam¹ tar-re-de₃
30 an su₃-ud ʾki¹ daġal-ba im-mi-in-si gaba gi₄ nu-um-mi-in-tuku
31 ḫur-saġ sikil kur ^{na}za-gin₃-na saġ-e-eš mu-ni-in-[rig₇]
32 kur ġar₇-du₂ <(kur ^{na}za-gin₃-na?) saġ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇>

His father who engendered him, the lord of the gods, the prince who establishes,
made him fill the distant heavens and the wide earth. He has no challenger!
The pristine mountain, the mountains of lapis lazuli, he bestowed on him!
The Martu land, <(the mountains of lapis lazuli?), he bestowed on him>!

In the second half of the hymn, which deals with Martu's blessing of the human king, this motif is echoed in the singer's treatment of the Mesopotamian ruler. Here, just as previously he emphasized how the other gods allow Martu to have no rival, the singer proclaims that Martu allows the king to have no rival.

Ex. 4.24 Martu A 51–52

51 e₂-gal lugal-[la-]-ʾka^{ʾ1} nuġun-na-ne₂ mu-ni-in-dib-dib-be₂
52 ki-in-DU si-sa₂ ġiri₃ mu-na-ab-ġal₂ za₃-saga₁₁ nu-mu-ni-in-tuku

³⁰³ Or: "they have let him have."

He (= Martu) makes his (= the king's) seed pass into⁷ the royal⁷ palace.
The foot is set on the straight path for him.³⁰⁴ He let him have no rival!

This echoing of the deity's endowment with ultimate power on the human plane, with the king set in the position of the god, represents yet another verbal strategy employed in the *širgidas* to elevate the status of the Mesopotamian ruler and to validate his position of authority.

A more subtle parallel between god and king evident in the text of Nuska A is drawn along different lines. Here, the singer casts Nuska as the faithful provider of the gods, supplying food and drink for their meals, keeping the temple running smoothly, and ensuring the deities' well-being and happiness (cf. esp. Nuska A Seg. A 23–43). Subsequently, in the part of the hymn focusing on Nuska's relationship with the king, the king himself is cast in a similar role: he is described as providing bulls, sheep, and other food offerings for Nuska, as overseeing the proper performance of rituals and festivals throughout the lands, and as supplying abundant provisions for them (Nuska A Seg. B 41–44).

³⁰⁴ I understand this and the subsequent lines to refer to the king himself, but his royal heir (his “seed”) is equally possible.

CHAPTER 5

MATERIAL CULTIC ELEMENTS IN THE *ŠIRGIDA* HYMNS

5.0 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 3, a potentially fruitful approach to investigating the roles the *širgida* hymns played as performed liturgical pieces is consideration of their verbal content and the language they employ. In this chapter, I will examine the hymns' frequent references to concrete cultic implements and other material elements associated with cultic practice, such as ritual spaces and movement through them.

The vast majority of potentially ritually significant objects or locations mentioned in the *širgida* texts are associated with deities. In these instances, the singer draws attention to the intersection between the mythological realm and the material world that occurs in cultic performance. When the singer mentions, for example, a deity's weapon, he both invokes the image of the deity off in distant lands battling cosmic enemies and at the same time references a concrete object that was physically present in ritual ceremonies, possibly even in the ceremony at which the hymn was being sung. In this chapter, my interest in examining the *širgidas*' references to and material descriptions of concrete items associated with ritual practice is not to recreate the physical environment in which the hymns were sung, but rather to explore ways in which the hymns' verbal content might have contributed to the overall impact of the performance: at a theoretical level, concretizing abstract divine beings or events by tying them to physical, worldly items or loci, and, on a more practical level, helping the listener to visualize and to understand the divine being and his or her surroundings through reference to their material being. For example, when the singer dwells on the individual parts of Ninurta's chariot in the text of *Angim*, the listener's attention is drawn to the material reality of that chariot; he reminds the audience that the votive chariot

displayed in the temple and used in ritual events is the actual vehicle ridden by Ninurta into battle and encourages the listeners to recall the Ninurta's great deeds and subsequent elevation when viewing the chariot. The words of the hymn thus serve to fix the chariot in the minds of the ritual participants as a tangible representation of Ninurta's awe-inspiring authority. In cases where the singer references an object that was present at the time of the hymn's singing, these effects would presumably have been heightened.

Previous approaches to understanding the ritual setting of a *širgida* hymn through references to concrete objects, loci, and other material elements have tended to focus instead on reconstructing the ritual acts associated with the hymn's performance. This is especially true in the case of the two "divine journey" narratives preserved in the corpus, namely *Angim dimma* and Ninurta B (aka Ninurta's Journey to Eridu), and such approaches are discussed in the first section of this chapter, on divine chariots and journeys. The remainder of the chapter then comprises a survey of ritually significant objects and loci mentioned in the preserved *širgida* texts, in order to examine the contexts in which they occur, the language used to describe them, the images they evoke, and their potential significance for the overall impact of the hymn.

In addition to chariots and processional ways, the following objects and loci will be surveyed: scepters and staffs (**sibir₂**, **ġidru**); crowns or related ornaments (**men**, **aga**, **SUĜ**); divine weapons; thrones and pedestals (**ġeš^{es}gu-za**, **para₁₀**, **ġešgal**, **ki-gal**); offering tables (**bansur**); and cultic loci (**gu₂-en**, **kisal**).

In the final part of the chapter, the relevance of the *širgidas*' use of material cultic references will be discussed, including a hymn-by-hymn synthesis of the passages cited throughout.

5.1 Chariots and Divine Journey Narratives

Divine chariots appear in one or two of the preserved *širgida* texts, namely in *Angim* and in the parallel source to *Utu ursaĝ*. A third *širgida*, Ninurta B (aka Ninurta's Journey to Eridu), describes a divine journey without mentioning the means of transportation in the preserved text.

5.1.1 Ninurta's Journeys

Descriptions of divine journey, especially those with reference to the deity's ceremonial vehicle and processional ways, represent one of the most apparent points of connection between a hymn's verbal content and the material reality of ritual performance. As indicated above, literary or liturgical descriptions of divine journeys are generally understood to correspond to a ritual procession involving the transportation of a cult statue from one location to another. The exact nature of this correspondence, however, is difficult to define, and probably varied from period to period and genre to genre.

The question of how rituals and mythological narratives relate to one another—both in general and in the ancient Near East—has in itself a long history of scholarship and goes well beyond the scope of this dissertation. The main question that concerns us here is not, primarily, whether the events of Ninurta B and *Angim* were enacted in, derived from, and/or superimposed on ritual, but rather what role the invocation of myth and reference to divine processions might have played in the overall impact of the hymn's performance.

The question of whether the *širgida*-hymns *Angim* and Ninurta B were originally composed to be sung in ceremonies where the narrated mythological events were acted out or otherwise represented has some bearing on this larger question, although it is not essential to it. In the Old Babylonian period, it is entirely plausible to suggest that the narratives of the hymns were in fact

acted out in conjunction with the hymns' recitation. By way of comparison, we know that the poem *Enuma eliš* was recited during the first-millennium Babylonian *Akītu* festival accompanying ritual representations of the poem's narrative and theological content, and that it was recited during a Late Babylonian ritual of the 8th month (*Kislīmu*) where at least one line was explicitly reenacted by ritual participants (the priest giving a palm frond to Marduk corresponding to Damkina's sending him a gift) (Çağırzan and Lambert 1991–1993, 91).³⁰⁵ However, it is also possible that the *širgida* hymns narrating divine journeys were sung in different settings—either originally or in secondary use—where the narratives simply recounted mythological/cultic events that were not embodied in the immediate ritual performance.

Each of the two preserved *širgida* hymns in which a divine journey occurs—*Angim* and Ninurta B—deals with a journey of Ninurta. Temporarily setting aside the question of the hymns' immediate performative context, this section will begin by summarizing the evidence for different journeys of Ninurta, both literary/mythological and cultic, since a fair number of these have been associated with either *Angim* or Ninurta B in secondary literature.³⁰⁶

Ninurta's journey recounted in Ninurta B, in which he travels to Eridu to receive the *me*'s from Enki and to be invested with kingship, fits the general criteria for a “divine journey” as defined in Wagensohn's treatment of the topic:

Eine Götterreise, -prozession bzw. eine Besuchsfahrt handelt von der Fahrt einer Gottheit von ihrer Heimatstadt in eine benachbarte oder weiter entfernte Stadt oder

³⁰⁵ It is tempting to see further evidence for the recitation of divine journey narratives during the performance of cultic journeys in Šu-Suen 9 (RIME 3/2.1.4.9) xii 4–15, where songs designated as **ser₃ ku₃ nam-šub** are played in the context of Enlil and Ninlil's journey by boat, and where Cohen (1975a, 596) understands the term **ser₃ ku₃ nam-šub** as a synonym for the liturgical classification **ser₃-nam-šub(-ba)**—a group of hymns in which divine journeys appear as a recurring theme. Mittermayer (2009) argues convincingly, however, that the phrase **ser₃ ku₃ nam-šub** represents two separate song types, **ser₃ ku₃** and **nam-šub**, and cannot be identified with the **ser₃-nam-šub(-ba)** classification (240–241 ad 134).

³⁰⁶ For more in-depth treatment of Ninurta's journeys, see especially Wagensohn 2005, 93–134 (on literary journeys of Ningirsu/Ninurta) and Annus 2002, 24–33 and 61–71 (on mythology surrounding Ninurta's journeys and on his *akītu* festival at Nippur), with extensive previous literature.

Heiligtum, um die Gunst einer gleich- oder höhergestellten Gottheit zu erlangen. Ausdruck dieser Gunst sind Geschenke an die reisende Gottheit oder deren Legitimation für bestimmte Aufgaben (Wagensonner 2005, 5).

In *Ninurta B*, Ninurta's arrival in Eridu is treated as a joyous event. Although his means of transportation is not specified (at least in the preserved portion of the text), the road along which he travels is said to be prepared for a festival, and day and night are full of joy and profusion. The purpose of this journey is Ninurta's investiture by Enki, the result of which is Ninurta's securing abundance in the land.

In *Angim*, unlike most journey narratives according to Wagensonner's definition, Ninurta travels to Nippur directly from battle, riding in his chariot. Here his arrival is threatening, rather than joyous, necessitating the intervention of Nuska to calm him before he enters the Ekur and receives his rewards. A less prominent journey also occurs near the end of the composition, when Ninurta returns from the Ekur to his own temple, the Ešumeša.³⁰⁷ In this journey, his means of transportation is not stated.³⁰⁸

Aside from *Angim* and *Ninurta B*, at least four other Sumerian compositions deal with a journey of this god or of his counterpart, Ningirsu, in one way or another. *Ninurta K* (aka *Ninurta's Journey to Eridu II*),³⁰⁹ like *Ninurta B*, narrates a celebratory journey of Ninurta to Eridu to be invested

³⁰⁷ The length of this journey is unknown, the precise location of the Ešumeša in relation to the Ekur being contested. The two main candidates among the excavated remains of Nippur are (a) the large, partially excavated temple across the canal from the Ekur on the West Mound (area WA), associated with Gula but perhaps primarily a temple for Ninurta, and (b) the North Temple, northwest of the Ekur on the East Mound (area NT) (Zettler 2003, 11, with previous literature).

³⁰⁸ Annus seems to understand this trip (or one segment of Ninurta's trip to the Ekur?) as being by boat, based on the connection of the name of the deity who greets Ninurta outside the Ekur, **nin-kar-nun-na** ("Lord/lady of the princely quay"), with name of Ninurta's boat, **ma2-kar-nun-ta-e3-a** ("Boat that went out from the princely quay") (Annus 2002, 69). Note that a much later explanatory text equates the king with Ninurta in a ritual where he is carried on a throne from the Ekur (or an unnamed temple; see Livingstone 1986, 146) to his palace—although there, surprisingly, the mythological interpretation seems to be that Ninurta is leaving the Ekur to go out to war against the **kur**, rather than returning to his home (SAA 3 39 rev. 20–25).

³⁰⁹ Wagensonner 2005, 105–128.

with power by Enki, evidently occurring at the beginning of the month.³¹⁰ This composition, though bearing no liturgical subscript, appears on a collective tablet together with the minimally preserved *širgida* Ninurta J, whose content is unknown. A different journey of Ninurta is narrated in Ninurta I,³¹¹ preserved only on post-OB copies. Here the god travels to Nippur, probably by boat (arriving at the Gate of Impurity, known to open onto a quay), his arrival is greeted with celebrations—including the playing of *šem*- and *ala*-instruments, sacrifices of cattle and sheep, wrestling performances, and songs of praise sung by the people of Nippur—and he makes his way in a joyful procession to the Ešumeša to meet his wife there (at which point the text breaks off). Based primarily on its content, Michalowski identified Ninurta I as a possible *širgida* hymn, although no subscript is preserved (Michalowski 2017, 224 ad 5'; see also section 1.3.1.2 of this dissertation). In *Lugale*—a narrative composition which, like *Angim*, includes a journey that does not entirely fit the criteria outlined by Wagonsonner (see Wagonsonner 2005, 133–134), Ninurta again arrives in Nippur by boat in a joyous procession accompanied by songs of praise (ll. 647ff). Finally, in Gudea Cyl. B, Ningirsu returns from Eridu to his newly completed temple, the Eninnu, at the beginning of the new year, on the third day of the month, where he is received in a sumptuous banquet (Cyl. B iii 5–12/863–870).

In addition to these literary or mythological accounts of Ninurta's journeys, complementary evidence concerning ritual journeys of Ninurta is provided by Ur III administrative documents and by much later ritual and explanatory texts. In the Ur III period, the best-known festival of Ninurta is the *gusisu*-festival, which took place in Nippur in the month of *Ayaru*, the second month of the

³¹⁰ **iti u₄-šakar u₄ nam-[tar-a-be₂-a (?)]** (Ninurta K [Wagonsonner 2005, 105–128] 20, reconstruction following Wagonsonner).

³¹¹ Michalowski 2017.

year, over the course of three days (20th–22nd).³¹² During this festival, whose high point included the ritual washing (**a tus-a**) of Ninurta on the third day, Ninurta is known to have taken a journey by boat (6N-T 430a-b (NBC 10650)³¹³ i 24–ii 4 // 6N-T 479 (IM 61564) ii 2’–9’³¹⁴; see Sallaberger 1993, 119 n. 540). Sallaberger suggests that this journey may have represented Ninurta’s mythological arrival in Nippur and that his washing may correspond to the ritual purifications described in *Angim* (Sallaberger 1993, 119, 122). At least according to post Ur-III evidence (including Lipit-Eštar F, Astrolabe B), the focus of the festival was on Ninurta as farmer and plowman and on the annual flooding of the fields that enabled their preparation for planting (Sallaberger 1993, 120–121).

The *gusisu*-festival continued to be performed through the OB period, as evidenced by an Isin-period document (Sallaberger 1993, 121), and probably at least into the Kassite period (see Civil 1976, 85; Tenney 2016, 172 ad l. 15’). Based on parallels with the later *akītu*-festival of Ninurta, which likewise took place in the second month of the year, Sallaberger suggests that we might retroject the theological significance ascribed to the first-millennium *akītu* onto the earlier *gusisu* festival.³¹⁵ This *akītu* festival, according to the calendrical explanatory text OECT 11 69 + 70 i 17’–39’ (§§5’–12’), included ritual acts representing the return of Ninurta from the mountains, his angry procession to his temple, and the celebration of his victory and his elevation by Enlil (Gurney 1989, 26–33; George 1990, 157–158; Sallaberger 1993, 121). References to a ritual “battle” or

³¹² For detailed discussions of this festival, see Sallaberger 1993, 114–122 and Cohen 2015, 119–128.

³¹³ Zettler 1992, 281.

³¹⁴ Zettler 1992, 288.

³¹⁵ Note, though, that if the “Great Festival” *isinnu rabū* (EZEN.GAL) provisioned on the 23rd day of *Ayaru* according to CBS 10616 15’ is to be understood as the *gusisu*-festival, as suggested by Tenney 2016, 172 ad l. 15’, then the two festivals—*gusisu* and *akītu*—were still understood as separate events at least as late as the Kassite period (on *akītu* festivals in this text, see esp. Tenney 2016, 168 ad obv. 12’, 171 ad l. 14’, 172 ad l. 16’). For further evidence indicating the continuation of the *gusisu*-festival beyond the Old Babylonian period—including a Middle- or early-Neo-Babylonian text referencing the **izim-gal izim** ^{it}**gud-si-[s]u**—see Civil 1976, 85. Tenney’s suggestion would lend support to Civil’s argument, contra the hesitations raised in Cohen 2015, 127.

“battlefield” (*tūšāru*) earlier in the month (*Ayaru* 15th) in the Kassite provisions list CBS 10616 14’ and probably in the Late Babylonian “Nippur Compendium”³¹⁶ §13 iii 18’ might also be connected to Ninurta’s triumphant return performed during the *akītu* festival and thus to the narrative of *Lugale* and/or *Angim*—though other interpretations are also possible (see Tenney 2016, 171–172 ad l. 14’ with previous literature).

5.1.2 Mythological Narrative and Ritual

The above-cited and other first-millennium texts clearly indicate that certain rituals or ritual acts were understood—at least by scholars, if not by the people at large—as representing elements of the myths told in *Angim* and other narratives about Ninurta, as well as myths about other deities that incorporated Ninurta mythology, such as the battle between Marduk and Tiamat (see, e.g., Livingstone 1986, 115–170, Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 390–392, 407–416, 425–426). As Pongratz-Leisten discusses in the context of Neo-Assyrian state ritual:

[Cultic commentaries] explain how rituals reiterate a sequence of action that combines hunting, warfare, cosmic battle, and the renewal of the king’s status as ruler of the universe in a continuum of confrontation with the forces of chaos, which are defeated and brought under Assyrian control. Unlike Greek drama, this reenactment of the cosmic battle does not operate in a linear narrative. Instead, ritual prescriptive texts, ritual reports, and commentary literature choose key moments of action, along with objects, songs, and words that reference these moments, and use these to evoke two elements of the common cultural memory, namely 1) the well-known battle narrative revolving the warrior god Ninurta, and 2) theogony referencing the notion of regicide (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 390–391).

Pongratz-Leisten goes on to explain that, in the case of the Assyrian and Babylonian *akītu* festivals:

Instead of performing the battle in mimetic representation as known from the Greek model, Assyro-Babylonian tradition appears to associatively reenact the cosmic battle by assigning symbolic meaning to ritual gestures and reciting liturgical songs referencing the mythic event. The god’s victory over Tiāmat and his procession

³¹⁶ George 1992, 143–162.

back to his temple his city thus symbolize his *adventus* in the city and serve to visualize and stabilize his supreme position in the divine hierarchy anew, year after year (Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 421).

In the mythological explanatory texts here referenced, the king as a ritual actor is often equated with Ninurta (or another god adopting his role as warrior god), and the king's ritual acts are said to represent Ninurta's mythological acts—especially his conquest of enemies, such as Anzu and Asag, his riding in a chariot, and his investiture as divine king (see SAA 3 38 12–13,³¹⁷ SAA 3 37 obv. 9'–34',³¹⁸ SAA 39 rev. 20–25,³¹⁹ SAA 3 39 obv. 24–29³²⁰). Whether these interpretations of the king's ritual acts are original to the rituals or were superimposed at a later date is uncertain; as Livingstone observes, other corpora of texts dealing with ritual make it clear that it was usually a cult statue, rather than a human ritual participant, that acted as the deity (Livingstone 1986, 167). This was presumably the case both for Ninurta's *gusisu*-journey referenced in Ur III documents discussed above and for Ninurta's cultic processions mentioned in much later prescriptive ritual texts (see, e.g., Linssen 2004, 23, 69–70³²¹).

Returning to the primary question at hand—the use of journey narratives in the *širgida* hymns *Angim* and Ninurta B in the Old Babylonian period—we can say, at the very least, that the mythological narratives in both hymns evidently allude to and/or conjured up associations with particular ritual events in which elements of the narratives were mimetically or symbolically

³¹⁷ Aka “The Rites of Egašankalamma,” Livingstone 1986: VAT 10099//VAT 9946//IM 3252 par. 4 (pp. 116–121, 130–131, 132–133, 136–142).

³¹⁸ Aka “A Cultic Commentary,” Livingstone 1986: K 3476 (obverse) pars. 7–15 (pp. 121–124, 131, 133–134, 142–145).

³¹⁹ Aka “Mystical Miscellanea,” Livingstone 1986: VAT 8917 rev. 20–25 pars. 1–2 (pp. 124–125, 131, 134, 146–147).

³²⁰ Aka “Mystical Miscellanea,” Livingstone 1986: VAT 8917 obv. 24–29 pars. 1–5 (pp. 124–225, 131, 134, 147–148).

³²¹ Linssen cites the Late Babylonian ritual text BM 32206+ iv 164–166, edited in Çağırzan and Lambert 1991–1993, where it is intriguing to note that Ninurta is referred to simply by his name, while Marduk/Bel (or Enlil) is explicitly a figure or statue (^dNIN.URTA *u* ^dša-lam ^dEN[(LIL)]).

represented. Whether these rituals events coincided with the recitation of the hymns is a question that we cannot answer with the material available³²²—and, I would argue, is of less interest than the effects the narrative recitations themselves might have been intended to have.

At least two potentially fruitful approaches to understanding the function of mythological narrative in liturgical hymns are applicable here. First, following W. D. Furley’s work with Greek cultic hymns, we might consider the rhetorical advantages of recounting a deity’s mythological actions back to that deity in a public, performative setting. Here it is useful to make a distinction between a hymn’s “internal communication,” addressed by the performer(s) to the deity, and its “external communication,” which takes place between the poet and/or performers and the human audience (Furley and Bremer 2001, 59). Furley’s discussion of mythological elements in hymns focuses on the former, the intended communicative effect of the hymn on the addressed deity. His treatment of hymns sung to deities operates within a framework centered on the Greek concept of *charis*, described as follows:

Charis is difficult to translate, because it is (at least) two-sided. On the one hand it expresses the feeling of gratitude felt by humans to the gods for giving them good things, and on the other hand it means that ‘grace’ or ‘bounty’ which the gods give men. And the word is related to *chairō*, Greek for ‘feel joy or happiness.’ In worship the Greeks aimed at generating an atmosphere of reciprocal *charis*; they hopefully would express their grateful worship of the splendid gods; the gods, in turn, would – hopefully – grant them their *charis*, goodwill, which translated into wealth, health, and power. We can see how hymn-singing is part of the human ‘*charis*-drive’; it is an aesthetic offering to go

³²² As Sallaberger observed already in his discussion of Ninurta’s *gusisu*-festival: “die Frage, ob die mit einem Fest verbundenen Mythen dabei auch rezitiert oder irgendwie dramatisch dargestellt wurden, läßt sich kaum eindeutig beantworten” (Sallaberger 1993, 122 n. 563). The same applies to Ninurta’s *akītu*-festival, for which Michalowski observes the additional complication that “the sources on these *Akītu* celebrations come from different times and places and it is difficult to paint a coherent picture of a specific set of rituals practiced at particular moments in time” (Michalowski 2017, 210)—thus impeding our ability to identify direct links between the individual rites and narrative compositions. Although we are on firmer ground with *Angim* than with many other journey narratives, the evidence for its specific ritual associations is still by no means monolithic or straightforward in its interpretation. Added to these difficulties is the fact that much of the original mythology surrounding Ninurta or Ningirsu was incorporated into later myths about other gods (most famously Marduk in *Enuma eliš*), significantly complicating any attempt to reconstruct second-millennium links between Ninurta mythology and cult based on first-millennium sources.

with other material offerings (animal sacrifice, libations, incense, etc.) designed to secure divine goodwill (Furley 2007, 119).

For Furley, the aims of Greek liturgical hymns and their performance—understood as a type of “multimedia performance, involving sounds, sights and smells” (Furley 2007, 122)—are thus to express the joy and appreciation of the human participants, and to give delight to the deity, in order to elicit a favorable disposition and an inclination to grant the singers’ request.³²³ At least some of these aims are also recognizable in Sumerian hymns, although the specific concept of *charis* is not present. According to Furley, within this framework, every element of a hymn belongs to its rhetorical strategies, defined as “‘strategies of persuasiveness’ used largely unconsciously by the speaker/singer” (Furley 2007, 122). These rhetorical strategies include the invocation of myth, whether it is through narration or allusion.³²⁴

The mythical section of hymnic composition, then, must be viewed as an element of the worshipper’s attempt to secure divine favour and guide it in a direction or channel beneficial to himself. Frequently the attempt uses familiar mythical narrative from the past with a view to extracting similar favours now or in the future (similar to the ‘*da quia dedisti*’ type of argument in prayer); or, as in Sophocles, it can involve a direct appeal to the deity invoked to act now, to solve a problem. Hymn-singing involves belief in, and accurate naming of, divine powers; the myths used in supplicatory address show these powers in action as a model for present expectations (Furley 1995, 43).

What is seldom adequately realized [...] is that myth is the substance of hymns, and that the stories told about the gods in myths were in fact the stories sung *to* the gods in worship in order to flatter, remind, praise and cajole a recalcitrant stone image into beneficial action. Once this is realized, myths cease to appear merely as speculative narratives *about* the uncanny powers of the universe, and may be seen partly, and perhaps primarily, as narratives designed to ‘capture’ precisely those powers through words. By reminding a god through hymnic worship of his mighty and beneficent deeds in the past, the

³²³ Cf. Furley 1995, 32: “The entire strategy behind hymn-composition and performance was to attract the attention of the divinity addressed in a favorable way; ritual and choral worship combined to flatter, woo, charm and persuade a single god or a group of gods that the worshipper(s) was deserving of sympathy and aid,” and 45: “Hymn-singing combined with ritual sacrifice (animal and other) was the means—refined and developed over centuries—thought to give the gods pleasure and therefore have the best chance of securing benefits for humans.”

³²⁴ Furley makes a distinction between Greek hymns, which make use of mythical narrative, and Greek prayers, which invoke myth through allusion rather than narrative but to serve the same ends—using “epithets and attributes of the god(s) which recall, in a word, the associated myth” (Furley 2007, 127). No such distinction holds in Mesopotamian liturgy, and most hymns allude to myths through epithets and attributes rather than narrating them.

worshipper wishes both to define the deity addressed and his powers, and to secure a measure of that power for himself through divine grace. [...] The Python myth in Apolline cult, for example, is not only narrative of an exciting kind, it also features in numerous hymns to Apollo which seek to emphasize his might, and to petition for help in a current situation. By narrating the deeds of the gods, the *Homeric Hymns* define the characters and areas of power of these gods [...]. These definitions then become the basis and legitimation of cult. Thus narrative becomes a kind of charter for the god's claim to worship of a certain kind, and conversely the basis for the worshipper's expectation of help (Furley and Bremer 2001, 6–7).³²⁵

Two rhetorical functions myth can serve in Greek hymns are thus: (1) to define and illustrate the deity's power and authority, thereby establishing that he or she is capable of granting the singer's request, and (2) to identify moments in the past where the deity helped humankind, thereby establishing or activating his or her general inclination to act benevolently towards humans. The singer's words are not intended only as a reasoned argument, designed to rationally convince the deity to help, but also play on the deity's emotions and sense of pride.

Beyond this, though, the hymn's narration of myth may have aimed to accomplish certain ritual goals in and of itself, having the same kind of efficacy as the representational or symbolic reenactment of mythological events in ritual performance. Furley touches on this point when he described mythical narrative in hymnic discourse as “a way of rekindling divine power for present celebration by recreating the past in words” (Furley 2007, 127), or when he observes, with regard to narrative's purpose, that “what happened once in mythical time remains paradigmatically true throughout subsequent time” (Furley 1995, 41).

The efficacy of mythological representation in ritual is far too large a topic to address in detail here, but it can be stated in general that mythological events and ritual acts are intricately

³²⁵ See also Furley 2007, 125: “On the one hand we find prayers referring to past incidents in which the god addressed showed him- or herself favorably inclined to help, and this is used as an argument why he or she should repeat the favor now. On the other hand, hymns and prayers may tell a traditional story about the god addressed to illustrate his or her virtue, which sets a precedent for the present request. As kings and generals like to have their deed extolled, so gods might like to be reminded of their power and glory.”

interwoven with one another, and the outcomes understood to have been achieved by the former cannot be entirely separated from the outcomes hoped to be achieved by the latter. As Livingstone observes in his discussion of first-millennium Babylonian mythological interpretations:

In Babylonian thinking the distinction between ‘ritual’ and ‘myth’ is slight. Statues or symbols used in rituals were believed to be in every essence the deities which we regard them as representing. A ritual in which the statue or symbol of a deity participated was therefore in effect a myth. On the other hand, myths which we would conceive of as having happened once in the past were believed by the ancient thinkers to be capable of repetition, like rituals. It is the nature of Ninurta to defeat Asakku, and of Mami to create mankind, and these mythological actions can be repeated (Livingstone 1986, 169–170).³²⁶

As Pongratz-Leisten observes in the passages quoted above, one element of ritual performance, in addition to ritual gestures and actions, that could serve to recreate a mythic event and/or to reestablish and to maintain its outcome was the recitation of a liturgical composition in which the mythic event was narrated or referenced. Thus, rather than focusing on whether the mythical journeys of Ninurta were ritually reenacted as *Angim* and Ninurta B were being sung, or on attempting to link specific details of the hymns’ narratives to specific ritual acts, we might focus instead on how the ritualized recitation of the hymn could itself have served to recreate or to renew the cosmological states of affairs resulting from the mythological events, and consider what larger ritual goals this recitation might have served. For example, the ultimate point of the myth recited in *Angim* is Ninurta’s elevation by Enlil in the Ekur and his subsequent blessing of the king in the Ešumeša. The main point of Ninurta B is Ninurta’s receiving the *me*’s from Enki and his investiture as king, which allows the land of Sumer to thrive and the king to enjoy a prosperous reign. One might assume that a ceremony in which these hymns were recited centered around similar ideological goals, which would have been reinforced by the recitation of the hymns. Even if the

³²⁶ For a nuancing of this relationship between Mesopotamian myth and ritual, see Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 426, who moves beyond the static equation of ritual with myth and emphasizes instead the dialectical, creative nature of their relationship, focusing on the process of “mythologization” as opposed to “myth as a closed narrative.”

narratives were not actually acted out as the hymns were being recited, the recounting of the narratives could in itself have served a similar purpose. Further, coming back to Furley’s idea of the a hymn’s “external communication”—the communication that takes place between singer and human audience—recitation of myth might allow the singer to make more explicit the significance of certain concrete ritual elements, such as a chariot, that were easily imagined or even concurrently viewed by the listeners, as well as conveying certain characteristics of the deity—such as his or her destructive power—in tangible, material terms.

5.1.3 ^{ĝeš}**gigir**, **kaskal**

The term “chariot” (^{ĝeš}**gigir**) itself is preserved only in *Angim*, where the importance of Ninurta’s chariot is already well recognized in the secondary literature (see, for example, Cooper 1978, 9; Annus 2002, 26–27, Feldt 2010, with previous literature).

The chariot described in *Angim* almost certainly refers to a physical object used in cultic ceremonies. Divine chariots, dedicated to temples and used to transport deities during ritual processions, are well-attested throughout Mesopotamian history, not only in literary texts but also in other corpora, such as year names, administrative documents, and ritual texts (Civil 1968, 3; Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 193–195; Waetzoldt 2014–2016, 621). These chariots served not only as means of transport for cult statues, but also as symbols of a deity’s status (Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 194–195) and even as recipients of offerings (Civil 1968, 3; Waetzoldt 2014–2016, 618).

Ninurta’s chariot and that of his counterpart, Ningirsu, are particularly well-known. In Ura 5 11–13 (MSL 6, p. 5), Ninurta’s chariot is named ^{ĝeš}**gigir me₃ tum₂-ma** “chariot suited for battle” and ^{ĝeš}**gigir gu₃ de₂ MURUM sa₆**(var. **ša₄**) “chariot (having) a pleasant *cry and rumble*” (var.

“chariot that cries out and rumbles”),³²⁷ and in Enmetena 4 (RIME 1.9.5.4) ii 8–9, the chariot built for Ningîrsu is called “Ningîrsu’s chariot that heaps up enemy lands, the ‘let them bow down’ of the way of Eridu, whose fear (is) in the heart of the enemy land.”³²⁸

A more extensive description of this chariot can be pieced together from the Gudea Cylinders. In Nanše’s instructions to Gudea for the construction of the chariot, we learn that it is to be completed using wood (**ĝeš**), that a donkey stallion (**anše dur^{ur}**) is to be harnessed to it, and that it is to be decorated with a kind of silver (**ku₃ NE**) and lapis lazuli (**za-gin₃**) (A vi 17–19/155–157). Later in the text, the woods Gudea uses for constructing the chariot are specified as *meš*-wood (**ĝeš meš₃**) and *halub*-wood (**ĝeš ha-lu-ub₂**) (A vii 17–18/181–182), and the donkey harnessed to it is identified as **PIRÎĜ-KAŠ₄-e-pa₃-da** (A vii 20/184). Upon its completion, the chariot is dedicated to Ningîrsu along with a standard (**šu-nir**) inscribed with his name (A vii 22–23/186–187), and Gudea appoints the figure **en-šeg₁₂-nun** to yoke the chariot, to harness the donkey stallion to it, and to “...a ... donkey, a donkey of Eridu” with the stallion,”³²⁹ in order to transport Ningîrsu (B ix 15–x 2/1024–1034). Later in the text, another chariot, named “Chariot that makes the enemy land bow down, laden with terror, ridden upon by great fear,”³³⁰ is mentioned among the gifts given to the Eninnu, dedicated along with its own donkey stallion, named **U₄-gu₃-du₁₀-du₁₀-ga**, and weapons belonging to Ningîrsu (B xiii 18–xiv 12/1125–1142). Finally, in a description praising the temple, Ningîrsu is described as standing “as Utu” in his lapis lazuli/shining chariot laden with luxuriance

³²⁷ **ša₄** variant attested in Ashm. 1924-1195 (MSL SS 1 no. 123), not included in Landsberger’s MSL 6 edition. Landsberger’s composite reading of the name is based on mss J, ST, and S₉, but he does not indicate how many of these preserve **ša₆**, and no images are available to me. Cf. the “rumbling sweet cry” (**gu₃ du₁₀ MURUM ša₄-a**) of Ninurta’s chariot in *Angim* 84/83.

³²⁸ **ĝeš gîgir₂ kur dub¹ nin-ĝîr₂-su₂-ka^h har-ra-an eridu^{ki}-ka he₂-GAM-GAM-be₂ ni₂-be₂ kur-ša₃-ga.**

³²⁹ **anše SIG-a anše eridu^{ki}-ka anše dur⁹-da e₂ KA KUR.KUR KU₄ DI-da.**

³³⁰ **ĝeš gîgir kur mu-gam su-zi guru₃ ni₂ gal u₅-a.**

(^{geš}gigir za-gin₃ ul guru₃-a-na) (B xvi 15–16/1194–1195), followed immediately by the description of the throne (**gu-za**) set up in the throne/assembly room (**gu₂-en**) discussed below.

Visual depictions of Ningîrsu’s chariot are known from several stele fragments dating to the reign of Gudea, as shown in Figure 5.1).³³¹

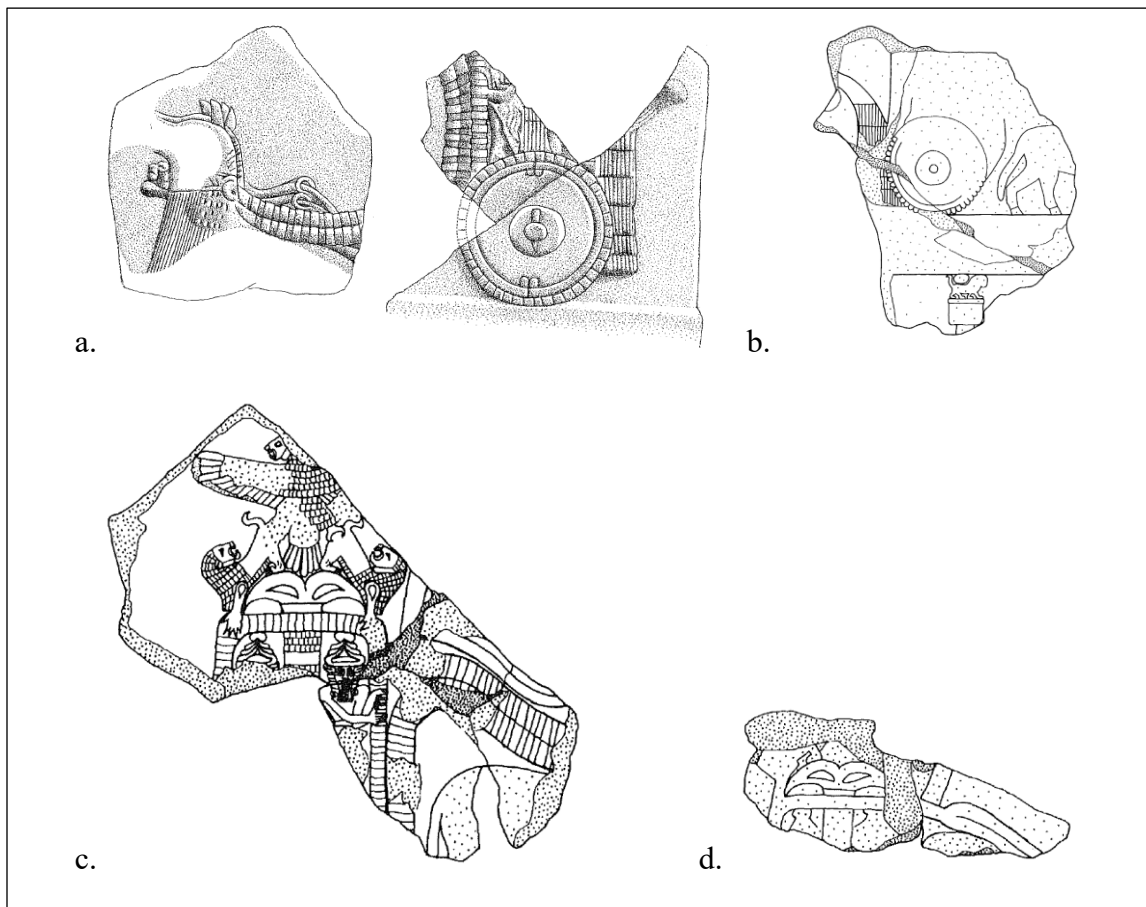


Figure 5.1 Stele fragments depicting Ningîrsu's chariot: (a) VA 2902 + VA 2903 and VA 2904 (= Suter 2000 ST.14). Image: Littauer and Crouwel 1979, Fig. 18a–b, (b) AO 4586 + EŞEM 5808 + EŞEM 6150. Image: Suter 2000, 370 ST.27, (c) AO 4583 + EŞEM 5847. Image: Suter 2000, 388 ST.61, (d) EŞEM 5988 + EŞEM 6148. Image: Suter 2000, 388 ST.62

Suter 2000, 187 identifies the vehicle in these depictions as a “straddle car” (aka *Sattelwagen*), a term introduced by Littauer and Crouwel to describe the well-known two-wheel chariot type in

³³¹ Suter 2000, ST.14 (VA 2902 + VA 2903 and VA 2904), ST.27 (AO 4586 + EŞEM 5808 + EŞEM 6150), ST.61 (AO 4583 + EŞEM 5847), and ST.62 (EŞEM 5988 + EŞEM 6148).

which the “driver sits astride or stands astride the pole or pole casing, with a foot on either side,” the feet “placed on two treads just in front of the axle” (Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 324, 325; see Figure 5.2).³³²



Figure 5.2 Cylinder-seal depiction of a straddle car (CBS 5028). Image: Littauer and Crouwel 1979, Fig. 17

In the stele-fragment depictions, according to Suter’s description, Ningîrsu’s chariot “is pulled by donkeys and equipped with arrows in a quiver attached to the back of the car,” and the casing “is elaborately decorated with bison-men [...], a stylized palm [...], and Anzu clenching its claws into the back of a pair of lions”—corresponding to some of the trophies of Ningîrsu listed in *Gudea Cyl. A* (see Suter 2000, 286–289) as well as the trophies attached to Ninurta’s chariot in *Angim*. In one of the stele fragments, a male figure is depicted following behind the chariot, wearing “a long pleated skirt on top of a short skirt” and “apparently holding the shaft of an object, perhaps a large mace, in front of him” (Suter 2000, 187).

In *Angim*, the chariot of Ninurta is first mentioned in the first half of the hymn, after the singer has recounted Ninurta’s defeat of the enemy land and formulaically listed his defeated,

³³² For more on “straddle cars,” see Littauer and Crouwel 1979; Bollweg 1999, 23–24, with artistic renderings on pp. 186–187 (figs. 182, 183), 188–189 (fig. 186), and 190–191 (figs. 190–192), and images of models on pp. 164–165.

mythological enemies. The singer lists, one by one, the individual chariot parts to which Ninurta attaches the enemies, to be brought back to Nippur as trophies or booty.

Ex. 5.1 *Angim* 52–63/51–62 (OB version, composite text)³³³

52/51 ḡešgigir za-gin₃ ni₂ ḥuš guru₃^{ru}-ne₂ [x x (x)]
 53/52 am dab₅-dab₅-ba-ne₂ ḡešDU₃.A³³⁴ bi₂-in-la₂
 54/53 ab₂ dab₅-ba-ne₂ a₂-šITA₄³³⁵ bi₂-in-la₂
 55/54 šeg₉ saḡ aš₃ saḥar-ge₄-a bi₂-in-la₂
 56/55 ušum ur-saḡ saḡ dur₂-ra-ka bi₂-in-la₂
 57/56 ma₂-gi₄-lum še-er-DU₈-na-ka bi₂-in-la₂
 58/57 gud-alim ḡešad-us₂-a bi₂-in-la₂
 59/58 gu₅-li-an-na ḡeški-ḡiri₃-a bi₂-in-la₂
 60/59 niḡ₂-babbar₂-ra erin₂ saḡ-ḡa₂ bi₂-in-la₂
 61/60 uruda niḡ₂-kala-ga (ḡeš)DUB-du₃ ša₃-ga-ka bi₂-in-la₂
 62/61 mušen anzu^{mušen} gaba-ḡal₂-la bi₂-in-la₂
 63/62 ṛmuš saḡ¹ umun₇ tum za-gin₃-na-ka bi₂-in-la₂

[He ...] his gleaming (or: lapis-lazuli) chariot, laden with fearsome radiance.
 He attached his captive wild bulls to the *shaft* (or: *axle*),
 He attached his captive cows to the ...,³³⁶
 He attached the six-headed wild sheep to the dust-guard,
 He attached the dragon, the hero, to the seat,³³⁷
 He attached the *magilum*-boat to the ...
 He attached the bison to the support boards,
 He attached “An’s companion” to the *foot board*,
 He attached the gypsum to the *front end* of the yoke,
 He attached the strong copper to the inner ...,
 He attached the Anzu-bird to the front panel,
 He attached the seven-headed serpent to the lapis-lazuli ...

At the end of this series, which uses a litany-like structure to extend the focus on the chariot, the singer tells how Ninurta boards the vehicle and begins his triumphant return to Nippur.

³³³ In the remainder of this chapter, citations of *Angim* quote the OB composite text with selected variants, unless otherwise noted.

³³⁴ Read **du₃-a** or **zara_x**.

³³⁵ Variants: **a₂-šū-du₇-ṛa¹**; **a₂-ḡeššutul₅**.

³³⁶ Possibly “equipment” or part of the yoke. Variant **a₂-ḡeššutul₅** “arm (=crossbeam) of the yoke;” Neo-Assyrian version **ḡeššūšutul₄** “yoke.”

³³⁷ Neo-Assyrian version: **ḡešKI.KAL** : *sassû* “foot rest, platform”

Ex. 5.2 *Angim* 64–69/63–68

64/63 ḡeš[gigir] me₃-a tum₂-ma-na (var: ab-tum₂ mu-un-AK¹)
 65/64 en^dnin-urta-ke₄ ḡiri₃-ne₂ nam-mi-in-gub
 66/65 u₄-an-ne₂ diḡir igi tab-tab
 67/66 lugal an bad-ra₂ en sum₄ igi-še₃ mu-na-du
 68/67 ni₂ kur-kur-ra lugal kur tub₂-ṛx¹
 69/68 en^dnin-urta-ṛke₄² ṛx x x x (x)¹ [x (x)]

Lord Ninurta mounted his [chariot] suited for battle.
 Uane,³³⁸ the god who always *keeps a sharp lookout*,
 and Lugalabadra,³³⁹ the *bearded* lord, went before him.
 The terror of the mountain, Lugalkurtub,³⁴⁰
 lord Ninurta [*made to follow*].³⁴¹

After Ninurta rides to Nippur, rumbling like “a storm on the horizon,”³⁴² Nuska stops him outside the city and entreats him to stop terrifying the gods, mentioning specifically the noise of his chariot:

Ex. 5.3 *Angim* 64–69/63–68

81/80 lugal-ḡu₁₀ ur-saḡ šu-du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ḡeš-tu₉ ḡeštu-zu
 82/81 ^dnin-urta ur-saḡ ṛšu¹ du₇-a ni₂-zu-še₃ ḡeš-tu₉ ḡeštu-zu
 83/82 me-lim₄-zu e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂-ka tu₉-gen₇ im-dul
 84/83 ḡešgigir-za gu₃ du₁₀ MURUM ša₄-(a-)be₂
 85/84 ḡiri₃ gub-ba²-za an ki tuku₄-e-be₂
 86/85 a₂ il₂-la-[za] ḡessu ṛla₂²-a²-be₂¹
 87/86 [^d]a-nun-ṛna diḡir gal-gal¹-e-ne niḡ₂ [šar₂²-ra²...tar]
 88/87 aia-zu ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-ṛin¹-ḡu-ṛluḡ¹-[...] (var. ṛnam¹-mi-ib-ḡu-ṛluḡ¹-[(...))]
 89/88 ^den-lil₂ ki-tuš-a-na nam-mi-in-ḡu-luḡ-[...] (var. ṛnam¹-mi-ib-ḡu-luḡ-[(...))]

“My king, fully accomplished hero, heed yourself!
 Ninurta, fully accomplished hero, heed yourself!
 Your terrifying radiance has covered the house of Enlil like a cloth.
 The pleasant rumbling³⁴³ of your chariot,

³³⁸ “*Light* on the sky.”

³³⁹ “King *of* the distant sky.”

³⁴⁰ “King who makes the *kur* tremble.”

³⁴¹ MA version has instead Lugalkurtub as subject: [...] ṛx¹ egir-a-ne₂ nam-mi-in-ṛus₂¹ : [...](-)tu(-)ṛme²₁-ti ar-ka i-rad-[di-šu] (Sum.) “[followed lord Ninurta ...] at his back;” (Akk.) “followed [lord Ninurta ...] behind².”

³⁴² 74. u₄-dam an-ṛur₂¹-ra [dum]-ṛdam²₁ mu-ṛni²₁-[x-za].

³⁴³ Literally “the rumbling sweet cry.”

the shaking of heaven and earth as you proceed,³⁴⁴
 and the shadow cast by [your] upraised arms³⁴⁵
 [have made] the Anuna, the great gods, [*scatter every*]*where*.
 You should not frighten (var. “They have frightened”) your father in his residence!
 You should not frighten (var. “They have frightened”) Enlil in his residence!”

The singer makes another brief, oblique reference to Ninurta’s chariot again at the end of Nuska’s speech, when Ninurta puts away the chariot’s equipment, along with his mace, before entering the temple.

Ex. 5.4 *Angim* 98–100

98 enim-be₂ ka-ka-na um-ma-da-ĝal₂-la
 99 kuš₃usan₃ bar-us₂ e₂-su-lum-ma-ka bi₂-in-sud
 100 (ĝeš₃)mi-tum a₂ me₃(-e) za₃(-)-ZU e₂-a-ka bi₂-in-us₂

While these words *were still in* his (Nuska’s) mouth (or: *After* these words *had left* his mouth),
 he (Ninurta) laid the whip and the goad in the tack box
 and put the mace, the “arm of battle,” next to the ... *of the temple* (or *the ...-container*³⁴⁶)).

Later in the narrative, Ninurta’s list of demands for Enlil includes his chariot being set up in a place of honor in the temple.

Ex. 5.5 *Angim* 152–158/153–159

152/153 aia-ĝu₁₀ me₃-ĝu₁₀ ĥa-ma-ni-ib(var: in)-ku₄-ku₄-ne
 153/154 ^den-lil₂ a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ a ĥe₂-em-^ttu₅-tu₅¹-[ne²]
 154/155 a₂ ĥuš ĝeš₃tukul-ĝa₂ a gub₂-ba ĥa-ma-ni-ib₂-be₂-[ne]
 155/156 ĝešgal ^ggerin-na gu₂-en-na si ĥa-ma-ab-sa₂-e-ne
 156/157 ĝeš₃gigir an-na-ĝu₁₀ ki-gal-la ĥe₂-em-mi-in-gub-bu-ne

My father, let *them* bring in my (*things of*) *battle* for me.
 Enlil, let *them* wash my arms of valor.
 Let *them* *pour* lustration water on the fierce arms *of* my weapons for me.

³⁴⁴ Literally "of your (setting the foot=) proceeding, its shaking heaven and earth."

³⁴⁵ Literally "of your raised arms, their suspended shadow. "

³⁴⁶ Lit. "...-house."

Let them prepare a *splendid*³⁴⁷ seat in the throne room for me.
Let them install my heavenly chariot on a pedestal.

As indicated above, this divine chariot, which plays such an important role throughout *Angim*, corresponded to a physical object dedicated to the temple and used in ritual ceremonies. The original cultic context of Ninurta's chariot ride and the installation of the chariot in the temple is not entirely certain, but it is probable that the narrative alludes to a ritual ceremony in which Ninurta's cult statue was brought to the Ekur on a chariot, bearing representations of his defeated enemies.³⁴⁸ The divine figures Lugalkurtub, Uane and Lugalanbadra, said to "go" (**ĝen**) in front of (**igi-še₃**) and to follow (**us₂**) behind (**egir-a-ne₂**) Ninurta, were most likely represented in the ritual procession by cult statues or standards.³⁴⁹ Compare especially the procession described in the Middle Assyrian version of Ninisina's Journey to Nippur (Ninisina C)³⁵⁰ ll. 7–12, where, as Wagensohn points out (2005, 159), the anthropomorphic deities presumably represented by statues are said to "go" (**ĝen** : *alāku*) in front of (**igi-še₃** : *ina mahṛīša*) and behind (**egir-ra-ne₂** : *arkīša*) the goddess, as well as to her right (**zi-da-na** : *imnūša*) and to her left (**gub₃-bu-na** : *šumēlša*), while the deified standard (**ḏ^hsu-nir** : *Šurinnu*) of Ninisina is said to be "sent straight" (**si sa₂**³⁵¹ : *šutēšuru*) before her (**igi-a-ne₂-še₃** : *ina pānīša*).³⁵²

³⁴⁷ Lit. "flowering."

³⁴⁸ There is also evidence that, in the first millennium, the triumphant return and dedication of arms and chariot described in *Angim* were recreated by ritual events with Assyrian king taking the role of Ninurta (Annus 2002, 27; see also above).

³⁴⁹ Cf. Black 1980, 157 ad 65ff: "It is not clear whether these are members of Ninurta's retinue or emblems that accompany him. The passage of Gudea (Cyl. A xviii 13ff.) may be compared, in which the names are probably those of emblems carried in the procession with Gudea when he goes to make the first brick."

³⁵⁰ Wagensohn 2005, 157–187, with previous lit.

³⁵¹ Written **si**.

³⁵² For the verbs *alāku* and *ešēru* in the context of first-millennium processions, see Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 153–158 (esp. 153 col. b) and 165.

In light of this, it is plausible to suggest that one context in which *Angim* was sung or recited was that of a ritual procession of Ninurta's cult statue and other divine figures, and/or the cult statue's entry into the Ekur. Given that the chariot plays such a large role in the text, it is hard to imagine that it was not at least in some way involved in the ceremony at which the hymn was recited, although there is no direct evidence for this being the case. More interesting for our purposes, though, is the question of how the chariot itself is represented in the text of the hymn. The fact that Ninurta's chariot was a known and probably visibly present object would have meant that the singer and listeners of the hymn could have a concrete image of Ninurta doing battle and returning triumphantly, an image tied to cultic object with which they could physically interact. This would not only heighten the audience's experience of the hymn's mythological content, but would also contribute to and reinforce the significance of the cultic object, which functioned both on the mythological and the cultic planes. The language used to describe the chariot emphasizes its divine brightness, its rumbling noise, and its fearsomeness: it is described as "shining" or of lapis lazuli (**za-gin₃**), "laden with fearsome radiance" (**ni₂ huš guru₃^{ru}**) (52/51), "suited for battle" (**me₃-a tum₂-ma**) (64/63), and heavenly (**an-na**) (156/157); Ninurta riding in it is said to "rumble" (**dum-dam za**) on the horizon like a storm (74), and its "pleasant rumbling" (**gu₃ du₁₀ MURUM ša₄-a**) is associated with the image of Ninurta as a gathering storm, mentioned alongside his fearsome radiance (**me-lim₄**), his shaking of heaven and earth, and his ominous shadow (83–85/82–84). The chariot thus becomes an effective symbol of Ninurta's terror and power.

A second potential *širgida* composition in which a chariot is obliquely referenced is *Utu ursaĝ*—although it is unclear whether the passage in question, dealing with Utu's chariot team and attendants, in fact belongs to the *širgida* itself or to a related composition (see Appendix II.8.2).

*Ex. 5.6 Utu-ursaĝ Seg. B 1–6*³⁵³

- B1 u₄-he₂-gal-an-na HUL₃³⁵⁴ a₂ ʾzi¹-[da-zu]
u₄-he₂-gal-an-na ul-li i-mi-it-ti-[ka]
B2 u₄-huš-gal-an-na HUL₃ a₂ gub₃-bu-zu
u₄-hu-uš-gal-an-na ul-li šu-me-li-ka
B3 u₄-sumur-gal-an-na šutul₄ a₂ zi-da-ʾzu¹
u₄-su-mu-ur-gal-an-na ni-ri i-mi-ti-ʾka¹
B4 u₄-nir-gal-an-na šutul₄ a₂ gub₃-bu-zu
u₄-ne-er-gal-an-na ni-ri šu-mi-li-ʾka¹
B5 ha-mun-si-sa₂ giri₁₇-ʾdab^{!?}¹-ʾzu¹
ha-mu-si-si ka-ar-ʾta¹-ʾap^{!?}¹-ʾka¹
B6 dša₃-ga-điri-ga ŠUŠ₃³⁵⁵-ʾzu[?]¹
dʾša¹-ga-di-ri-ka ki-zu-ʾka[?]¹

Uhegalana, (at) [your] right rein,³⁵⁶
Uhušgalana, (at) your left rein,
Usumurgalana, (at) your right yoke,
Unirgalana, (at) your left yoke,
Hamunsisa, your driver,
Šagadiriga, your groom,

Unfortunately, the text preceding and following these lines is missing or broken. From other texts dealing with Utu, the four creatures pulling his chariot are known to be lions.³⁵⁷ Whether or in what manner the yoke-team of lions was represented in a ritual ceremony is unclear. The groom and the driver recall, to some extent, the figures leading and following Ninurta's chariot in the *Angim* passage cited above, probably represented by divine statues or standards.

The final *širgida* in which a divine journey is dealt with, Ninurta B, does not mention the means of transport, but it does deal with the processional way (**kaskal**) along which Ninurta travels from Nippur into Eridu:

³⁵³ Obv. 1–6 in Wasserman 1997.

³⁵⁴ **KIB**, read **hul**₃ or **ul**₃.

³⁵⁵ **iš**, read **šuš**₃ or **kuš**₇.

³⁵⁶ Or: "Uhegalana, [your] right rein," with "rein" as a metonym for the draft animal (so Kreberník 2001, 249).

³⁵⁷ See Appendix II.8.4 for a full treatment of the yoke-team and attendants.

Ex. 5.7 Ninurta B Seg. B 5–10

- B5 ʾlugal¹ [abzu-še₃ DU ġiri₃ mu-na-ġa₂-ġa₂(?)]
B6 ^dʾnin-urta¹ eridu^{ʾki}-ʾše₃ DU¹-[a[?]-ne₂[?]] / ʾġiri₃¹ mu-na-ġa₂-ʾġa₂¹
B7 ʾkaskal¹ ʾizim¹-gen₇ mu-na-du₃ edin mu-ʾna¹-[x]
B8 ^dʾnin-urta abzu eridu^{ki}-ga / ul-la mi-ʾni¹-ʾib₂¹-tum₂-mu
B9 lugal abzu-a ku₄-ra-ne₂ / u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-ʾam₃¹ ġe₆ giri₁₇-zal-am₃
B10 ^dʾnin-urta eridu^{ki}-ga ku₄-ra-ne₂ / ʾu₄¹ ħe₂-ġal₂-ʾam₃¹ ġe₆ giri₁₇-ʾzal¹-am₃

[As[?]] the king [goes[?] to the Abzu, *he*³⁵⁸ makes the way for him(?)]

[As[?]] Ninurta goes[?] to Eridu, *he* makes the way for him.

He prepares the road festively for him, he [...] the steppe for him!

He brings Ninurta into the Abzu, into Eridu, in exuberance!.

When the king has entered the Abzu, the day is (a day of) abundance! The night is (a night of) profusion!

When Ninurta has entered Eridu, the day is (a day of) abundance! The night is (a night of) profusion!

Concrete examples of a processional way being prepared for festivals, which included both decoration and structural enhancement, are known from several first-millennium royal inscriptions, as discussed in detail by Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 65–70.

5.2 Scepters and staffs

The scepter or staff of the king, one of the most central and enduring physical markers of kingship, appears frequently in investiture ceremonies in Sumerian literature. The preserved *širgida* texts employ two different words for a type of staff, both associated explicitly with the king himself: **ġidru** (= Akk. *ḫaṭṭu*) and **sibir**(₂) (= Akk. *šibirru*).

³⁵⁸ Identity uncertain, probably introduced in the broken/missing lines preceding this passage.

5.2.1 **sibir₂**

The shepherd's staff **sibir**(U.BURU₁₄)/**sibir₂**(BURU₁₄) (Akk. *šibirru*) occurs frequently in the Sumerian literary corpus as a symbol of kingship, especially in the context of royal investiture. Most often, it is paired with a second item, the “lead-rope” (**ešgiri**(U.BURU₁₄), Akk. *šerretu*),³⁵⁹ and both objects are usually handed to a king by a deity at the moment of his investiture—often alongside other items of royal insignia, such as a scepter or scepters and a crown or crowns. Unlike the *gidru*-staff, which often appears in the hands of a deity, these items are almost always associated with human kingship.³⁶⁰ The symbolism of the shepherd's staff and lead-rope is explicitly stated on numerous occasions: they are the tools used by the king to guide (/laḥ/) his

³⁵⁹ The identity of the two objects is not, in fact, certain: it is also possible that the pair comprises the *enkara*-weapon (**enkara**) and the shepherd's staff (**sibir₂**). See the comment to the *širgida* to Sud line 22 for philological discussion.

³⁶⁰ An exception to this is the god Dumuzi, the divine shepherd frequently identified with the human king, who occasionally receives the shepherd's staff and lead-rope: Ur-Namma A Susa version inserts these items among the gifts given to him by Ur-Namma (l. 103a); the king embodying Dumuzi receives them from Inana in Dumuzi-Inana D1 (ll. 17, 40, 46).) Another exception is Inana, who is said to have received both the shepherd's staff and nose rope among her many functions in EWO (l. 436), and who steals these items as part of the *me*'s in Inana and Enki, along with shepherdship, kingship, and other royal insignia (**gidru maḥ, tu₉ maḥ**) (ll. F19, I7). More rarely, another deity is depicted holding a concrete object written BURU₁₄ or U.BURU₁₄ (never both together). In the case of BURU₁₄, the reading **enkar(a)** “*enkara*-weapon” may be preferable to **sibir₂** “shepherd's staff:” in Hendursaĝa A 8, held by Hendursaĝa (Attinger and Krebernik 2005 **enkara**, “l'arme *enkara*”); in Išme-Dagan X 2, held an unnamed deity, probably Enki (Sjöberg 1973b **enkara** or **sibir**, “staff”); in Sin-iddinam E (RIME 4.2.9.15) 13, wielded by Iškur (Wagensonner 2011 **sibir₂**, “*mace*,” or **enkara**). In the case of deities holding objects designated as U.BURU₁₄, of which I know only four examples, the reading must either be **sibir** or **ešgiri**. The least ambiguous example is in a passage of an Emesal prayer edited by Kutscher as part of the *balaĝ Aaba ḥuluḥa* and by Cohen as a partially parallel source to *Ame Baraanara*, in which Enlil holds the “lead-rope of the gods” (ms F: **ešgiri dim₃-mi-ir-r[e-ne]**; ms Fc: **ešgiri₁-ki-ri dim₃-me-er-re-ne**; ms Fd: **ešgiri diĝir-re-ne**; all OB sources) (Kutscher 1975, 127–128, composite line *221; CLAM pp. 339–341, CT 42 26 line 30). In Šulgi E 2, Enlil is again said to hold the U.BURU₁₄, perhaps likewise to be read **ešgiri** “lead-rope,” but **sibir** is equally possible, and it is described in terms typical of the **sibir₂/ešgiri** pair known from royal investitures. The third example of a deity holding an object designated U.BURU₁₄ is Abi-ešuḥ A 7, where An gives Marduk the U.BURU₁₄ **kur-kur-ra GURUN** “the *shepherd's staff/lead-rope* that makes the mountain lands bow down.” Here the reading of U.BURU₁₄ as **sibir** is likely, since the terminology is similar to that in Ur-Ninurta A 23 U.BURU₁₄//BURU₁₄-a-ne₂ **ki-bala ḥe₂-en-gurum-e** “let his shepherd's staff make the rebel land bow low,” where the spelling BURU₁₄ suggests we are to read **sibir**//**sibir₂** (unless one accepts **ešgiri₂** as a value for BURU₁₄, which is not excluded). Finally, in Inana C 8, Inana is described as grasping an object written U.BURU₁₄, where, again, it might be read **sibir** or **ešgiri**.

people and to keep the people or the land secure (**ge-n**).³⁶¹ In handing them to the king, the deities are entrusting him with the shepherding of the people, their flock.³⁶²

The two references to the shepherd's staff in the preserved *širgida* texts are somewhat unusual in that they depict two minor deities, Martu and Sud, as giving the staff to the king. Elsewhere, the deity investing the king with the symbols of royal shepherdship is usually one of the highest gods in the pantheon, although there are exceptions.³⁶³ Also conspicuous in the *širgida* passages is the absence of **ešgiri** in both texts, at least as far as they are preserved. In every other instance of an investiture scene known to me involving **sibir₂**(**BURU₁₄**), the term occurs alongside **ešgiri**, either as a fixed pair or in two consecutive lines. Outside of investiture, kings are occasionally said to be in possession of a single object written **BURU₁₄** or **U.BURU₁₄**—where, in the case of the former, the reading **sibir₂** is likely (though **enkara** is possible), and, in the case of the latter, **sibir** or **ešgiri** is possible.³⁶⁴ The two *širgidas* are therefore not entirely anomalous, and the absence of other investiture scenes with **sibir₂** alone may be an accident of discovery.

³⁶¹ Samsu-iluna C 20–21; Rim-Sin E 5–6; Ur-Namma D Ur Version 19/Yale Version 16; Ur-Ninurta E 14; Enlil-bani 1001 (RIME 4.1.10.1001) iv 15–18; Enlil-bani A 16–17.

³⁶² For explicit association of these objects with royal shepherding, see: Šulgi G 25, Dumuzi-Inana D1 46–47, Inana and Enki F 19 (I v 19), Ur-Namma A 103; the **/sibir/** also appears as the emblematic tool of the shepherd in, e.g., Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 207–208 (Wilcke 2012 ll. 206–207), Išbi-Erra E (Reisman 1976) 29. For further discussion of the image of the king as a shepherd, see esp. Westenholz 2004.

³⁶³ The Ur III rulers Ur-Namma and Šulgi receive them from Enlil (Ur-Namma D *18 = ETCSL Ur 19, Yale 16, Šulgi G 25); the Isin kings Išme-Dagan and Ur-Ninurta receive them from An (the former at the command of Enlil) (Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 60, Ur-Ninurta E 14), while Lipit-Eštar receives them from Nuska (?) and Enlil-bani from Enlil (?) (Lipit-Eštar G Rev. 8', Enlil-bani 1001 = RIME 4.1.10.1001 iv 15); the Larsa ruler Rim-Sin receives them from An (Rim-Sin C 21–22). In Dumuzi-Inana D1, Inana is asked to give the shepherd's staff and the lead-rope, among other royal insignia, to the king, her husband (**u₃-mu-un, lugal, ġešdana**)—i.e. the king as Dumuzi, whose precise identity the text leaves ambiguous.

³⁶⁴ In Ur-Ninurta A, An and Enlil are asked to let the **U.BURU₁₄** (var. **BURU₁₄**) of Ur-Ninurta make the rebel lands bow down (**gurum**). Here, the variation between the two spellings makes **sibir/sibir₂** the likely reading (although some scholars have speculated that **/ešgiri/** might be written with **BURU₁₄** as well as **U.BURU₁₄**). In SEpM 8, the anonymous king, having defeated Tidnum, is said to hold its **U.BURU₁₄**. In this case, either **sibir** or **ešgiri** is possible. Note also that in Hammurabi 14 (RIME 4.3.6.14) 21–43, the king holds the lead-rope (**eš₂-giri₁₇**) of Sumer and Akkad.

The first reference to the shepherd's staff in the preserved *širgida* texts occurs in the *širgida* to Sud. Just before the halfway point of the hymn, the investiture of the king Bur-Suen is described, couched in expressions of praise addressed to Sud.

Ex. 5.8 *Širgida* to Sud 18–23

18 ^dbur¹-^dsuen-e aga zi dalla mu-ni-in-e₃
 19 ^rmen¹ zalag-ga-zu saĝ-ĝa₂-na u₃-mu-e-ĝal₂
 20 ^rx¹ [x (x)]^rĝidru uĝ₃¹ si sa₂-sa₂-e ^rsaĝ⁷¹-^re⁷¹-eš ^rmu-ni-in-rig⁷¹
 21 ^rdbur-^dzuen¹ sipa nun-be₂ na-nam
 22 ^rsibir²¹ uĝ₃ lu-a e-ne-ra u₃-mu-na-e-šum₂
 23 kur-kur ki-ĝar-zu kilib₃-be₂ ḥa-ra-ab-laḥ₅-e

He (Ninĝidru) made the true *aga*-crown shine brightly *for* Bur-Suen.
 After you (Sud) placed your bright *men*-crown on his head,
 he bestowed on him [...] the scepter (**ĝidru**) that keeps the people in order
 Bur-Suen is indeed their shepherd and prince!
 Since you have given him the shepherd's staff (**sibir₂**) of the numerous people,
 he shall lead (or: may he lead) the lands, your entire territory for you!

In this scene, it is Sud who entrusts Bur-Suen with the shepherd's staff. Although the consequences of this investiture are still relevant in the present—it is because Bur-Suen has received the shepherd's staff that he is able to lead the lands for Sud—the bestowal of the objects itself is set in the past (**mu-ni-in-e₃** in line 18, **mu-ni-in-rig⁷** in line 20). Thus the giving of the shepherd's staff took place at some point before the performance of the *širgida*, and the words are probably intended to evoke the memory of a previous ceremony and highlight the relationship that exists between Bur-Suen and Sud, rather than referring to the ritual setting of the *širgida* itself. Whether Bur-Suen is to be imagined as holding the shepherd's staff at some point during the performance of the *širgida* is impossible to say, although there is nothing to argue against it.

The second occurrence of the shepherd's staff in the preserved *širgida* corpus is in Martu A. In this hymn, Martu's investiture of the king with the staff is alluded to among numerous other blessings granted the king by the god.

Ex. 5.9 Martu A 49–52

49 lugal-¹ra² [x (x)] nu-kur²-ru ¹u⁴ [x x] su³-ud-da-ne²
 50 sibir² zi-¹gal² u³g³¹ šar² laḥ⁵-laḥ⁵ za³-ga-na la²-a-ne²
 51 e²-gal lugal-[la²]-¹ka² nuḡun-na-ne² mu-ni-in-dib-dib-be²
 52 ki-in-du si-sa² ḡiri³ mu-na-ab-¹gal² za³-saga¹ nu-mu-ni-in-tuku

Having extended the [...] days and the never changing [...] for² the king,
 having equipped him with the shepherd's staff (**sibir₂**) that leads (*all*) liv[ing beings²], the
 myriad [*people*²],
 he makes his seed pass into² the royal² palace.
The foot has been set on the right path for him. He has let him have no challenger.

In this passage, again, it is unlikely that the reference to the king's investiture relates directly to the ceremony in which the *širgida* was performed. Instead, it serves to remind the listener that the king's authority and right to lead, symbolized by the staff, were given him by the god.

5.2.2 ḡidru

The second term for a type of staff that occurs in the *širgida* corpus is **ḡidru** (= Akk. *ḡaṭṭu*). This term has a wider range of meaning than the fairly specific **sibir₂**, and its representative significance varies depending on context (as discussed most recently in the extensive survey by Bramanti 2017). In the case of royal investiture, the scepter serves as an emblem of kingship, and this is its most frequent use in Sumerian literature. When held by a deity, it most often functions as a symbol of the “vizier” or chief aide (**sugal₇**) of a higher deity. The association between the vizier and the **ḡidru** is especially clear in Inana's Descent 291, where one of the beings created by

Enki is said to hold a *ĝidru*-staff “despite not being a vizier.”³⁶⁵ Other divine figures with offices or professions different from the vizier are also occasionally depicted in Sumerian literature with a *ĝidru*-staff: Enki takes a staff in his hand when he sets out to woo Uttu disguised as a gardener (**nu-^{ĝes}kiri₆**) in Enki and Ninĝursaĝa 167; the divine captain of Enki’s boat (**ensi₂ ^{ĝes}ma-gur₈-ra(-k)**) holds a staff for Enki in EWO 113–114 and 184–185; the divine canal inspector (**ku₃-^{ĝal}₂ i₇-da(-k)**) Enbilulu holds a staff in EWO 267; Igalima holds a staff as the chief bailiff (**gal₅-la₂ gal**) of Girsu in Gudea Cyl. B vi 21 (954) (perhaps in order to bestow it on Ninĝirsu; see Averbek 1987, 175), and he receives a staff in BaU A Seg. C 8 (UET 6/1 72 rev. 8);³⁶⁶ and Ninĝišzida and Dumuzi, as divine shepherds, are associated with staffs in Ninĝišzida A 12–20 and Dumuzi’s Dream 4, respectively. Aside from these examples, it is relatively uncommon for a deity to appear with a *ĝidru*-staff, unless he or she is bestowing it upon a king. A deity’s *ĝidru*-staff thus serves as a symbol of their office rather than having to do with kingship.

In the preserved *širgida* texts, the sole example of the scepter as part of the regalia of a human king is in the *širgida* to Sud, in the investiture passage cited above (Ex. 5.8). There, the god Ninĝidru is said to have bestowed the “scepter that keeps the people in order” (**ĝidru u^ĝ₃ si₂ sa₂-e**) upon Bur-Suen, after the king’s receiving the *aga*-crown from Ninĝidru and the *men*-crown from Sud, and before his receiving the shepherd’s staff from Sud. Apart from the particular the deities involved, who do not normally occur in investiture scenes, the appearance of the scepter in this passage is entirely normal.³⁶⁷ The **ĝidru** is frequently mentioned alongside the **sibir₂**, **ešgiri**, and other royal insignia as one of the emblems of kingship received at the time of coronation.

³⁶⁵ See Bramanti 2017, esp. 31 and 42–44, for further examples and discussion.

³⁶⁶ Igalima’s offices also include the **nu-banda₃ maḥ** of Nungal in Nungal A 88, where, however, no staff is mentioned.

³⁶⁷ The conferring of the scepter by Ninĝidru, though in keeping with the god’s name, is nowhere else attested to my knowledge. Ninĝidru is occasionally attested in other investiture scenes, but with a different role. The first is in an

The terminology used to describe the function of the **ĝidru**, in our text and similar passages, overlaps to some extent with descriptions of the **sibir₂** and **ešgiri** pair discussed above. Like these two staffs, the **ĝidru** is likewise said to lead the people (/laḥ/) or to keep the people/land stable (**ge-n**), and it can, as in our text, be connected to the idea of the king as a shepherd. Sallaberger, in fact, understands the **ĝidru/haṭṭu** as the fundamental symbol of the king's shepherdship (Sallaberger 2002, 88). In addition to the terms used with **sibir₂** and **ešgiri**, the **ĝidru** is also said to keep the people in order (**si sa₂**), an expression never applied to the former two items (though this may be an accident of discovery).³⁶⁸

All other occurrences of **ĝidru** in the preserved *širgida* corpus refer to the scepters of deities, rather than kings. In Nuska A C11, though the context is fragmentary, Nuska appears to have received a scepter from Enlil.

Ex. 5.10 Nuska A Seg. C 11–12

C11 ʾur-saĝ ĜIDRU¹ [šum₂[?]-ma[?]] ʾden¹-lil₂-la₂ / za-ʾa-da¹ [x x]-ʾda-an¹-gub
 C12 ʾmešš₃[?] ka-silim-ma[?] ʾ(x)³⁶⁹ [d[?]nu[?]]-ʾnam[?]-nir[?]-ra[?]-me-en

Hero [given[?]] *a scepter by* Enlil, he stands by you.
 You are the *glorious[?]* young man[?] of (...) [Nu]namnir[?]!

inscription on a statue created by an *ensi* of Šuruppak for an unnamed Sargonic ruler, probably Rimuš: the *ensi* is described as the one who was “chosen in the heart of Sud, whose name was called by Ningīdru” (Frahm and Payne 2003–2004). This inscription reinforces the idea that Ningīdru and Sud together played a role in the investiture of the leader of Šuruppak, going back at least as far as the Old Akkadian period. The second attestation of Ningīdru's involvement in investiture likewise associates him with the appointment of the king—more specifically, with the giving of a new name. In the OB literary or ritual text PBS 5 76 (Sjöberg 1972a, 111–112) we read that the king receives the lapis-lazuli scepter (**ĝidru**) from an unknown deity in the Eana temple and the golden *aga*-crown from the goddess Ninmena, and that Ningīdru “cast aside the name of his (the king's) childhood, his *bur-gi*-name was no longer used,” and he was called by his “name of *en*-ship.” The appearance of Ningīdru with Sud in our hymn may thus reflect an investiture tradition tied to Šuruppak or the cult of Sud, but the involvement of Ningīdru was not restricted to this city.

³⁶⁸ Cf., in addition to *širgida* to Sud 20: Samsu-iluna C 19–20, Ur-Namma D, Ur Version 18–19/Yale version 15–16; Dumuzi-Inana D1 40. For a list of terms used as objects of **si sa₂**, see Lämmerhirt 2010 234–249.

³⁶⁹ Either traces or surface damage.

Nuska's association with the **ĝidru** as a symbol of his viziership is well attested throughout Mesopotamian history, and this is certainly the significance of **ĝidru** we are to understand here.³⁷⁰ Nuska's scepter is also mentioned earlier in the same hymn, where it is more clearly associated with his position as Enlil's vizier (**sugal**₇).

Ex. 5.11 Nuska A Seg. A 20–23

- A20 sugal₇ a₂-nun-ĝal₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂ ĝidru ku₃ šu du₇
A21 za₃-dib IGI.DU diĝir-re-e-ne an ki peš-a
A22 sugal₇ zi en enim-ma gal-gal-la dumu nir-ĝal₂ ^dutu
A23 gaba daĝal nun-e a₂ maḥ₂ šum₂-ma me nam-gal šu du₇

Most powerful vizier of Enlil, who *perfectly wields* the pure scepter,
supreme one, foremost of the gods, who has broadened heaven and earth,
true vizier, lord of the great ..., noble son of Utu,
broad-chested, given enormous strength by the prince, who perfectly completes the *me's*
of greatness,

Thus, in both Nuska A references, we are to see the scepter as a symbol of the minister or vizier (**sugal**₇), rather than a symbol of kingship. Although the passages do not tell us anything concrete about the immediate context of the *širgida* hymn's performance, it is quite possible that the cult statue of Nuska, to whom the singer addressed hymn, held the iconic scepter in his hand. Both references to the scepter in the text of Nuska A reinforce its efficacy as a symbol of Nuska's close relationship with Enlil, the chief god of the pantheon.

The final certain appearance of scepter occurs in Ninurta A Seg. A 11, where it is evidently held by Ninurta.

Ex. 5.12 Ninurta A Seg. A 11–12

- A11 ĝidru ku₃ ʾan^{ʾ1} sud⁻¹-ʾaĝ₂¹ (N₁: ku₃ u₄ su₃-ʾra₂¹) šu-na ʾĝal-la^{ʾ1}-[am₃^{ʾ2}]
A12 men zi an-na saĝ-ĝa₂ ĝal₂-[la^ʾ-am₃^{ʾ2}]

³⁷⁰ See Bramanti 2017, 42–44.

Having the pure scepter *of the brilliant heavens* (N₁: of distant days) in his hand,
having the true *men*-crown of heaven on his head,

Here, unlike in the majority of references to a deity's staff, the office symbolized by the object is unclear.

Finally, the sequence of signs ĜEŠ.PA, probably to be read ĜEŠ²ĝidru, occurs finally in *Utu ursag* C19 (Cavigneaux 2009a l. 62), but the context is obscure. It may refer to a stick used to beat a human sufferer.

The language used to describe scepters or staffs in the preserved *širgida* texts varies depending on whether the item belongs to deity or to a king. In the case of the king's staffs, their status as divinely given tools for leading the people is emphasized: the scepter and staff bestowed on Bur-Suen are described as “the scepter that keeps the people in order” (ĝidru uĝ₃ si sa₂-sa₂-e) and “the shepherd's staff of the numerous people” (sibir₂ uĝ₃ lu-a) (*širgida* to Sud 20, 22), while the staff given the king by Martu is called “the shepherd's staff that leads (*all*) *liv[ing beings]*”, the myriad [*people*’]” (sibir₂ zi-’ĝal₂’ uĝ₃’¹ šar₂ laḥ₅-laḥ₅) (Martu A 50). In the case of staffs held by deities, their physical appearance and/or heavenly status is emphasized. Both Nuska's and Ninurta's scepters are described as “shining” or “pure” (ku₃). In Nuska A, the scepter's association with Enlil is also highlighted (Nuska A Seg. A 20, Seg. C 11). In Ninurta A, one source records a description of the shining scepter as being “*of the brilliant heavens(?)*” (’an’ sud-aĝ₂’¹) (X₁); the other describing it as “of distant days” (u₄ su₃-’ra₂’¹) (N₁) (Ninurta A Seg. A 11).

5.3 Crowns

As is the case with scepters, crowns belonging both to deities and to human kings are attested in the preserved *širgida* texts. The most frequently used term is **men**, used in reference either to a

human crown or to a divine one. In addition, we encounter the terms **aga**, referring to a crown worn by a king, and **SUĦ**, referring to a crown or emblem worn by a deity.

5.3.1 **men** and **aga**

In the investiture scene in the *širgida* to Sud cited above, Bur-Suen is crowned with two crowns, designated with the terms **men** (Akk. *agû*, rarely *meānu* or similar³⁷¹) and **aga** (Akk. *agû*). The distinction between these two items is difficult to determine and not clearly maintained in the Old Babylonian period, but, in general, **men** is more closely associated with the divine realm and with the office of *en*-ship, whereas **aga** is more closely associated with human kingship.³⁷⁶ In association with the king, the significance of a crown in general as a royal symbol is well-known.

³⁷¹ Evidence for the Akkadian equivalent of **men** in the Old Babylonian period is sparse. Akkadian *meānu* (with variant forms; see CAD M2 [1977] *mēnu* A; AHw 2 *meānum*, *mēnu*), meaning “crown” and presumably a loanword from **men**, appears in the Old Babylonian version of Etana Tablet 1, lines 7 and 11 as part of the royal insignia, grouped together with *kubšum* “(royal) cap,” *ḥaṭṭum* “scepter,” and, in line 11, *šibirum* “staff.” At the same time, the usual Akkadian term for “crown,” *agû*, is already equated with **men** in an OB bilingual letter to Nanna (Sjöberg 1960, 104–107): **men an uraš-a** : *a-ge-e ša-me-e u₃ er-se-tim* “crown of heaven and earth” (addressing Nanna) (W 17259, w [AUWE 23 113] 3). In later periods, Akkadian *agû* continued as the normal equivalent of **men**, attested both bilingually (MA/first-millennium *Lugale* 140, 375) and lexicographically (MB Saġ B 59 **saġ-men** (MSL SS 1, p. 30); MA Ea I 125 (MSL 14, p. 183, sources B and E); *passim* in first-millennium lists). The term *meānu* and its variants, on the other hand, remained extremely rare, attested only in a first-millennium Emesal prayer (**men** : *minnu* paired with **aga** : *agû*),³⁷² in the first-millennium god list An = *Anum* II 21 (divine name [^dnin]-ⁱmenⁱmi-na explained as *be-let me-am-mi//ma-a-mi*),³⁷³ and in synonym lists, equated with *agû* (*Malku* = *šarru* 8 63;³⁷⁴ “An = *Anum* VII” 235³⁷⁵). One can conclude that Akkadian speakers generally understood Sumerian **men** as *agû* “crown,” but had a rare loanword available if they wanted to be more precise or, perhaps, to demonstrate their erudition.

³⁷² K 11173 (BA 5 pp. 636–638, no. 7) rev. 7’ **aga nam-en-na men dadag** : *ina a-ge-e be-lu-tim mi-in-nim eb-bi* (see Macmillan 1906, 575–578).

³⁷³ Litke 1998, 68. See also Krebern timer 1993–1997, 506, §3.23

³⁷⁴ Hrůša 2010, 141–142, 424.

³⁷⁵ For this synonym list, treated varyingly as the seventh tablet of An = *Anum*, as the “explicit” version of *Malku* = *šarru* 6–7, or referred to by its incipit *šaššu ḥurāšu*, see Hrůša 2010, 1, 4–5 with n. 26, with previous literature.

³⁷⁶ See Asher-Greve 1995–1996, 185–186, with further discussion of **men** in Mittermayer 2009, 224 ad 29. Asher-Greve’s findings show that that **men**, attested far earlier than the **aga**, is primarily associated with deities, as well as with *en*-priests, and she suggests that it may refer to the entire crown assemblage known from visual representations. The **aga** is instead associated primarily with kingship, and Asher-Greve suggests it may refer more specifically to the diadem/circlet component of the crown. Although Asher-Greve concludes that the distinction in nuance between the two terms was blurred in the Old Babylonian period (186), the distribution of adjectives and other modifiers with which they occur in Old Babylonian Sumerian texts indicates that their respective associations were not entirely lost (see appendix in Asher-Greve 1995–1996, 188).

More narrowly, as discussed in Sallaberger 2002, the crown (**aga**, *agû*) in Mesopotamian ideology evidently served as the core symbol of the sacredness of kingship—encompassing not just the king’s divine status, but also his close relationship with the gods, by whom he is born or engendered, raised, and endowed with kingship, as well as his role in maintaining the cult of the gods and in serving as their earthly representative. Sallaberger highlights the fact that it is most often An, the head of the pantheon, who gives the king this sacred emblem. For further discussion and examples of literary passages attesting to the use of the *aga*-crown in investiture ceremonies, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 57–59.

In the Bur-Suen passage, unusually, it is Sud and her vizier Ningîdru who carry out the king’s coronation. Ningîdru makes the “true *aga*-crown” (**aga zi**) “shine brightly” (**dalla e₃**) for Bur-Suen, while Sud places her own “bright *men*-crown” (**men zalag-ga**) on his head. The use of the adjectives **zi** and **zalag-ga** respectively is generally in keeping with Asher-Greve’s observations about the distinction between the two crown-types: the **aga** is very frequently modified with **zi** “true, legitimate” and with **nam-lugal-la** “of kingship”—taken by Asher-Greve as a sign of its association with royal authority (1995–1996, 186; see also Lämmerhirt 2010, 58)—while the **men** is frequently associated with brightness, most clearly seen in its frequent use as an epithet or symbol of the moon god. As observed above, the description of Bur-Suen’s coronation with the two crowns likely refers to a historical ceremony that took place sometime prior to the composition of the hymn. The singer’s words would have called this ceremony to mind, and, if one or both of the crowns were worn by the king during the course of the ceremony at which the *širgida* was sung, could have reinforced to their potency as symbols of divinely authorized power.

5.3.2 *men*

In two of the *širgida* texts, a deity is depicted as wearing the *men*-crown. In Ninurta B, the singer narrates Ninurta's coronation at the end of the narrative portion of the hymn: after having arriving in Eridu, entering the Abzu, and receiving the *me*'s from Enki, Ninurta places the *men*-crown on his head.

Ex. 5.13 Ninurta B Seg. B 14–17

- B14 ^dnin-urta dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-^ṛke₄¹
 B15 nam-lugal-še₃ men mu-un-il₂ ^ṛme[?]-e[?]¹ am₃-ma-DU
 B16 nam-en-še₃ SUḪ za-gin₃ mu-un-keše₂ ^ḫhe[?]²¹-ĝal₂ šu[?] in-du₈
 B17 dalla mu-un-e₃ ^ṛabzu¹ eridu^ṛki-ga¹ / saĝ an-še₃ bi₂-in-il₂

Ninurta, the son of Enlil,
 put on the *men*-crown as a sign of³⁷⁷ kingship. He *was suited* to the *me*'s!
 He tied on the gleaming SUḪ-emblem as a sign of³⁷⁸ *en*-ship. He took abundance in his
 hand!
 He appeared brilliantly; *Being (the one) of the Abzu, of Eridu*, he raised his head high!

Here the *men*-crown is explicitly associated with kingship, in parallel with the SUḪ-crown or -pectoral associated with *en*-ship (see below).

As discussed above, Sumerian hymns narrating divine journeys, like Ninurta B, are often assumed to have been sung or recited during the ceremonial visit of one deity's cult statue to the temple of another deity. If this is the case, it is entirely possible that Ninurta's coronation was represented through ritual actions during the course of ceremony in which the hymn was sung or recited. Even if this was not the case, though, the singer's recounting the divine coronation and mentioning specifically the *men*-crown lends authority to the crown as a concrete image of divine royal authority.

³⁷⁷ Lit. "for."

³⁷⁸ Lit. "for."

In Ninurta A, Ninurta is again said to wear the *men*-crown, in the passage cited above under **ġidru** (Ex. 5.12). Here, in a series of epithets, he is described with the “true *men*-crown of heaven” (**men zi an-na**) on his head and the scepter (**ġidru**) of heaven (var. “of distant days”) in his hands. The qualification of the *men*-crown, rather than the *aga*-crown, as “true” (**zi**) is somewhat unusual. Lämmerhirt suggests that the term **zi** may here serve to convey a visual impression associated with shining light (based on the Sumerian personal name **utu-men-zi**, “Utu (= die Sonne) ist die *hell leuchtende*³⁷⁹ Krone”) (Lämmerhirt 2010, 59).³⁷⁹

The final attestation of **men** in the preserved *širgidas* also occurs in Ninurta A (**men ku₃**, Seg. A 22), but the context is broken.

In nearly all the references to *men*- and *aga*-crowns in the preserved *širgida* texts, the language employed tends to focus on their physical appearance, especially their brilliance. This is true both of the crowns placed on Bur-Suen’s head³⁸⁰ and, to a lesser extent, of the crowns worn by Ninurta.³⁸¹

5.3.3 SUĜ

The term **SUĜ** referring to a type of emblem, probably a headpiece or pectoral, appears once in the preserved *širgida* texts, in the coronation scene of Ninurta B cited above (Ex. 5.13). There Ninurta is said to have put on the *men*-crown (Seg. B 15) “for kingship” (**nam-lugal-še₃**) and to

³⁷⁹ Lämmerhirt further associates the name **d¹innana-men-zi-PAP.PAP**, “Inana ist die *hell leuchtende*² Krone der PAP.PAP,” with Inana as the morning and evening stars (59 n. 378). Cf. Balke 2017, who takes this name instead as “Inanna (hat) die rechtmäßige Krone der Papa” (205).

³⁸⁰ The *aga*-crown is made to appear in full brightness (**dalla e₃**); the *men*-crown is described as “bright” or “shining” (**zalag-ga**) (*Širgida* to Sud 18–19).

³⁸¹ **men ku₃** “pure” or “shining” *men*-crown (Ninurta A Seg. A 22); possibly **men zi an-na** “true *men*-crown of heaven.” Note also that Ninurta “appears in full brightness” (**dalla e₃**) after donning the *men*-crown in Ninurta B Seg. 15–17.

have tied on the lapis-lazuli/shining *SUH*-emblem “for *en*-ship” (**nam-en-še₃** *SUH* **za-gin₃** **mu-un-keše₂**) (Seg. B 16). The actual identity of the emblem or emblems designated by *SUH*(**MUŠ₃-g.**) is uncertain, as is the correct reading or readings of the sign (probably **subi/u/a_x**, **muš₂**, or **sukus**; see detailed discussion in my comment to Ninurta B Seg. B 16, in Appendix II.3.4). The item’s symbolic significance, on the other hand, is much clearer. The *SUH*-emblem, frequently modified with **keše₂** “tied on,” appears most often in Sumerian literature as a symbol of *en*-ship (**nam-en**). In nearly all examples where this association is made explicit, the wearer of the *SUH* is a deity, but there is at least one exception in which it is worn by a human ruler functioning as *en*.³⁸² The contrast between the *SUH* as a representation of *en*-ship (**nam-en**) and a (different) crown or headpiece as a representation of kingship (**nam-lugal**), as evident in Ninurta B, is also attested in EWO using very similar language.

Ex. 5.14 EWO 263–264

263 en-e nam-en-še₃ *SUH* mu-un-[keše₂]
 264 nam-lugal-še₃ aga zi mu-un-AK

The lord (= Enki) [tied on] the *SUH*-emblem for (a sign of) *en*-ship,
 he rightly put on the *aga*-crown³⁸³ for (a sign of) kingship.

Nevertheless, as already pointed out by Falkenstein in 1959, the inverse is also true; there are also instances where the *SUH* functions as a sign of kingship (**nam-lugal**) and a (different) type of crown functions as a sign of *en*-ship (**nam-en**) (Falkenstein 1959, 96–97 ad 15–16). This is the case, for example, in a passage that occurs with slight variation in EWO 197–198, EWO 410–411, and TH 502–503, where a deity (Enlil, Ninmug, or Nintur) is said to tie the *SUH*-emblem onto the

³⁸² Worn by a deity in: Ninurta B Seg B 16 (Ninurta); EWO 322 (Enkimdu), 263 (Enki); Nanna E 48 (Nanna); prerogative of Inana in EWO 458; worn by a human king in Hammurabi B 4 (Hammurabi).

³⁸³ Lit. “made the *aga*-crown right.”

king (**lugal**) and to place the **saĝ-men**-crown upon the *en*. The **SUĤ** might also be worn as a sign of kingship by a deity (Ninurta) in Ninurta G 1–11, but the interpretation of these lines is uncertain (see comment to Ninurta B Seg. B 16). Additionally, the *SUĤ*-emblem is attested in association with Inana as a symbol of the position of *nugig* (see Zgoll 1997b, 189, 1997a, 306). Aside from cases where the symbolic association of the **SUĤ**—be it kingship, *en*-ship, or *nugig*-ship—is made explicit, other passages include both instances where it is worn by a human ruler³⁸⁴ and instances where it is worn by a deity—especially Nanna/Suen³⁸⁵ or Inana,³⁸⁶ but also Utu.³⁸⁷

The description of the *SUĤ*-emblem as “lapis lazuli” in Ninurta B is well-attested, **za-gin₃** being one of the item’s most frequently occurring modifiers. Here **za-gin₃** “lapis lazuli” is probably to be taken literally, although this does not exclude an additional nuance of “gleaming.” Items designated as *tiquu*, the first-millennium lexical equivalent of **SUĤ keše₂**, are known to have incorporated precious stones, and the term **muš** as a syllabic spelling of **SUĤ** is modified with **za-gin₃-na gunu₃-a** (“decorated with lapis-lazuli”) in Šulgi X 155.³⁸⁸

Like the references to *aga*- and *men*-crowns in the *širgida* texts, the reference to Ninurta’s **SUĤ-pectoral/crown** focuses on the object’s physical appearance, especially its brightness: it is described as being made of or decorated in lapis lazuli, which bears connotations of shininess and luminosity, and in the subsequent line Ninurta is said to “appear brilliantly” (**dalla e₃**). This focus on the material properties of divine and royal adornment could have helped a human audience to conceptualize and appreciate the power of the divine, emanating from the their being just as the

³⁸⁴ E.g., Šulgi E 10, Šulgi D 10, Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 89/Wilcke 2012, 88.

³⁸⁵ E.g., Šulgi X 155, LSU 458, Ibbi-Suen E 8.

³⁸⁶ E.g., TH 206, Dumuzi-Inana B 32, probably Cat. Y1 31 and Cat. L 67.

³⁸⁷ Gilgameš and Huwawa B 29–30, TH 490.

³⁸⁸ On **muš** in this context see the comment to Ninurta B Seg. B 16, Appendix II.3.4, with cited literature. For **SUĤ** adorned with *lapis-lazuli* stone, cf. also Cat. Y1 31 **nin-ĝu₁₀ SUĤ za-gin₃<<ZA>>-na gunu₃-a** and Cat. L 67 **nin-ĝu₁₀ SUĤ za-gin₃ gunu₃’-a**.

light emanated from their crown or pectoral—most likely visible on the cult statue as the singer recited the hymn.³⁸⁹

5.4 Weapons

The weapons mentioned in the preserved *širgida* texts belong exclusively to deities, namely to Ninurta, Martu, and Lulal. The majority of these weapons appear in the litany of arms recited in *Angim*, as Ninurta names each of the individual weapons he carried with him in his campaign against the *kur*. Aside from this passage, divine weapons are also referenced in Martu A, in Lulal A, possibly in Ninurta A, and elsewhere in *Angim*.

The types of weapons mentioned are designated with the terms ^{ḡeš}**tukul** “weapon, mace,” ^{ḡeš}/**mitum**/ “*mitum*-mace,” (^{ḡeš})**pana** “bow,” ^{mar}**maru** “quiver”, **ti** “arrow,” and ^a**an-kara2** “*ankara*-weapon,” along with the epithets or names listed in *Angim* 129–151/152.

The references to divine weapons preserved in the *širgida* texts almost uniformly draw attention to each weapon’s significance as a symbol of the praised deity’s past glory and terrifying power, represented either in the deity’s formal investiture with the weapon by one of the great gods or in descriptions of the deity’s active use of the weapon in mythological battle. Like Ninurta’s chariot in the text of *Angim*, his weapons too, which must likewise have existed as material cultic objects, were treated with respect and given a place of honor in the temple at Nippur upon his victorious return from war.

³⁸⁹ On the use of material descriptions of ritual in hymns to inspire or activate awe in a ritual participant, see Rendu Loisel, forthcoming.

5.5 Thrones and Pedestals

5.5.1 ^{ĝeš}gu-za

In ancient Mesopotamia, as in the modern western world, the throne was one of the fundamental symbols of the king, serving as a stand-in for the office of kingship itself (see Sallaberger 2002, 88). The term “throne” is never actually preserved in any of the *širgida* texts, but it can almost certainly be restored in a line of Ninurta B.

Ex. 5.15 Ninurta B Seg. D 18–21

- D18 [x x x] a₂ gal ʾaĝ₂¹-e-zu niĝ₂ ša₃-ga-ʾna¹-ka
D19 [x x] ʾx nam du₁₀² tar²-re¹-zu niĝ₂ ša₃-ga-na-ka
D20 [^{ĝeš}gu-za] ʾnam¹-lugal-la ge-ne₂-zu niĝ₂ ša₃-ga-na-ʾka¹
D21 [x (x)](-)ʾsi¹(-)-sa₂ U₄ DU₆-LA₂ šu-na ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ʾzu¹ / niĝ₂ ša₃-ga-na-ka

That you (Ninurta) give great instructions [...] is his (Enlil's) desire!

That you decide² good² fates [...] is his desire!

That you make firm the [throne²] of kingship is his desire!

That you place the *just* [...] of *eternity*³⁹⁰ in his hands is his desire!

The image of a deity making firm (**ge**) the throne or its foundation is a recurring theme in Sumerian literary and liturgical compositions, already discussed thoroughly in Assyriological literature (e.g., Sallaberger 2002, 88; Lämmerhirt 2010, 131). As implied in both Sallaberger's and Lämmerhirt's discussions, this expression evokes the idea of continuity and of permanence: the implications are that the king will enjoy a long, enduring rule, and, most likely, that his dynasty will continue in stability for generations to come (cf. Sallaberger's observation that the throne stands not only for the office of kingship, but also for the inherited tradition of the office [88]).

It remains unclear whether the singer of Ninurta B, in evoking the image of a stable and secure throne, was alluding to a particular ritual event that would have taken place during the king's reign,

³⁹⁰ Lit. “*stored up days*”?

such as his enthronement. According to the interpretation of Annus, Ninurta did regularly play an important part in the ceremonial enthronement of the king, and he even suggests that the original ritual context of our hymn, as well as of *Angim*, “is be found in the ceremony of ‘determination of royal fate’ and the enthronement of the Sumerian king in Nippur” (Annus 2002, 31). If this is the case, it is possible to understand the statement concerning Ninurta’s strengthening the throne as a reference to the acts accomplished by the ceremony accompanying the performance of the *širgida*. Regardless of this, even if the throne did not play a central role in the ritual itself, the more important point is the singer’s identifying the throne as a concrete representation of the divine underpinnings of kingship—potentially reminding the audience (both humans and Ninurta) of Ninurta’s authority in selecting the king, of the permanence of this decision, and of his unwavering support for the ruler, along with Enlil’s endorsement of all these things.

5.5.2 **para₁₀**

The term **para₁₀** (Akk. *parakku*), “(throne) dais,” occurs frequently in the preserved *širgida* corpus, always in connection to a deity and never to a human ruler. As is well documented in recent literature, the term **para₁₀** can in fact cover a range of meanings, including the dais on which a king or deity sits as well as the royal or divine apartments reserved for a king or deity.³⁹¹ Throughout Sumerian literature, the image of a deity or a pair of deities decreeing fates from the

³⁹¹ The latter definition was proposed by Civil in an unpublished but frequently cited paper presented at the 2005 *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, in which he argued that **para₁₀** is a loanword from Akkadian *parakku*, related to the root *prk* “to separate” and referring originally to a curtain blocking access to a royal or divine space (cited, for example, in Suter 2007, 324 n. 19, Dalley 2009, 67 ad 20, Michalowski 2011, 255 ad 18, and Rudik 2015, 464 ad (b); see also Civil 2007, 21 with n. 18). As observed in Attinger 2014, 42 ad 25, a similar identification of **para₁₀** was also proposed by Jin Sup Kim in his dissertation on **BARAG** in Sumerian literature, cited in Bloom 1992, 19–20 n. 11: “[Kim] argues that **parakku** is better translated as *adytum* (from the Greek, meaning ‘not to be entered’), i.e., the innermost room of a temple or shrine.” For an examination of *parakku* as a socle whose functions included the display of divine statues outside of temples, see Sallaberger 2013, with previous literature.

para₁₀ is particularly common. A possible artistic rendering of **para₁₀** in the first meaning, as a dais or platform on which a throne sits, can be seen in the Old Babylonian cylinder seal impressions. Pientka 1998, 230, for example, cites a sealing on the OB tablet BM 80161 (CT 45 46) (Figure 5.3) as an illustration of the “zweiteilige Sitzmöbel ‘Thron mit Kultsockel’” frequently dedicated to temples by Old Babylonian kings.



Figure 5.3 Seal impression on BM 80161 (CT 45 46) showing a divine throne (in red) and platform (in blue). Image: Adapted from Pientka 1998, 230.

In the *širgida* examples of **para₁₀**, it is difficult to decide whether a dais or a chamber is meant. In the following survey, I use the traditional “throne-dais” with the understanding that “royal/divine apartment” is equally possible.

Most of the references to a divine throne-dais in the preserved *širgida* texts occur in epithets or other expressions of general praise for the addressed deity. Most often, the deity’s throne-dais is associated with his or her temple or city (or, in the case of Martu, a region). See, for example: Ninurta A Seg. A 7–8 (“Ninurta, lord of the Ešumeša, [took] his seat on the *heavenly* throne-dais (**para₁₀ an-na-k**)”); the *širgida* to Sud 42–43 (“Since you (Sud) have taken your seat on the great throne-dais (**para₁₀ gal**), let Šuruppag be filled with abundance and with joy for you”); Martu A 3//4 (“(Martu,) having the strength of a fierce lion, who, in the mountains (**hur-saĝ**), the pure place, occupies the shining throne-dais (**para₁₀ ku₃**)!”); and probably Nuska A Seg. A 49–51 (“At² the

Ekur, [the ...] of Enlil², [...] dwells with you. Oh Nuska, [...] *God, he[ro]² ...*], you are the one who occupies [the throne-dais² (**para₁₀**)!"]. Further examples of divine throne-daises with no reference to a place of residence occur in: Ninisina A 1, where Ninisina is described as the "[...] who has taken her seat upon the grand [throne-dais] (**[para₁₀] 'mah'**)," and in Ninurta B Seg. C 6, where Ninurta is described as the "ornament befitting the pure/shining throne-dais (**para₁₀ ku₃**)."

The latter appears in an address to Ninurta following the narration of his journey to and coronation in Eridu, and it is possible that this part of the hymn was sung before Ninurta's cult statue seated on a dais in the Abzu, where the singer exalted him as decider of fates:

Ex. 5.16 Ninurta B Seg. C 4–11

- C4 en eš-bar ʾzi²1 dumu ʾen-lil₂-la₂
C5 ša₃-gada-la₂ ʾdiġir¹ nam tar-ra nam-en-na tum₂-ma
C6 šu-luḥ ku₃-ga ʾlugal² nam¹-isib zu ʾpara₁₀ ku₃¹-ge ḥe₂-du₇
C7 ʾnin-urta abzu ʾeridu^{1ki}-ga an-da nam tar-ra
C8 enim du₁₁-ga-ʾzu¹ niġ₂-me-ġar-am₃
C9 nam-ʾtar-ra¹-zu niġ nu-kur₂-ru-dam
C10 enim-zu-a {nam} nam-tar-ra-zu-še₃
C11 diġir ur-saġ abzu-ke₄-ne giri₁₇ šu ʾma²-ra²-ġal₂²-x-eš¹

Lord *with* true decisions, son of Enlil
clad in linen, god who *has decided* fates, who is worthy of lordship
... the pure lustration rites, expert in the office of the *isib*-priest, ornament befitting the
pure/shining throne-dais,
Ninurta who in the Abzu, in Eridu, with An *has decided* fate
The word you have spoken is (brings) silence
The fate you have decided is unchangeable
eloquent one, *because of* the fate you have decided
the gods, heroes of the Abzu, pay homage to you.

In addition to these examples, three references to the throne-dais of a deity other than the one honored in the *širgida* are preserved: Ninisina A 85–86 “My father An, the king, the shepherd of the gods, sits on the shining dais (**para₁₀ ku₃**) *in the land*,” Ninisina A 124 “I am the one who

received the *me*’s from the grand dais (**para₁₀ mah**);” and Nuska A Seg. B 22–24 “the lady’ (= Sadarnuna?) of the pure *me*’s, suited for the throne-dais (**para₁₀**), who *restores* the rites (**me**) of the throne-dais (**para₁₀**), the compassionate one, the lady with far-reaching counsel, suited *for* the palace, resides *with* ... on that gleaming, shining throne-dais’ (**‘para₁₀’ ku₃’ za-gin₃**)”.

The consistent reference to the “throne-dais” or “royal/divine apartment” of a deity, referring to the physical location where the cult statue resides, may subtly draw one’s attention to the conceived physical reality of the deity’s presence in his or her temple or shrine. The language used to describe the deity’s **para₁₀** tends towards physical description that evokes its brilliance or monumentality, using terms like “shining” (**ku₃**)³⁹² and “great” (**gal, mah**).³⁹³

5.5.3 ġešgal, ki-gal

The final two terms for a type of seat or pedestal that occur in the preserved *širgida* texts are **ġešgal** and **ki-gal**, which appear in consecutive lines of *Angim* (155–156/156–157).³⁹⁴ The passage in question comes near the end of the hymn’s narrative, after the singer has described Ninurta’s entrance into the Ekur, as he is reciting Ninurta’s address to Enlil, Ninlil, and the other gods. Ninurta has just boasted of his own glory and might, and is now outlining the honors due to him:

Ex. 5.17 Angim 152–156/153–157

152/153 aia-ġu₁₀ me₃-ġu₁₀ ħa-ma-ni-ib₂-ku₄-ku₄-ne
 153/154 ^den-lil₂ a₂ nam-ur-saġ-ġa₂-ġu₁₀ a ħe₂-em-^ttu₅-tu₅^l-[ne’]
 154/155 a₂ ħuš ^{ġeš}tukul-a-ġa₂ a gub₂-ba ħa-ma-ni-ib₂-be₂-[ne]
 155/156 ġešgal ^{ge}gerin(LAGAB)-na gu₂-en-na si ħa-ma-ab-sa₂-e-ne³⁹⁵

³⁹² Martu A 3–4, Ninurta B Seg. C 6, Ninisina A 85–86, Nuska A Seg. B 22–24 (**ku₃ za-gin₃**).

³⁹³ *Širgida* to Sud 42–43, Ninisina A 1, Ninisina A 124.

³⁹⁴ **ki-gal** may also occur in Ninurta A Seg. B 8, but the context is broken.

³⁹⁵ The MA version of this line has instead: [**ġešgal**] ^{ge}gerin-na-ġu₁₀ gu₂-en-ne₂-er si ħa-^lma^l-[sa₂-e-ne], with the Akkadian translation [*ma-an-za-z*]i *el-la i+na nap-ħar* EN *liš-[te-ši-ru(?)]*, “Let [them?] pre[pare] my pure seat among (Sum. “for”) the ‘totality of lords.’” For the literal rendering of **gu₂-en** in Akkadian as *naphar bēlī* “totality of lords,” see Cooper 1978, 132 ad 156 and Seminara 2001, 227 ad Linea 24 and cf. *Lugale* 24, cited below.

156/157 ḡešgigir an-na-ḡu₁₀ ki-gal-la ḡe₂-em-mi-in-gub-bu-ne

My father, let *them* bring in my (*things of*) battle for me.

Enlil, let *them* wash my arms of valor.

Let *them* pour lustration water on the fierce arms *of* my weapons for me.

Let them prepare a *splendid*³⁹⁶ seat (**ḡešgal** ^g**gerin-na**) in the throne room for me.

Let them set up my heavenly chariot on a pedestal (**ki-gal**).

Because there is a good chance this passage refers to actual cultic events connected to the performance of the *širgida*, it is worth exploring the terms **ḡešgal** and **ki-gal** in some depth.

5.5.3.1 ḡešgal

Modern understanding of the term **ḡešgal** is based primarily on lexical and bilingual equations with Akkadian *manzāzu*, “emplacement, stand, socle (of a stela),”³⁹⁷ a meaning that would generally makes sense in contexts where the Sumerian term occurs. Also significant for our interpretation of the term **ḡešgal** is its relationship to the rarely attested Sumerian term **ḡeš-gal** “seat, throne”³⁹⁸ and to the Akkadian loanword *gisgallu*. Beginning with the Sumerian term, it is unclear whether, in the OB period, **ḡešgal** and **ḡeš-gal** are to be understood as variant spellings of the same lexeme or as distinct lexemes with similar or overlapping meanings. As far as I am aware, the two never vary with one another in a given line of text, which would point to their being

³⁹⁶ Lit. “flowering.”

³⁹⁷ See references in CAD M1 (1977), pp. 234–235.

³⁹⁸ To be distinguished from the far more common **ḡeš-gal** “large beam” attested primarily in administrative documents (see, e.g., the lines cited in Virolleaud and Lambert 1968, 172 (TÉL 113, 115). For **ḡeš-gal** equated with *kussû*, see Ura 5 66 (MSL 5, p. 155): **ḡeš-gal** (var. **ḡeš-kal**^{gal}) = *ku-us-su-u₂*. The meaning “throne” can also be deduced from its context in Ammi-ditana Year Name 19: **mu am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e / ḡeš-gal** (var. **ḡeš-kal**) **ku₃-si₂₂-ga / me-te ki-bad-ra₂(-a) / u₃ alan-a-ne₂ ḡub₂ ab-sar-sar-re(-a) / e₂-nam-til₃-la-še₃ in-na-an-ku₄-ra** “Year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, brought / a throne (**ḡeš-gal**) of gold, /suited for the ‘remote place,’ / and a statue of him running / into the *Enamtila*” (Pientka 1998, 68–69, Horsnell 1999, 295–297, Sigrist and Damerow 2001). For the identification of **ḡeš-gal** here as “throne,” see Pientka 1998, 69 n. 274, with previous literature, and note that a variant, bilingual form of the year name preserved on BM 80514 writes **gu-za** : GU.ZA instead of **ḡeš-gal** (Horsnell 1999, 296–297 ad 5377 (Sum.) and 5378 (Akk.)).

separate lexemes³⁹⁹—although it is worth noting that the term/spelling **ĝeš-gal** is almost entirely restricted to non-literary texts.⁴⁰⁰ On the other hand, the Akkadian term *gisgallu* provides a fairly strong link between the two terms—since, in addition to phonetic similarity, it has clear semantic connections both to **ĝešgal** (likewise being equated with *manzāzu*⁴⁰¹ and used in reference to a type of platform⁴⁰²), and to **ĝeš-gal** (likewise being equated with *kussū*⁴⁰³)—although the evidence post-dates the Old Babylonian period. Regardless of the precise relationship between **ĝešgal** and **ĝeš-gal**, we can conclude that all three terms refer at least to a similar, if not identical, object, namely a throne or a pedestal on which a throne or a statue might stand.

In Sumerian texts on the whole, **ĝešgal** appears far less frequently than either **ĝešgu-za** or **para₁₀**, and the corpus of literary compositions and royal inscriptions includes only a handful of attestations. The most informative of these are Gudea Cyl. B xvi 18 (1197) and *Lugale* 24, in both of which, as in *Angim*, **ĝešgal** occurs in close connection with the term **gu₂-en** “assembly; assembly hall, throne room.” In Gudea Cyl. B:

Ex. 5.18 Gudea Cyl. B xvi 15–20 (1194–1199)

xvi 15/1194 ĝešgigir za-gin₃ ul guru₃-a-na
xvi 16/1195 lugal-be₂ ur-saĝ ^dnin-ĝir₂-su ^rd¹utu-am₃ mu-gub
xvi 17/1196 gu-za gu₂-en-na gub-ba-be₂
xvi 18/1197 ĝešgal⁴⁰⁴ ku₃ an-na ul-la du₂-ru-na-am₃

³⁹⁹ Especially in cases such as *Angim*, where all five preserved sources write **ĝešgal**.

⁴⁰⁰ The only exception, to my knowledge, is the Kassite-period hymnic fragment N 4529 (JCS 52 p. 90 Fig. 9) 4 [x] **e₂-kur ĝeš-gal an ki-ke₄** “[...] at the Ekur, the **ĝeš-gal** of heaven and earth” (Veldhuis 2000, 74).

⁴⁰¹ Synonym list K 4587 (CT 18 pl. 18) r i 29’ ^rgi¹-is-gal-lu = *man-za-zu*. Note that both CAD G (1956) and AHW treat *gišgallu* “throne, pedestal” and *gisgallu* “position (of a star)” as separate lexemes, but I follow Borger 1960, 165 in understanding them as the single lexeme *gisgallu* (so also RINAP 3.2 Sennacherib 166 20, with n. 6 on RIAo).

⁴⁰² Sennacherib 166 (RINAP 3/2 pp. 239–244) 19–20 // Sennacherib 209 (RINAP 3/2 pp. 287–288) obv. 8’–9’: *šap-liš GIR₃-šu₂-nu i-na UGU 2 BARA₂ ZABAR ša₂ KU₆.LU₂.U₁₈.LU ZABAR ša₂ SUĤUR.MAŠ₂.KU₆ ZABAR šur-šu-du gis-gal-la* “below, their (the four bull-gods’) feet are firmly planted on two bronze daises **as pedestals** (representing) four fish-men and four goat-fish of bronze” (translation CAD G [1956], p. 100, *gišgallu*).

⁴⁰³ Explicit *malku* = *šarru* III 380 (= DCCLT Seg.4 178): *gis-gal-lu* = MIN(*ku-us-su-u*).

⁴⁰⁴ My reading of this sign—in some transliterations read **e₂** instead of **ĝešgal**—follows the hand-copy in TCL 8 as well as the most recent edition (RIME 3.1). The sign is not clearly legible in the photos in DecChaldée 2 (pl. 36), and I have not had the opportunity to collate the text.

xvi 19/1198 nu₂-be₂ ki-nu₂-a gub-ba-be₂
 xvi 20/1199 šilam⁻ ki-nu₂-ba du₁₀ ġar-ra-am₃

In his lapis-lazuli chariot, laden in luxuriance,
 its (= the Eninnu's) master/king, the hero Ningîrsu, stood as Utu.
 Its throne (**gu-za**), which is set up in the assembly(-hall) (**gu₂-en**)
 is the pure/shining seat (**ġešgal**) of heaven/An where they⁴⁰⁵ sit in joy.
 Its *bed*, which is set up in the sleeping chamber,
 is a cow that has knelt down in its sleeping place.

Here, the throne (**gu-za**) of the Eninnu that stands in the **gu₂-en** is likened to the “pure **ġešgal** of heaven/An” upon which the gods sit.⁴⁰⁶ The copula in these lines should not necessarily be taken too literally, especially given the equation of Ningîrsu's bed with a cow in the lines that follow (xvi 19–20/1198–1199). Nevertheless, the identification of the term **ġešgal** as a type of seat is also suggested by its connection to the less common **ġeš-gal** “seat, throne,” and to Akkadian *gisgallu* “throne, pedestal; position (of a star),” as discussed above.

In *Lugale*, the **ġešgal** is again associated with the **gu₂-en**, at the beginning of Šarur's address to Ninurta informing him about the threat posed by Asag.

Ex. 5.19 *Lugale* 24–25 (OB Composite text)

24 en **ġešgal** an-na gu₂-en para₁₀-ge si⁴⁰⁷
 25 ^dnin-urta du₁₁-ga-zu nu-kur₂-ru nam tar-ra-zu šu zi-de₃-eš ġar

(Šarur to Ninurta:)

“Lord (*who holds*) the seat (**ġešgal**) of heaven/An, *who causes the assembly* (**gu₂-en**) to take its seat on the throne-dais (**para₁₀**),⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ I.e. *the assembly? gods in general? Ningîrsu and An?*

⁴⁰⁶ For a different interpretation of these lines, see Heimpel in Volk, ed. 2015, 161: “(17) (Der Streitwagen und) sein am Ort der Herrenversammlung stehender Thron (18) wohnen an ihrem himmlischen reinen Ort am Firmament.”

⁴⁰⁷ The NA version of this line reads: **en ġešgal an-na gu₂-en-na-ar para₁₀-ge si-a** [...], with the Akkadian translation *be-lum man-za-zu ša₂-qu-u₂/u ina nap-ġar be-li a-šib pa-^rra¹-[ak-ki]* (NB: *be-lu man-za-za ša₂-qu/qu₂-u/u₂ i-na/ina nap-ġar belu/li₂ a-^ršib pa-rak¹-[ki]*) “Lord, (*having*) the highest position among (Sum. “for”) the ‘totality of lords,’ seated upon the throne-dais (or, referring to the lords, “seated upon throne-daises;” so., e.g., CAD A2 [1968], p. 430, *āšibu* b3’; CAD M1 [1977], p. 235, *manzāzu* lexical section; Seminara 2001, 50–51, 227).

⁴⁰⁸ My interpretation of the syntax of line 24 is uncertain. The absence of a case marker on **gu₂-en** in all OB sources indicates that the post-OB version, in which **gu₂-en** is marked as dative and corresponds to *ina* in the Akkadian, must represent a reinterpretation. The most likely analysis of the OB line is to take **gu₂-en** as the object of **si** “to take one’s

Ninurta, you whose utterance cannot be overturned, whose decided fate is *rightly executed*,”

Here, although the grammatical relationship of **ĝešgal** to the other terms in the sentence is uncertain, it is again clearly somehow associated with the assembly (**gu₂-en**), in addition to the throne-dais (**para₁₀**).⁴⁰⁹ The term **ĝešgal** thus designates a type of seat or pedestal, frequently associated with the assembly or the assembly hall in which important decisions were made, upon which a presiding figure sat.

In *Angim*, the singer’s recounting of Ninurta’s demand for a seat in the assembly hall probably alluded to an actual seat in the temple, upon which the statue of the god sat would sit, in front of the assembled gods, perhaps in connection with ceremonies for deciding the fates.

5.5.3.2 ki-gal

The term **ki-gal** “socle, pedestal; foundation” is far better attested than **ĝešgal**. In Sumerian literature, it appears as the pedestal or base upon which a statue⁴¹⁰ or object⁴¹¹ stands, in addition to referring to the base or foundation of a building.⁴¹² The Akkadian cognate *kigallu* similarly, according to the CAD definitions, appears in contexts designating (1) a “raised platform for cultic

seat; to cause (s.o.) to take (one’s) seat, to install (s.o.)”—yielding, for the second half of the line: **gu₂-en para₁₀-ge si** “who causes the assembly to take its seat upon the throne-dais” (cf. the translation by Heimpel and Salgues in Volk, ed. 2015, 37 (l. 23): “Herr, der das Herrenkollegium veranlaßt, sich am Treffplatz oben auf den Kultsockeln niederzulassen!”). This leaves the first half of the line, **en ĝešgal an-na**. Three possibilities come to mind: (1) A *bahuvrihi* construction: “Lord (*who holds*) the **ĝešgal** of heaven/An, ...” (cf. van Dijk 1983a, 54 “qui (détient) le poste céleste,” as well as the comment by Seminara 2001, 227); (2) “Lord *of* the **ĝešgal** who, in heaven/on high”; (3) “Lord who, *at* the **ĝešgal** (directive?), in heaven/on high,” (cf. Heimpel and Salgues “am Treffplatz oben”). The simplest analysis seems to me to be that of van Dijk and Seminara (1).

⁴⁰⁹ Note also the association of *gisgallu* with *parakku* in the Sennacherib references cited above (n. 407).

⁴¹⁰ E.g., *Ludiĝira to His Mother* 30. For this line and its Akkadian and Hittite versions, see esp. Nougayrol 1968, 313, 315, 317 (lines 26’.f), Laroche 1968, 773, 775 (lines 26–27), and Viano 2016, 264. Numerous references to the pedestal (**ki-gal/KI.GAL**) of an inscribed statue are also preserved in colophons of the copied statue inscriptions (see Kienast 1994, 141–142).

⁴¹¹ E.g., *Lugale* 495–496; cf. also Rudik 2015, 380 ad (c).

⁴¹² See Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 220.

purposes” and (2) a “pedestal, base (for a statue, a cult object, an architectural feature made of stone, metal, brick, precious stones, etc., often inscribed)” (CAD K [1971], pp. 348–349).

Possible representations of the **ki-gal** platform in Mesopotamian art are discussed by Wiggermann 1998–2001, 47, who identifies the pedestal upon which the so-called “naked goddess” figure often stands as a **ki-gal/kigallu** (citing the reference to an alabaster *lamma*-statue standing on a **ki-gal** in Ludiġira to His Mother 30; see Figure 5.4).⁴¹³ Instances of this motif can be seen on the Old Babylonian cylinder seals published in Moortgat 1940, pl. 44, nos. 345, 346, 348, among numerous other examples (see). For other figures shown standing on similar-looking pedestals, see Opificius 1961, 204 and Collon 1986, 51 (see Figure 5.5)—note, though, the alternative interpretation of these platforms as iconic representations of a temple.⁴¹⁴

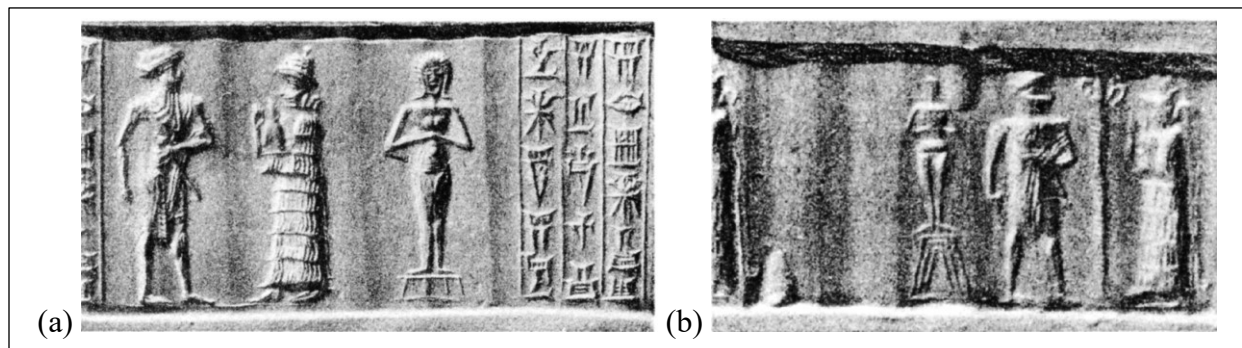


Figure 5.4 Depictions of a “naked goddess” figure on a pedestal: (a) VA 3333 (Rollsiegel 345, P478374) and (b) VA 2805 (Rollsiegel 346, P478375). Images: Moortgat 1940, pl. 44, nos. 345 and 346

⁴¹³ Also associated with **lamma** in UET 6/3 522 (*430) 1. See also Wiggermann 1992, 58, where he proposes that “the *kigallu*, ‘pedestal’, must have looked like the pedestals of the figures of clay” seen, for example, in Rittig 1977, figs. 3, 11, and 42.

⁴¹⁴ If the images do, in fact, represent the type of object designated as **ki-gal**, it is interesting to note that this term can similarly refer both to a pedestal/socle and to a temple foundation or, occasionally, to a temple itself (note, e.g., the use of **ki-gal** as an epithet of the *Kiur*, for which see George 1993, 112 no. 636, with cited literature).

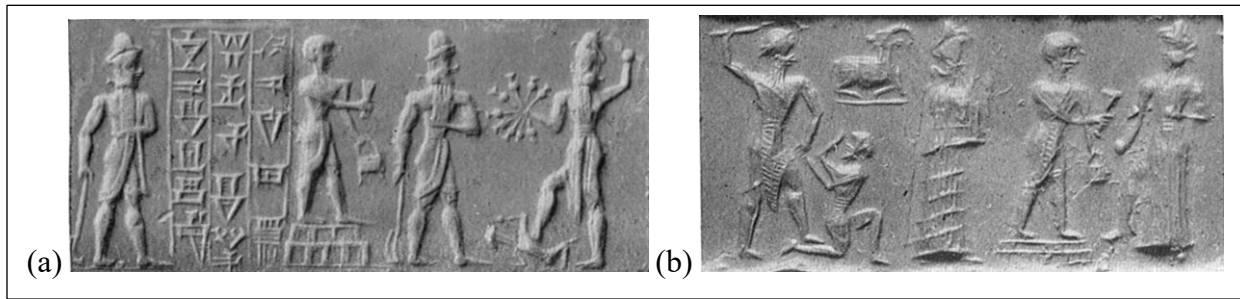


Figure 5.5 Depictions of a figure with a cup and pail on a pedestal: (a) BM 11068 (CS pl. 28 a.) and (b) OIP 22 No. 155 (CS pl. 28 d.). Images: Frankfort 1939, pl. 28, figs. a and d

In the *Angim* passage, **ki-gal** designates the pedestal upon which Ninurta's war chariot is to be set up in the temple after his triumphant return from battle. A similar context for **ki-gal** is hinted at in Ninurta's blessing of the **e-le-el/elallu**-stone⁴¹⁵ in *Lugale* 494–496.

Ex. 5.20 *Lugale* 494–496 (OB composite text)

- 494 ḡeš^štukul sag₃-ge ur-saḡ ug₅-ga-ḡa₂? (var. uḡ₅-ḡge-ḡu₁₀¹) šu gal-be₂ ḡe₂-ni-du₇
 495 kisal-maḡ-ḡa₂-a ki-gal ḡa-ra-an(/ab)-ri
 496 kalam-e u₆ du₁₀-ge-eš ḡe₂-a-e kur-kur ḡe₂-mi-i-i (var. ḡe₂(-a)-il₂-i)

You shall be magnificently suited to the striking of weapons *upon*? *my*? *slaughtered heroes*
 (var. *for my slaughtering of heroes*).

In my great courtyard, a **ki-gal** *shall be* installed for you.

The land (of Sumer) shall stand sweetly in awe of you, the (foreign/mountain) lands shall exalt (var. elevate) you.

As a reward for its support of Ninurta, the *elallu*-stone was thus destined to be victorious in battle and to be displayed on a pedestal (**ki-gal**) in Ninurta's temple courtyard for all to marvel at. Concretely, the second part of this blessing is an allusion to the use of *elallu* in the creation of cultic objects, namely statues⁴¹⁶ and possibly divine weapons, which would have stood on pedestals in a temple. Especially if we treat these three lines as a unit (so, e.g., Schuster-Brandis

⁴¹⁵ Probably dolomite rock or something similar; see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 393

⁴¹⁶ For *elallu* as a material used for large statues, see CAD E (1958), pp. 74–75, *elallu* A.

2008, 393), understanding the weapons of line 494 as the same incarnation of *elallu* as the objects displayed on a pedestal (**ki-gal**) in line 495, it is easy to see parallels to *Angim* 152–156, in which another of Ninurta’s cultic objects, namely his chariot, is set on pedestal, and his weapons are ritually washed.

We can thus understand the term **ki-gal** as a platform or dais used to display a statue or other important object in a position of honor or reverence, often associated with a sacred but visible space, sometimes bearing an inscription. It is likely that the *Angim* passage refers to the actual placement of Ninurta’s chariot on such a pedestal during the course of a ritual. The location of the pedestal is not specified in the text, but, based on the context, a location in the Ekur is likely. Elsewhere, divine chariots are known to have been stored in a special building or room within a temple complex known as the **e₂ ĝešgigir** : *bīt narkabti* “chariot-house” (Civil 1968, 3; Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 194).

A second *širgida* passage in which a pedestal may appear is Ninurta A Seg. B 8, but the context is broken and the reading uncertain (see comment to this line in Appendix II.2.4).

5.6 Offering Tables

A central component of Mesopotamian cultic practice was the provision of meals for the deities, and the theme of divine feasting recurs several times in the preserved *širgida* corpus. The fact that Mesopotamian deities regularly received at least two, and up to four, daily meals in their temples is well established (see, e.g., Glassner 1987–1990, 260). The two main meals, Sumerian **kiĝ₂-nim** and **kiĝ₂-sig**, took place in the morning and the afternoon/evening, respectively.

In his frequently cited chapter on the care and feeding of Mesopotamian deities, Oppenheim outlines the steps taken in providing a deity with one of their daily meals, as it is described in first-millennium texts.

First, a table was brought in and placed before the image, then water for washing was offered in a bowl. A number of liquid and semiliquid dishes in appropriate serving vessels were placed on the table in a prescribed arrangement, and containers with beverages were likewise set out. Next, specific cuts of meat were served as a main dish. Finally, fruit was brought in in what one of the texts takes the trouble to describe as a beautiful arrangement, thus adding an esthetic touch comparable to the Egyptian use of flowers on such occasions. Musicians performed, and the cella was fumigated [...]. Eventually, the table was cleared and removed and water in a bowl again offered to the image for the cleansing of the fingers (Oppenheim 1977, 188–189).

In addition to their daily meals, deities in all periods also took part in larger feasts taking place during ritual ceremonies or celebrations. These included regular, monthly or annual festivals, as well as special cultic occasions and ceremonies for, e.g., divination and purification (Glassner 1987–1990, 261, see also 265).

5.6.1 **bansur**

Tables for the meals of deities are mentioned in three of the preserved *širgida* texts, using the generic term **bansur** “table, tray” (Akk. *paššūru*). On the whole, tables were less common in Mesopotamian societies than one might expect, being present most frequently in a temple or palace setting. Only fairly wealthy private households could afford a table, and, as such, they are to be considered relatively high-status luxury items⁴¹⁷—although the number of households able to afford a table increased to some extent in the Old Babylonian period (Crawford 1996, 38–39). Most tables were made of wood, the tabletop sometimes being constructed with reeds or animal

⁴¹⁷ See discussions in Cholidis 1992, 190–191; Röllig and Waetzoldt 1993–1997, 329; Waetzoldt 1996, 147–149; Herrmann 2014–2016, 62.

skins and bitumen. In general, the tabletop could be removed from the legs or base and used as a tray (Glassner 1987–1990, 267; Herrmann 2014–2016, 63; Scheiblecker 2017, 92); the terms **bansur** and *paššūru* can also refer simply to a tray.⁴¹⁸ More ornate tables, such as the table of a king or a deity, could be embellished with precious metals or other materials such as shell or ivory (Salonen 1963, 198; Röllig and Waetzoldt 1993–1997, 329; Crawford 1996, 33).

Mesopotamian iconography generally shows offering tables as fairly small objects, reaching no higher than a person’s waist and being taller than they are wide. Tables were not kept in a fixed place, but were moved into position at mealtimes and cleared away afterwards. This is reflected in the relatively frequent appearance in Sumerian texts of the expression **bansur il₂** “to set up (lit. ‘raise’) a table.”⁴¹⁹ Iconography of both the third and first millennia occasionally depicts tables being carried, in one case with the table already laden with food (see Figure 5.6).⁴²⁰

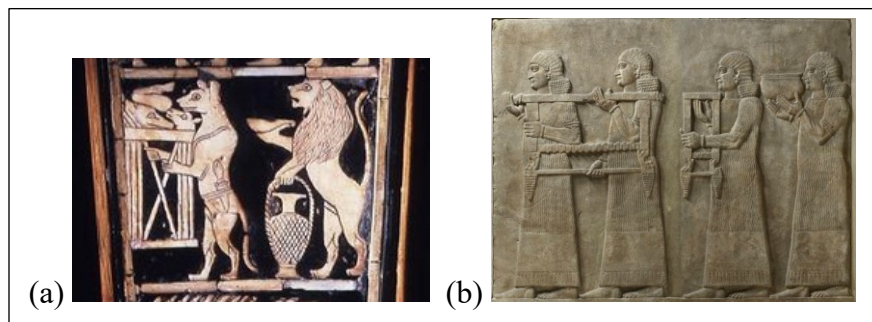


Figure 5.6 Depictions of tables being carried: (a) third-millennium sound-box inlay from Ur, B17694C. Image: Penn Museum, (b) first-millennium relief (identification as table uncertain). Image: Louvre Museum

Whereas glyptic images of Old Akkadian period and transitioning into the Ur III period almost always depict offering tables as comprising a small tabletop on two visible legs, usually bending or extending outward and attached near the center of the tabletop (Cholidis 1992, 20–22; see Figure

⁴¹⁸ See examples in PSD B (1984), pp. 87–91, CAD P (2005), pp. 260–264.

⁴¹⁹ Cf., interestingly, the table that sets itself up in *Uruamairabi* Tablet 17 23: ^ges**bansur** **ni₂-ba il₂-il₂-la₂-ĝu₁₀** : ¹pa¹-aš₂-š_u-ru ša₂ ina ra-ma-ni-š_u ¹ne₂-’e-u₂¹ “mein Tisch, der sich von selbst hinstellt” (Volk 2006).

⁴²⁰ On the mobility of tables, see also Glassner 1987–1990, 266, 267.

5.7), tables of the Ur III period are most often depicted with two visible legs crossing one another (Cholidis 1992, 22–23; see Figure 5.8). Judging from clay models of tables appearing from the late third millennium onward, the tops of tables in these periods were generally circular (see Cholidis 1992, 11).

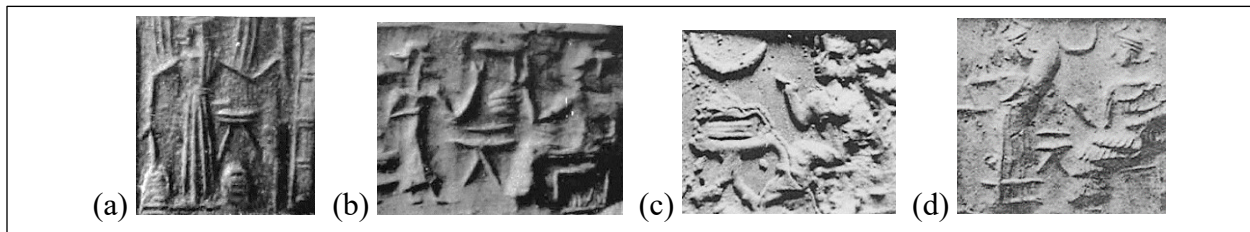


Figure 5.7 Tables on Old Akkadian cylinder seals: (a) UE 10 Nr. 239 (U. 18985), (b) UE 10 Nr. 280 (U. 20063), (c) UE 2 Nr. 334 ([U. 11148](#)), (d) UE 2 Nr. 388 (U. 12030). Images: UE 10.

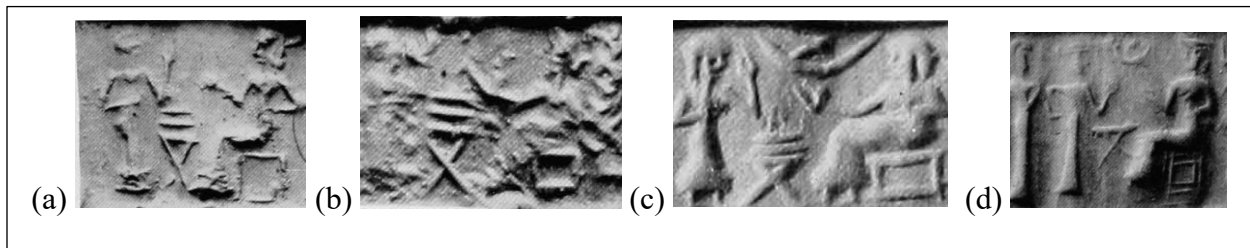


Figure 5.8 Tables with crossed legs on Ur III cylinder seals: (a) UE 10 No. 281 (U. 18899), (b) UE 10 No. 282 (U.18239 = BM 124408), (c) UE 10. No. 283 (U. 18145), (d) UE 10 No. 286 (U. 16553). Images: UE 10

In addition to the crossed-leg table, another construction style that appears for the first time in or around the Ur III period is represented on cylinder seals from Susa and Kültepe, as well as a clay model from Tello. These tables comprise a tabletop or tray—depicted in the clay model as a

circular plate with a raised rim—set on a central support that splits into three feet at the bottom (Cholidis 1992, 7, 23; see Figure 5.9).

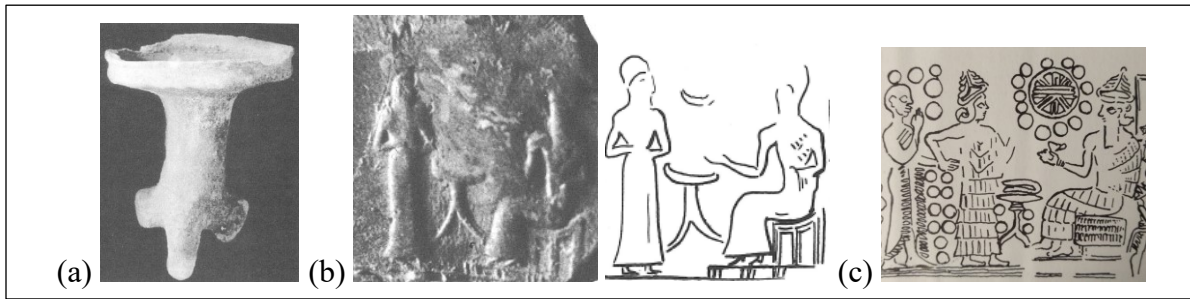


Figure 5.9 Tables with central column splitting into feet: (a) Ur III(?) clay model from Tello. Image: Cholidis 1992 Nr. 177, (b) Ur III seal impression from Susa (Amiet 1972 Nr. 1645 = Roach 2008 No. 2453). Images: Amiet 1972 pl. 153, 33 (c) Ur III Cylinder Seal from Kültepe. Image: Orthmann 1975, 445 fig. 141c

In contrast to Ur III-period representations, Old Babylonian depictions of tables appear only rarely. Exceptionally, though, the remains of original wooden tables are preserved at the Syrian site of Bāghūz, about 20 km southeast of Mari on the left bank of the Euphrates, dating to the early second millennium BCE (Parr 1996, 45–48; Scheiblecker 2017).⁴²¹ Each of the preserved tables, numbering eight in total, was found in an individual grave alongside other burial objects, including a bed and usually a wooden stool (Scheiblecker 2017). The construction style of the tables recalls the tables with crossed legs depicted on Ur III cylinder seals. Their tabletops were circular, 42–48 cm in diameter (Scheiblecker 2017, 87 n. 10), and comprised three wooden boards joined together with wooden joints (see Figure 5.10(a)). The top of each tabletop was flat, with a raised rim, while the underside was convex (see profile in Figure 5.10(b)). Each tabletop had three holes drilled into the underside for three legs to be inserted, usually with wooden reinforcements next to the holes. The legs crisscrossed underneath the tabletop, held together with a wooden ring (see Figure

⁴²¹ Table remains dating to the early second millennium were also excavated at the much more distant Syro-Palestinian site of Jericho, but with a construction style far more similar to Egyptian furniture than tables attested at sites in Mesopotamia or along the Euphrates (see Parr 1996, 41–45, 48).

5.10(c)). Once set up, the top of the table could be removed and used as a tray, and the entire table could be easily disassembled and reassembled as needed (Scheiblecker 2017, 90–92, 98–99). The original heights of the tables cannot be determined from the archaeological reports (and the current location of the objects is unknown [Parr 1996, 46]), but a reconstruction of one of the tables suggests a height of about 56 cm (Scheiblecker 2017, 116).⁴²²

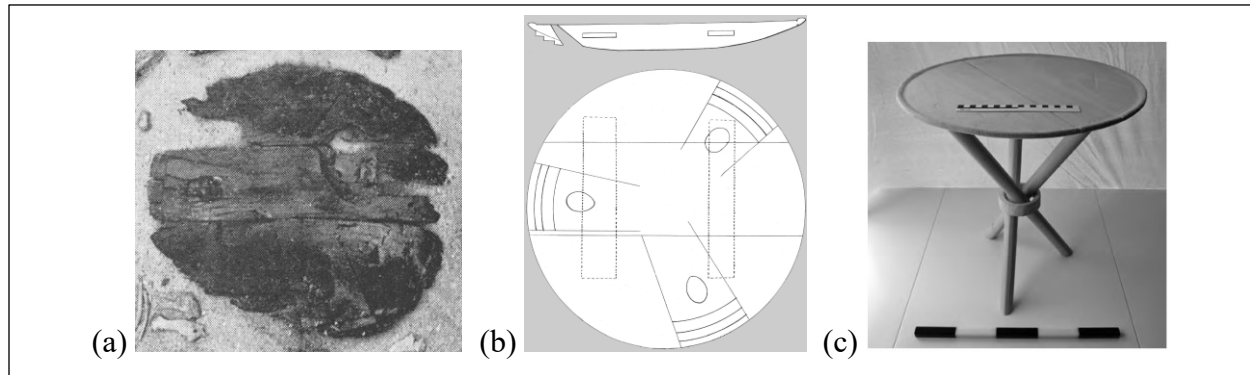


Figure 5.10 Tables from Bāghūz: (a) Wooden tabletop (burial Z 122). Image: Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, pl. 50, (b) profile and underside view of tabletop, showing locations of joints, drill holes, and stepped reinforcements. Image: adapted from Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, pl. 49, (c) reconstructed table. Image: Scheiblecker 2017, 113 Abb. 28

As Scheiblecker observes, this is also probably the type of table construction also evident in a cylinder sealing from Mari, similar to the crossed-legs tables on Ur III cylinders (Scheiblecker 2017, 105, 106 Abb. 16).

Iconographic evidence of the Old Babylonian period indicates that a few other types of offering table were also in use in Mesopotamia at this time. One type of construction, comprising a tabletop shaped like a shallow bowl resting on a single central column, is depicted in an Old Babylonian model shrine from Tello (Cholidis 1992, pl. 43 Nr. 1). This form is attested already in the Ur III period on a single cylinder seal from Uruk, and also appears on several seals and a clay model from second millennium Syria (Cholidis 1992, 9, 22, 27, 32; see Figure 5.11).

⁴²² For further details of construction, see Scheiblecker 2017, 106–116.

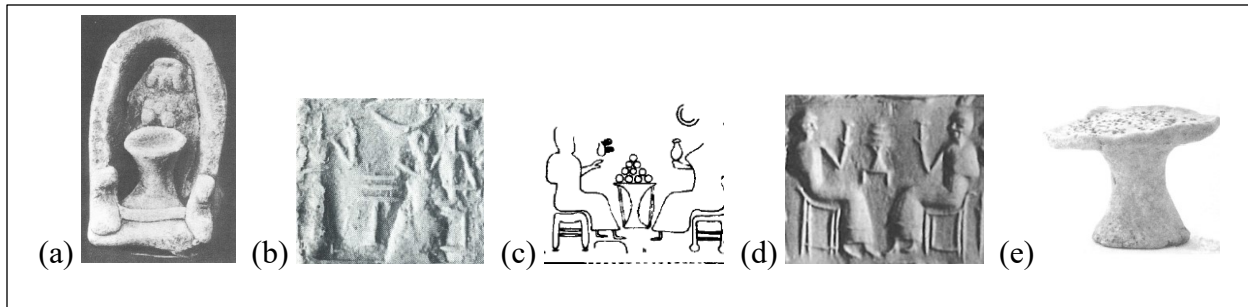


Figure 5.11 Tables with single, column-like support: (a) OB model of a shrine. Image: Cholidis 1992 Pl. 43⁴²³ (b) Ur III cylinder seal. Image: Boehmer 1984 Nr. 9, (c) Alalah seal impression. Image: Collon 1975 Nr. 78, (d) Unprovenanced cylinder seal, stylistically dated to early/mid-second-millennium Syria (WAG 42.410). Image: Gordon 1939 Nr. 46, (e) clay model of table from Tell Huera. Image: Cholidis 1992 No. 189

Two Old Babylonian clay plaques depict tables that look similar in style to those seen on Old Akkadian cylinder seals, with separate legs attaching directly to the tabletop and bending slightly outward (Cholidis 1992, 33; see Figure 5.12(a)). An unprovenanced OB or OA cylinder seal likewise shows a table with separate legs attached directly to the tabletop, and, unusually, all three legs are shown (al Gailani Werr 1996, 31; see Figure 5.12(b)). Finally, contemporary clay models of tables from Susa show tabletops decorated with elaborate designs, some of which may represent food items, others of which appear to be decorative. Two or three clay table models from Nippur bear a resemblance to the Susa models, but their dates are unknown (Cholidis 1992, 6; see Figure 5.12(c–d)).

Offering tables of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods are thus to be imagined as fairly small, mobile, wooden objects, most often comprising a circular tabletop/tray set either on individual legs, usually crossed, or on a central column, with or without separated feet. The tabletop could be decorated or undecorated, and could be flat, rimmed, or in the shape of a shallow bowl.

⁴²³ Originally published in Parrot 1948, pl. XXVIII d (between pp. 209 and 210), p. 243 Fig. 49 f, with discussion on p. 240.

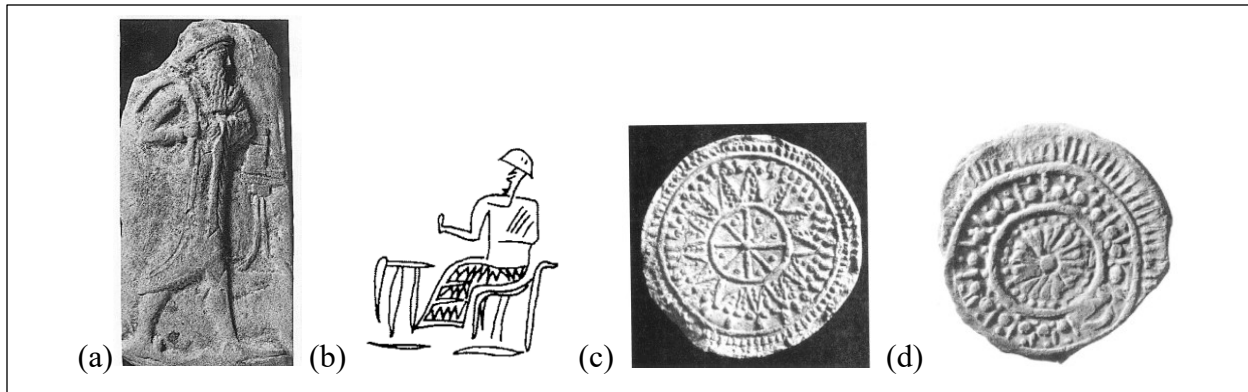


Figure 5.12 Depictions of tables possibly dating to the OB period: (a) Table with attached legs on OB plaque. Image: UE 7 Pl. 73 No. 88, (b) three-legged table on unprovenanced OB/OA cylinder seal (Doumet 1992 No. 263). Image: al Gailani Werr 1996, 30 Fig. 1.3, (c) Top of a table model from Nippur. Image: Cholidis 1992 No. 175, (d) Top of a table model from Nippur(?). Image: Cholidis 1992 No. 176

Each instance of the term **bansur** in the preserved *širgida* texts refers to the table of a deity, on which his or her divine meals would be served. In Ninurta B, in a sequence near the end of the hymn dealing with the *me*'s, the singer mentions the *me*'s of the evening meals in Ninurta's "place where the table is set up." These are mentioned alongside the *me*'s of the Egišugalam, where Ninurta is said to decide fates.

Ex. 5.21 Ninurta B Seg. D 3–7

D3 [x x x] ʾmeʾ ninnu¹ šu-luḥ dadag-ga
D4 [x x] ʾx¹ e₂-igi-šu-galam ki nam tar-ʾre-zu¹ / [me]-be₂ ninnu-ʾam₃¹
D5 [x x] ʾkiġ¹-sig ki ġeš¹ bansur il₂-i-za / ʾme¹-be₂ ninnu-am₃
D6 [x x] ʾx¹ lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-ʾpa₃¹-de₃
D7 [x x]-ʾna^{ʾ1} me šAR₂⁴²⁴ nu-mu-ni-ib₂-SU₃⁻-SU₃⁻

[...] the fifty *me*'s², the pure lustration rites,
the *mes* of the [...], the Egišugalam, the place where you decide fates⁴²⁵—(of which) there are
fifty,
The *mes* of [...] the evening meals of the place where you set up the table⁴²⁶—(of which) there
are fifty,
[...] no one can discover.

⁴²⁴ Or read **du₁₀**.

⁴²⁵ Lit. "your place (where one) decides fates."

⁴²⁶ Lit. "of your place (where one) sets up the table."

[...] the *myriad*⁴²⁷ *mes* cannot be removed.

Here the reference is to a table set up by Ninurta for one of the chief gods, namely An or Enlil, rather than a table set up for Ninurta. The fifty *mes* of Ninurta/Ningirsu are mentioned in a similar context in Gudea Cylinder A, where Ningirsu, appearing to Gudea in a dream, states “I have equipped (myself) with the fifty *mes*. I have set up the table, I have prepared the lustration rites. My outstretched hand The things of my hand are good, and Enlil, my father who engendered me, eats *those good (things)*. An, the king of the gods, named me “Ningirsu, king, *isib*-priest of An” (Cyl. A x 6–14/253–261).⁴²⁸

The remaining references to tables in the preserved *širgida* texts all refer to tables set up or provided for by Nuska. In Nuska B, Nuska is said to provide for the table of Nintur, making it lavish (**si**₁₂) (Seg. B 6). In Nuska A, Nuska’s role in preparing divine banquets represents a prominent theme throughout much of the text. A relatively long passage exalting Nuska as the “lord of the *mes* of the table” describes the loud, busy preparation of a cultic meal, including purification rites and the preparation of vessels, food, and drink, mentioning the table three times:

Ex. 5.22 Nuska A Seg. A 24–34

- A24 **sagi zabar ku₃ dadag-ga en me ^{ĝeš}bansur-ra**
A25 ‘me-lim₄¹ gal-la susbu₂^{bu} šita abzu kisal-e saĝ nam-TUḪ-‘u₃¹
A26 [x x (x)] ‘gal¹ du₆⁻ ku₃-‘ga¹ šu sa₂-sa₂ i₃ saĝ gara₂ saĝ ‘AK¹
A27 [x x (x)] ‘x¹(-)šID KA(-)enim-ma GUG⁴²⁹ SE₂₅⁴³⁰/ ‘šita¹ ku₃ du₇-du₇-du₇
A28 [x x (x)] ‘dadag²⁴³¹ du₁₀¹ bar-bar-re ‘niĝdaba¹/ si sa₂-e
A29 [(x)] ‘x¹ asila₃ di za-pa-aĝ₂ ĝa₂-‘ĝa₂¹
A30 [^{na4?}] bur gal su₈-su₈-ge

⁴²⁷ Or: “good.”

⁴²⁸ Cyl. A x (6) me ninnu-a za₃ mi-ni-keše₂ (7) ^{ĝeš}bansur mu-il₂ (8) šu-luḫ si bi₂-sa₂ (9) šu si sa₂-a-ĝu₁₀ an ku₃-ge u₃-a ba-zi-ge (10) niĝ₂ šu-ĝa₂ du₁₀-ga-am₃ (11) aia₂ ugu₄-ĝu₁₀ du₁₀-ga-be₂ mu-gu₇ (12) an lugal diĝir-re-ne-ke₄ (13) ⁴nin-ĝir₂-su₂ lugal isib an-na (14) mu-še₃ mu-še₂₁

⁴²⁹ Clearly written ZA.GUL. **kir**₁₃ instead of **gul** is paleographically not out of the question, since **kir**₁₃ can be written almost identically to **gul** (see aBZL p. 134 ad 342, citing Uruk Lament IV 29 N), but seems unlikely.

⁴³⁰ MUš₃ over erasure?

⁴³¹ Either ‘dadag¹ (‘UD¹.UD) or ‘ku₃¹-babbar is possible.

- A31 ġešbansur ku₃ an ^den-lil₂-la₂-kam[?]
 A32 INDA₃ kum₂ INDA₃ te-en-e šu(-)kam-ma sa₂ di-de₃
 A33 šī-im-ma-ab-du₇-un ki ġešbansur-ra-ka
 A34 kiġ₂-sig unu₇ gal-ba saġ(-)ku₃ mu-e-ni-ġal₂

Cupbearer who has made the shining⁴³² bronze (vessels) gleam, lord of the *me*'s (of) the table,

you of ⁴³³ great awesome radiance, *susbu*-priest, *šita*-priest of the Abzu, *you anoint* the courtyard.

... *the great* [... *on*] the pure mound, preparing first-rate fat and first-rate cream,
reciting [...], *cooling the*, *continually carrying out* the pure *šita*-rites to perfection,
purifying[?] the [...], *hurrying*, arranging the food offerings,
 [...] letting there be joyful cries, raising a tumult,
 setting up the great [stone[?]] bowls,

for the pure tables of An and Enlil

providing hot food and cold food ...—

to (all these things) you are perfectly suited, in the place of the table!

At the evening meals *of its* great dining-hall,⁴³⁴ *you have shown yourself noble!*

The hymn continues with the chief deities of Nippur, Enlil and Ninlil, enjoying the meal prepared by Nuska.

Ex. 5.23 Nuska A Seg. A 35–43

- A35 gun₂-ne-saġ-ġa₂-ka ša-ba-pa₃-^rde₃¹-^ren[?]¹
 A36 eš-da ku₃-ga za₃-mim mi-ni-in-du₁₁
 A37 en gal zabar ku₃-ga šu-zu mu-un-ne
 A38 ^dnuška abzu ki ku₃-ga šu-luġ^{1?} ġar-ġar-ra-ba
 A39 ^rkur¹ gal ^den-lil₂-le u₂ mu-u₈-di-ni-ib-su₃-su₃
 A40 ^rnin¹ an ki ama gal ^dnin-lil₂-^rle¹ / du₁₀-be₂ mu-un-na₈-na₈
 A41 ^re₂¹ ni₂ tub₂-bu KURUN₂ du₁₀ ga SIG₇-a ġešbansur zi-ga[?] ^rx (x)¹
 A42 ^dutu¹-da gub saġ-us₂ ġa₂-la nu-dag-^rge¹
 A43 e₂-^rkur-ra¹-ke₄-ne-še₃ SILIM ša-ba-ab-šum₂-^rmu-un[?]¹

You were chosen for the sacristy.

(After) praise has been spoken for the shining⁴³⁵ ešda-vessels,

⁴³² Or “pure.”

⁴³³ Lit: “one of.”

⁴³⁴ **ki** ġešbansur-ra-ka kiġ₂-sig unu₇ gal-ba literally either (1) “In the {evening meals of the great dining hall} of the place of the table” (anticipatory genitive) or (2) “in the place of the table, in its {evening meals of the great dining hall}.”

⁴³⁵ Or: “pure” or “precious-metal.”

you, oh great lord, take the shining⁴³⁶ bronze (vessels) in your hands.⁴³⁷
 Oh Nuska, in the Abzu, that pure place where lustrations have been performed,
 great mountain Enlil dines with you,
 and the lady of heaven and earth, great mother Ninlil, drinks pleasantly.
[In[?]] the restful house, (where) sweet *kurun-beer*⁴³⁸ and *sour milk* ... the *raised*[?] table,
 oh you who stand by Utu,⁴³⁹ unceasing supporter,
for the ones of the Ekur, you[?] give *well-being*.⁴⁴⁰

The references to tables in the preserved *širgida* texts thus focus on cultic tables, laden with lavish meals prepared for the deities. Although the singer presents the tables as being set up and filled with food by other gods—especially Nuska—the fact that the gods ultimately depended on the king and humankind for their sustenance would not have been lost on the listeners. In evoking images of abundance and feasting, affixed to the icon of the table, the singer thus invites the audience to appreciate the mutually dependent relationship that exists between deities and humans—benevolent deities providing the abundance as a gift to the king and his subjects, and humans doing the work to grow, harvest, and process the agricultural produce and to return it to the deities in the form of offerings. In this way the hymn might aim to reinforce in the listeners’ minds humankind’s dependence on the king and the deities’ favor towards him, on the one hand, and to remind the praised deity of the central role their benevolence to the king and their provision of abundance plays in their own well-being, on the other.

⁴³⁶ Or: “pure.”

⁴³⁷ Literally “put your hands on the pure bronze vessels.”

⁴³⁸ Or: TIN **du**₁₀ “sweet alcoholic drink.”

⁴³⁹ Lit. “one who stands by Utu”

⁴⁴⁰ **silim** “well-being”? **sa**₂ “counsel”? **di** “judgment”?

5.7 Cultic Loci

5.7.1 **gu₂-en**

The term **gu₂-en**, meaning both “assembly” and “assembly room, throne room,”⁴⁴¹ appears only once in the *širgida* corpus, in the *Angim* passage discussed above (Ex. 5.17): “Let them prepare a *splendid* seat (**ĝešgal**) in the throne room for me. Let them set up my heavenly chariot on a pedestal (**ki-gal**).” Judging from its appearance in Sumerian literature, the assembly room regularly belongs to a temple complex (e.g., the Ekur in *Angim*, the outer part of the Eninnu in Gudea Cyl. A xxvii 14/746). In the Eninnu, it is the place where the Anuna-gods assemble to render judgment (Gudea Cylinder A xxvii 15/747) and where the temple’s throne (**gu-za**) is located (Gudea Cyl. B xvi 17/749). Reference to the “court of the assembly” (**kisal gu₂-en-na-k**) of Kulaba in ELA 300, which is identified with the “great court” (**kisal-mah**),⁴⁴² indicates that the assembly place, at least in some cases, comprised or included a courtyard. Further activities said to take place in the **gu₂-en** include the playing of the *balaĝ*-instrument in lamentation for Inana, after she has failed to return from the netherworld (Inana’s Descent 35, 177, 317),⁴⁴³ and a ritual involving the pouring of blood on the throne-dais (**para₁₀**) of the **gu₂-en** before Inana, accompanied by the playing of *tigi*, *šem*, and *ala* instruments (Iddin-Dagan A 80–81⁴⁴⁴).

⁴⁴¹ For detailed discussion of the term **gu₂-en(-na)**, see especially Civil 1983, 50–51, who takes “assembly of the lords” as the primary meaning and notes that the possible extended meaning “assembly room, throne room” is only attested in genitive constructions with the location of the assembly further specified (**kisal, ma**).

⁴⁴² See Mittermayer 2009, 249 ad 300 for grammatical analysis of this line.

⁴⁴³ Note that the instrument in these lines is to be read **balaĝ** (so Attinger 2019g) rather than **sem₃** (so, e.g., Sladek 1974, ETCSL). The sign is fully or partially preserved in mss E i 36’ (l. 35); x i 26’ (l. 35), vi 9 (l. 177); C₂ iv 11 (l. 177); P rev. 8 (l. 177); U obv. 36 (l. 317); and V rev. 11 (l. 317) (see Sladek 1974, 100–102 for sigla, supplemented by Attinger 2019g).

⁴⁴⁴ Lines 78–79 in Attinger 2014.

In the Ur III royal palace at Ur, the throne room (**gu₂-en**) of a deceased king⁴⁴⁵ also served as a place where offerings could be made to him and to other royal ancestors (Boese and Sallaberger 1996, 28–31; see also Sallaberger 2003–2005, 202, 204). Administrative documents from this period frequently refer to requisitions for the throne room (**niĝ₂-dab₅ gu₂-en-na**). One text also lists provisions for the offering-prayer (**siškur₂**) of the throne room (STA 8 rev. vi 8’–15’), and two texts refer to a *gala*- or a *nar*-musician in connection to the throne room (BDTNS 0600006 1–2; PSBA 40 pl. 4 146 19–20).

Finally, the **gu₂-en** recurs in Sumerian literature as place where the authority or preeminence of a deity—particularly Inana—is recognized: for example, Inana is described as the one who “raises (her) head in the assembly” (**gu₂-en-na saĝ il₂**) (Rim-Sin I 23 (RIME 4.2.14.23) 2), she is the “respected one of the assembly” (**nir-ĝal₂ gu₂-en-na-k**) (Inana B 143), her divinity is “foremost in the assembly” (**nam-diĝir-zu gu₂-en-na za₃ dib-ba**) (Hammurabi F 9), and An and Enlil “gave her ladyship in the assembly” (**nam-nin gu₂-en-na ma-ra-an-šum₂-mu-uš**) (Inana C 266).

Thus, when Ninurta, in the text of *Angim*, demands that a seat be prepared for him in the **gu₂-en**, it is to be understood as a clear symbol of the reverence and respect owed to him. Concretely, the line suggests that there was a physical seat for Ninurta, presumably in a place of honor, located in the throne room or assembly hall of the Ekur—a location where the gods would assemble to make important decisions and a space where various ritual events, frequently accompanied by musical instruments, took place.

⁴⁴⁵ Probably synonymous with his “throne-house” (**e₂ ĝi^šgu-za**) or simply his “house” (**e₂**); see Boese and Sallaberger 1996, 31.

5.7.2 **kisal**

A courtyard (**kisal**) is mentioned two times in the preserved *širgida* corpus, albeit in fairly different contexts. Nuska, who, is described as “*susbu*-priest” and “*šita*-priest of the Abzu,” is said to anoint(?) (**saĝ TUĤ**) the courtyard (Seg. A 25), in a section of Nuska A that deals primarily with his preparation of divine banquets in the dining hall and *abzu* of the Ekur. The “courtyard” of a temple, shrine, or palace is frequently referenced in Sumerian literature and other texts as a location in which ritual events can take place. In the present context, the ritual purification of a temple courtyard is presumably meant.

Secondly, in Lulal A, Lulal is described as a “dragon with fine limbs, male [having(?)] great strength, roaring against(?) the courtyard” (i 8). The significance of the courtyard in this description is unclear to me.

5.8 Synthesis and Conclusion

The references to cultic items or locations in the in the above survey contribute to our understanding of how particular ritual participants—namely deities and the king—were represented visually in cultic performance, the symbols that were associated with these figures, and the theological or ideological significance that was attached to them. More significantly, the *širgidas*’ frequent material descriptions and mythological contextualization of cultic objects can be understood as part of the hymns’ ritual strategy, not only helping us as modern readers to understand the setting of the hymn, but serving to activate visual associations of the ancient listener, to convey abstract divine qualities using material imagery, and to reinforce the divine or mythological significance of ritually present items.

Featuring most prominently in the *širgida* corpus are concrete symbols tied to a deity's kingship or authority, especially as received through the will or agency of An, Enlil, or Enki. In particular, aspects of kingship that entail conquest of enemy forces and maintenance of order and prosperity in the land, along with the idea of a deity presiding on his or her throne and meting out decisions or determining fate, are invoked repeatedly throughout the corpus.

5.8.1 Ninurta A

In Ninurta A, Ninurta's taking up a seat on his throne dais (**para₁₀**) is mentioned in the early lines, recalling his position of power and authority in the Ešumeša as well as over enemy lands (Seg. A 7–8). A few lines later, his scepter (**ġidru**) and *men*-crown are mentioned, which again evoke the idea or memory of his endowment with royal power. If, as seems likely, the hymn was recited in the presence of Ninurta's cult statue seated on a throne-dais, holding a scepter, and wearing a crown, the text's association of these items with Ninurta's authority and with his affinity to other major deities in the pantheon lends significance to their presence.

5.8.2 Ninurta B

Ninurta B (Ninurta's Journey to Eridu) goes even further in highlighting the symbols of Ninurta's kingship, directly describing the cultic journey in which he travelled to Eridu and his coronation with the *men*-crown, establishing his status as king, and the *SUH*-emblem, establishing his status as *en* (Seg. B 15–16). Later in the text, Ninurta's position on his throne-dais (**para₁₀**) is mentioned, from which his determination of destinies is announced (Seg. C 4–11). At the end of the text, the throne of king which is secured through Ninurta's decision is referenced (Seg. D 18–20).

5.8.3 *Angim*

The text of *Angim* is replete with cultic imagery, the most prominent item being Ninurta's chariot, followed by his weapons. The narrator recounts how Ninurta rode from battle in his rumbling war chariot, laden with trophies of fallen enemies, in a procession with minor deities leading the way and following behind. The procession arrives at Ninurta and continues to the Ekur temple complex, where Ninurta dismounts, sets his weapons aside, and puts away his chariot gear. These events would recall a ritual procession in which Ninurta's divine statue was brought from outside the city into Nippur via a chariot to take its place of honor among the Nippurian gods, thereby reestablishing Ninurta's rightful kingship, earned through his defeat of Enlil's enemies. The text goes on to quote Ninurta's demands concerning his elevation in the Ekur: his weapons are to be ritually washed, a seat of authority (**ĝešgal**) is to be set up for him in the room where decisions are made (**gu₂-en**), and his chariot is to be installed on a pedestal (**ki-gal**) for the people and/or gods to marvel at and pay homage to. Even if these scenes were not acted out at the time of *Angim*'s recitation, the words themselves may have had efficacy, serving a similar function to the corresponding rituals and recreating their cosmological results—namely Ninurta's conquest of chaos, his establishment of order, and his rightful acquisition of kingship. Ninurta's requested treatment of his weapons, chariot, and throne in the Ekur also lends mythological significance to the material presence of these objects.

This entire narrative sets the stage for Ninurta's return to his own temple and his declaration of a good fate for the human king, a moment whose significance is heightened by the ritual events recounted so far.

5.8.4 Nuska A

Nuska A mentions in two places the scepter signaling Nuska's status as Enlil's powerful vizier, given to him by Enlil himself (Seg. A 20–23, Seg. C 11–12). The throne-dais (**para₁₀**) upon which Nuska's wife(?) sits alongside of Nuska, from which the two of them decide fates, is also mentioned (Seg. C 22–27), and a reference to Nuska himself taking his seat upon the throne-dais is probably to be restored (Seg. A 49–51). These images do not necessarily refer to any one particular ceremony, but they probably recall ritual moments in which destinies decided by Nuska and Sardarnunna were announced from their thrones (compare, perhaps, the shared roles of Ninurta and Ninnibru in determining king's fate in *Angim*).

The image of Nuska sitting on his throne-dais and holding the scepter of viziership must have been the image familiar to anyone who had seen or participated a ritual involving him in his shrine, and it may well correspond to the statue of Nuska present at the ceremonies at which Nuska A was recited. If so, the references to Nuska's scepter being given by Enlil and to his decreeing fates from the throne-dais would have reinforced the significance or efficacy of these objects.

Another cultic item referenced in the text of Nuska A is the offering table upon which divine banquets were served. The singer mentions the offering tables set up by Nuska for the other gods several times, in a scene that is rich in sensory imagery evoking joy and abundance.⁴⁴⁶ The table piled with food is thus presented as a visual image of the abundance provided by the god.

⁴⁴⁶ For more on the sensory imagery of this scene, see the discussion of affective language in Section 3.3.3.

5.8.5 Nuska B

The text of Nuska B preserves few clear references to cultic implements, but the offering table set up by Nuska is mentioned in Seg. B 6. Just as in Nuska A, the table is presented here as a symbol of provision and abundance, said to be “made lavish” for Nintur.

5.8.6 Martu A

The throne-dais (**para₁₀**) on which Martu sits is mentioned within the first few lines of Martu A, among his attributes of strength and total authority (3–4). In the second part of the hymn, where the focus is on the human king, Martu is said to have invested the king with a shepherd’s staff (**sibir₂**), explicitly an instrument of leadership, and to have lengthened his days and secured his line of succession (49–52). This hearkens back to a ceremony in which the king received the staff from the god, reinforcing the staff’s significance not just as a symbol of the king’s capable leadership but as a physical embodiment of the god’s transferal of responsibility to the king.

5.8.7 Ninisina A

The first line of Ninisina A again makes reference to the goddess’s residence on her throne-dais (**para₁₀**). Later in the hymn, An’s throne-dais is mentioned in connection to his kingship and shepherdship, in a passage highlighting Ninisina’s filial relationship to An and his wife Uraš (85–87). Ninisina’s receipt of the *me*’s from the great throne-dais is referenced in a later passage, where the responsibilities and power entrusted to her are the topic (121–126).

5.8.8 *Širgida* to Sud

The investiture scene in the *širgida* to Sud represents the most explicit reference to a ritual ceremony in the *širgida* corpus. The text alludes to a rite or series of rites in which Bur-Suen was given the *aga*-crown by Ninĝidru, was crowned with the *men*-crown by Sud, received the scepter (**ĝidru**) from Ninĝidru, and received the shepherd's staff (**sibir₂**) from Sud (18–23). All of these items were important and familiar elements of the king's regalia and served as symbols of his god-given right and ability to rule. Reference to Bur-Suen's investiture ceremony would have reinforced for the listeners and/or performers the divine import of the objects mentioned.

Later in the hymn, Sud's residence on her throne-dais (**para₁₀**) in Šuruppag is mentioned (42–43), carrying the same implications and associations as the instances of throne-daises discussed above.

5.8.9 *Utu ursag*

In a passage included in a potential source for *Utu ursag*, the image of Utu riding in his chariot is invoked (although reference to the chariot itself is not preserved), along with the four creatures who pull it, the driver, and his groom (with other figures perhaps missing in the break) (Seg. B 1–6). How this entourage would have appeared in ritual ceremonies is not certain—the draught animals being represented as lions in mythological descriptions—but Utu's chariot, at least, would have been a known cultic object seen by the people at large in Utu's public processions.

5.8.10 Conclusion

As is clear from these summaries, a common theme running throughout is the image of a deity as a powerful warrior and king, as well a provider, these attributes being represented in

symbolically charged material objects. Many of the items mentioned are explicitly symbolic of kingship, and most of these can be attributed to a human king as well as to a deity. Cultically significant objects that the Mesopotamian king wore or possessed, such as the crown, the scepter, or the throne, in addition to acts performed by him, such as enemy conquest or provision of divine meals, were thus associated through the hymns with divine kingship, creating a kind of equation between the human king and the divine. This supports the conclusions of Chapter 4, where it is argued that a central goal of the *širgida* hymns is to celebrate the exceptional bond that existed between the king and the gods.

CHAPTER 6

PRAYER, OFFERING, AND APPEASEMENT IN THE *ŠIRGIDA*-HYMNS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter considers the topics of prayer, offering, and appeasement, which, I will argue, represent one of the most prominent themes to emerge in the *širgida* corpus. Two of the recently identified hymns, the *Širgida* to Sud and *Utu ursaĝ*, point particularly strongly to prayer and supplication as essential components of their ritual functions, a fact that calls for a reevaluation of the topic of prayer throughout the remainder of the corpus. The goal of this chapter is to systematically examine the references to prayer and appeasement preserved and to consider the implications they might have for the ritual framework of the hymns' performance.

The first part of the chapter presents the individual terms used for prayer in the preserved *širgida* hymns and the contexts in which they occur, focusing on the three most frequent terms: **a-ra-zu**, **siškur**₂, and **šudu**₃. The next section considers the related topic of divine appeasement and looks in depth a passage from *Utu ursaĝ* in which the ritual goal of the hymn, namely to reconcile the supplicant with their personal deity, is explicitly stated. Finally, I will discuss the implications of these references for understanding the nature of the *širgida* as a type and the ritual functions with which *širgidas* were associated.

6.1 Prayer, Supplication, and Offering

A short passage in the *širgida* to Sud offers one of the rare direct references to an external ritual setting preserved in the *širgida* corpus. Appearing near the end of the hymn, just prior to the closing doxology, the passage refers to a man praying before Sud and offering her gifts:

Ex. 6.1 Širgida to Sud 44–47

44 lu₂ a-ra-zu siškur₂ ma-ra-¹{an[?]}-da[?]-ab¹-be₂-{en[?]}
 45 kadra₂^a-ne₂ šu ti-ba-ab lu₂(-)^{BI}-zu ħe₂-a
 46 saĝ gegge(MI)-še₃ ama ¹arĥuš¹-a-me-¹en¹
 47 ¹kur-kur-re¹ saĝ en₃-tar-be₂-me-en
 48 ħe₂-¹du₇¹ e₂-maĥ-a nin e₂-ki-si₃-ga
 49 ¹munus sa₆¹-ga e₂-dim-gal-an-na
 50 ¹d¹sud₃¹-A za₃-mim

A person makes supplications (**a-ra-zu**) and offering-prayers (**siškur₂**) before you.
 Accept his gift(s), and let *him/her* be *your* ...
 For the black-headed people, you are the compassionate (**arĥuš-a**) mother!
 for all the lands, you are their caregiver (**en₃-tar**)!
 Fitting ornament of the Emaĥ, lady of the Ekisiga,
 beautiful woman of the Edimgalana,
 praise be to Sud!

The fact that the identity of the “person” (**lu₂**) is not specified and that no prior contextual information is provided suggests that the referent was visible to the goddess at the time the hymn was being recited, and therefore required no further identification. This type of reference to a ritual participant simply as a person bringing prayers finds parallel in other genres of texts—for example, the city laments, where very similar language has likewise been interpreted as reflecting the ritual setting of the composition. Compare, for example, the final passage in Lamentation over Ur, which most likely refers to events accompanying the performance of the lament itself (Samet 2014, 9–12, with previous literature⁴⁴⁷).

Ex. 6.2 LU 427–437/Samet 425–435⁴⁴⁸ (composite)

427/425 **diĝir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ kadra₂^a mu-ra-an-de₆**
 428/426 **lu₂ siškur₂-ra-ke₄ a-ra-zu mu-ra-ab-be₂**

⁴⁴⁷ Especially enlightening for the purpose of comparison with the *Širgida* to Sud passage is Green 1978, 156–157 ad 7:21ff., where the author identifies prayer as the most important part of the ceremony closing the city laments and observes that “the terminology employed suggests that the lament itself is recited as a special type of prayer and presented as an offering” (156). See also Tinney 1996, 24 for a more cautious interpretation of these passages.

⁴⁴⁸ On the varying order of lines in this passage, see Attinger 2011 and 2019h, note to lines 425f.. My transliteration and translation follow the translation of Attinger, who adopts the sequence in sources N₅₄ and N₇₂.

429/427	^d nanna arḥuš su ₃ kalam-ma-me-en
430/428	en ^d dili-im ₂ -babbar ₂ ša ₃ -zu im-mi-ib-du ₁₁ -ga-ri
‘432/430’	‘diġir(/lu₂)’ a-ra-zu im-me-a-be₂-er ša₃ ḥa-ba-an-ḥuġ-e
‘432A/430a’	diġir lu ₂ -ba-ke ₄ kadra ₂ ^{!a1} mu-ra-an-de ₆
‘429/427’	^d nanna lu ₂ -lu ₇ -be ₂ nam-da ₆ -ga-ne ₂ u ₃ -mu-e-tuḥ
433/431	lu₂ siškur₂-ra mu-un-gub-ba-be₂-er igi zi u₃-mu-un-ši-bar
434/432	^d nanna igi du ₈ -a bar-ra-zu ša ₃ šu-niġen ₂ su ₃ -ga-am ₃
435/433	lu ₂ -lu ₇ -be ₂ u ₄ ḥulu du ₃ -a-be ₂ ḥe ₂ -em-ma-ši-zalag-ge
436/434	ša ₃ kalam-ma ḡal ₂ -la-še ₃ ḥe ₂ -em-ma-ši-gurum-e
437/435	^d nanna iri ki-be ₂ ge ₄ -a-za me-teš ₂ ḥe ₂ -i-i

**A person’s (personal) deity has brought you a gift (kadra₂^a),
and the one of the offering-prayers (siškur₂) utters supplications (a-ra-zu) to you.**

Oh Nanna, you who are full of compassion (arḥuš) for the land,
oh Lord Dilimbabbar, once your heart has spoken,

**let your heart be calmed towards the (personal) deity (var. the person) who utters
supplications (a-ra-zu)!**

2 sources add “432A/430a”: The person’s (personal) deity has brought you a gift.

Oh Nanna, after you have undone that person’s sin,

**after you have looked favorably on the person who stands there with offering-prayers
(siškur₂),**

oh Nanna, you whose gaze is full of mercy,

let that person, *beset by an evil storm*, shine before *your eyes*!

To (*your*) heart, *present* in the land, let him/her bow down,

Oh Nanna, let him/her praise you in your restored city!

In the Lamentation over Ur, the unnamed supplicant performing the lament and prayer is probably to be understood as the king (Green 1978, 157 ad 7:21ff; Tinney 1996, 23–24) or a *gala*-priest (Samet 2014, 10–11). In the case of the supplicant in the *Širgida* to Sud, given the prominence of Bur-Suen earlier in the text, as well as the significance of the king throughout the *širgida* corpus, Bur-Suen is the most likely candidate.

The above lines from the *širgida* to Sud thus offer significant insight into the ritual setting of the hymn itself, suggesting that it was performed during a ceremony in which prayer and offering played an important role and in which a petitioner—probably the king himself—stood directly before the goddess to ask for a blessing. Because, as discussed at length in previous chapters, the

defining features of a *širgida* hymn had something to do with shared elements of performance or ritual function, it is worth examining the terms related to prayer and offering used in the passage in more detail, considering both what the specific terms imply about the concrete or ideological situations surrounding the hymns' performance and how the terminology appears in *širgida* corpus as a whole.

6.1.1 a-ra-zu

The word **a-ra-zu** (Akk. *teslītu*) serves as a general term in Sumerian literature for a petition or supplication addressed to a deity (PSD A1 [1992], pp. 140–145) and is used several times in the *širgida* corpus. In addition to appearing in the passage of the *Širgida* to Sud discussed above, where a man makes supplications to Sud accompanied by gifts, the term **a-ra-zu** occurs in an earlier passage of the same hymn, just after the initial praise for Sud and prior to the recounting of Bur-Suen's investiture.

Ex. 6.3 Širgida to Sud 15–17

15 i₃-du₈ gal-zu ġeš⁴⁴⁹ tuku ^dasar-lu₂-ġi
 16 šu-luġ me ku₃-ga si ġu(over ras?)-mu-ra-ab-sa₂
 17 ^rsugal₇(SUKKAL)¹-zu ^dnin-ġidru-ke₄ {lu₂} a-ra-zu enim¹-ma-še₃ ša-ra-ab-DU

Your head gatekeeper, the attentive one, Asarluġi,
 prepares for you the lustration rites and the pure rituals (**me**).
 Your vizier, Ninġidru, *stands by for you* ... supplications (**a-ra-zu**) and ...

Despite the difficulties in interpreting the syntax of this line, it appears that Sud receives supplications through the mediation of her vizier, Ninġidru, a god whose role in Bur-Suen's coronation is described in the subsequent lines.

⁴⁴⁹ Over erasure.

A second *širgida*-hymn in which the term **a-ra-zu** appears is Ninisina A. After the opening passage, in which Ninisina's wisdom and control over the *me*'s—particularly the *me*'s of medicine and healing—are celebrated and her passing of medical expertise to her son is highlighted (lines 1–29), there follows by a fairly detailed account of how, acting as *isib*-priest, she heals a sick man (30–42). This is followed by the declaration:

Ex. 6.4 Ninisina A 43–45

43 diĝir nam-lu₂-lu₇ siškur₂ a-ra-zu-a mu-na-an-su₈-su₈-ge-eš
 44 enim-be₂-da an-ra ^den-lil₂-ra
 45 ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na ki maḥ-a-na mu-un-ne-de₃-en-ku₄-ku₄

The (personal) deities of people stand before her in offering-prayers (**siškur₂**) and supplication (**a-ra-zu**).

Pure Ninisina, in *her* lofty place, brings their words before An and Enlil.

Here the prayers spoken to Ninisina are not ultimately intended for her, but rather for An and Enlil, to whom she delivers them. The prayers are also not spoken by the sufferers themselves, but by their personal deities. This brief account is followed by a passage describing a person tormented by demons, again ending with the topic of offering and prayer:

Ex. 6.5 Ninisina A 46–54

46 ^dudug ḥulu ^dlamma ḥulu lu₂-ra šub-ba
 47 ^ddim₃-me ^ddim₃-a-be₂ ku₄-ra ḡe₆-u₃-na
 48 nam-tar a₂-sag₃-ga lu₂-ra nu-e₁₁-de₃
 49 lu₂-ra su₈-ge-eš u₃ mu-ni-ib-kar
 50 diĝir niĝ₂ mu-un-ni-ra-a-ne₂
 51 saĝ-ḡu₁₀-a ba-an-di-ni-ib-šub-ba
 52 lu₂-be₂ ensi-ra mu-un-pa₃-de₃ egir-ra mu-un-zu-zu
 53 lu₂-lu₇(URU×MIN) nam-tar um-ma-an-diri-ga
 54 ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na siškur₂ mu-na-ab-be₂ a-ra-zu mu-na-ab-be₂

The evil *udug*-demon and the evil *lamma*-demon that have fallen upon a person, the *dimme*-demon and the *dima*-demon that have entered by night, the *namtar*-demon and the *asag*-demon that *will not leave the person*—

they stand before the person, and sleep is driven away.

The deity that has beaten him/her,

"*The one that ... on my head*"—

that person *reveals to* the dream-interpreter, (*so that*) *he/she will know the future (i.e. the prognosis).*

The person, when the *namtar*-demon has overcome him/her,

makes offering-prayers (**siškur₂**) and supplications (**a-ra-zu**) to pure Ninisina.

This time, it is the sufferer who speaks prayers directly to Ninisina. The content of the prayer is most likely quoted in the subsequent line. The words highlight the fact that Ninisina herself has the power to cure the affliction and is praised for doing so.

Ex. 6.6 Ninisina A 55–60

55 nin-ġu₁₀ ka-tar DU ZA ZA im-DU-DU

56 tu₆-zu lu₂-ra mu-un-ta-e₁₁-de₃

57 sul diġir tuku ħe₂-em-mu-un-AK

58 egir-ba šu-si-zu u₃-mu-ne-ur₃

59 ni₂-zu me-teš₂-e ši-im-i-i

60 mu-zu du₁₀-ge-eš-e im-pa₃-de₃

“My lady, praise ...”

When your incantation descends upon a person,

he/she *is treated*⁴⁵⁰ as a youth with a personal deity.

Then, after you have stretched your finger *over him/her*,

he/she praises you, *yourself*;

he/she favorably invokes your name!

Although this passage in some ways recalls the one in the *Širgida* to Sud, speaking of an unidentified man praying to the goddess of the *širgida*, here it is less clear whether the referent is to be understood as a specific person. Whereas in the Sud hymn, the specificity of the request to accept the man’s gifts, along with to the prominence of the passage within the structure of the hymn and its clear parallels to the ritual scenes of city laments, points to a concrete referent, in

⁴⁵⁰ Or: “*may he/she be treated.*”

Ninisina A 46–60, one could just as easily take the passage as a general statement about Ninisina's relationship to humankind. Nevertheless, regardless of the passage's specificity, by highlighting the goddess's authority in granting individual prayers, the hymn lends itself to a ritual context involving prayer.

Finally, in the final lines of Ninisina A, after long section of self-praise dealing with Ninisina's treatment of enemy lands, the text closes with the image of Ninisina as a merciful goddess who listens to prayers.

Ex. 6.7 *Ninisina A* 134–135

- 130 munus-me-en ur-saĝ-me-en sul-la-me-en a₂-ĝal₂ kalam-ma-me-en
 131 an mu-bu-um-gen₇ mu-da-gurum-e-en
 132 ki(-a) a-ĝe₆-gen₇ mu-da-RU-RU
 133 ĝeš³rab kalam-ma uĝ₃ šu RI-RI-me-en
 134 mer-gen₇ du (/MIR(-)DU-gen₇) uĝ₃-še₃ ša₃ ĥuĝ-e
 135 šudu₃ a-ra-zu(-a) ĝeš³ tuku-me-en ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na za₃-mim

"I, the woman, I, the valiant warrior, I, the youth, I, the mighty one of the land—
 I am able to make the heavens bow down like a *mubum*-tree,
 I am able to ... on the earth like a flood-wave!
 I am the neck-stock of the land that clamps down on the people!
 Like a ..., soothing the heart for the people.
 I am she who hears prayers (**šudu₃**) and supplications (**a-ra-zu**)."
 Praise be to pure
 Ninisina!

The references to **a-ra-zu** in Ninisina A are thus more generalized than in the Sud hymn, but, like Sud, Ninisina is presented as a goddess who hears and responds to the prayers of the humankind and takes pity on them, and one ritual setting to which the hymn seems to have been suited is a moment of supplication.

6.1.2 **siškur₂**

A second term associated with prayer frequently used in the *širgida* corpus is **siškur₂**. Unlike **a-ra-zu**, which refers exclusively to a speech act, **siškur₂** denotes a prayer accompanied by offerings, and, depending on context, it can refer either to the entire rite or to the prayer itself.⁴⁵¹ It has no exact Akkadian equivalent, being identified in lexical lists both with words for “prayer” (e.g., *karābu*, *ikribu*, *teslītu*), and with words for “sacrifice” (e.g., *niqû*).⁴⁵² Like **a-ra-zu**, **siškur₂** is a fairly general term, applicable to a wide variety of ritual contexts. Civil, discussing its use in agricultural settings, observes that “the rites called **sizkur₂** = *niqû* were the most frequent religious rites, performed in all kinds of places and on all kinds of occasions” (Civil 1994, 92 ad 87). The term is also non-specific as to the types of commodities offered, although some trends can be observed; provisions for **siškur₂**-rites listed in Ur III documents, for example, most often include different types of beer and flour, as well as dates (and sometimes other commodities like bread, cream, fruits, wood and reeds for burning); there is also evidence, though, for *siškur*-rites provisioned with animals.⁴⁵³

In Sumerian literature, **siškur₂** is frequently paired with **a-ra-zu**. This is the case in three passages from the *širgidas*. In the lines from the Sud hymn cited above (Ex. 6.1), both terms occur as objects of the verb **du₁₁**, designating the action of the petitioner. Here we are probably to understand **du₁₁** in its literal meaning, “to utter,” although in other contexts **siškur₂** **du₁₁** can mean,

⁴⁵¹ For extensive treatments of the term, see the literature cited in Attinger 1993, 679, §762, especially Averbeck 1987, 474–484. In cases where specifically the prayer component is being referred to, I translate “offering-prayer” (occasionally simply “prayer”) for lack of a better approximation in English.

⁴⁵² For a complete list of Akkadian equivalents, see Attinger 1993, 680, §764.

⁴⁵³ See, e.g., Hall 1985, 261 and Sallaberger 1993, 69–79, with previous literature, for **siškur₂** in Ur documents; Kleinerman and Owen 2009, 170–172, for **siškur₂** in Garšana documents.

more broadly, “to perform an offering.”⁴⁵⁴ **Siškur** in this case thus seems to refer to the prayer itself, rather than the entire rite. However, we can still assume that the prayer was accompanied by an offering—a fact confirmed by the following line, where the goddess is urged to accept the petitioner’s gift(s) (**kadraz^a**).

In two of the passages from Ninisina A discussed above, **siškur₂** again occurs alongside **a-ra-zu**. In the first (Ex. 6.4), the personal deities of people are said to stand before Ninisina “with offering-prayers (**siškur₂**) and supplications (**a-ra-zu**).” Here, again, it appears to be the verbal component of the *siškur*-rite that is highlighted, and it is the words or content (**enim**) of the prayer that Ninisina delivers to An and Enlil. In the second Ninisina A passage (Ex. 6.5), as in the Sud hymn, **siškur₂** occurs as the object of **du₁₁**—this time with the verb repeated for **a-ra-zu**, both designating the actions of a person overcome by demons and petitioning Ninisina for help. If, as argued above, these passages support the hypothesis that the hymn was suited to a context of ritual supplication, the use of the word **siškur₂** suggests further that this context involved the presentation of offerings.

In addition to the examples where **siškur₂** is paired with **a-ra-zu** in *širgida* hymns, it occurs alone in two passages from *Angim*, in the part of the narrative dealing with Ninurta’s return to his temple and blessing of the king. Having been honored in the Ekur, just after Ninurta’s speech of self-praise and blessing for Nippur, he comes out of the temple and is confronted by Ninkarnuna.

⁴⁵⁴ See Attinger 1993, 679–681, §§762–768. Note that the usual Akkadian translation of **siškur₂ du₁₁** treats **du₁₁** as *qabû*, “to speak” (*ikribî qabû*). The fact that **siškur₂** serves as a normal direct object, alongside **a-ra-zu** (rather than as a component of a phrasal verb) likewise suggests the more literal meaning of **du₁₁**, “to speak, utter” (see Attinger 1993, 680, §764; 681, §765). Cf. also Civil 1994, 107 n. 113, who observes that, although “the use of **sizkur₂—dug₄/e** does not imply *per se* a verbal performance,” the fact that the expression **enim siškur₂-ra-k** is attested suggests that **siškur₂** at least includes a verbal component.

This deity stands before him to make a prayer or petition (**siškur₂**) on behalf of Nippur and the king.

Ex. 6.8 *Angim* 178–179/180–181 (OB version, composite text)⁴⁵⁵

178/180 ^dnin-kar-nun-na-ke₄ ġeš ba-an-tuku-a-ta
 179/181 en ^dnin-urta-ra mu-na-gub siškur₂ mu-na-ab-be₂

Ninkarnuna, after hearing (Ninurta’s favorable words),
 stood before lord Ninurta and made a prayer (**siškur₂**) to him.

The Neo-Assyrian version furnishes the translation: *a-na be-^li¹ [^d]¹MIN¹ iz-ziz-ma tes-li-ta i-qab-^lbi¹*, clearly understanding **siškur₂** in the sense of “prayer” or supplication (*teslītu*). The content of this prayer follows:

Ex. 6.9 *Angim* 180–182/182–184

180/182 ^lugal¹-ġu₁₀ iri ki-aġ₂-zu ^lša₃-zu[?]¹ ħe₂-em-[ma]-ħuġ
 181/183 ^len¹ [^d]¹nin¹-urta iri ki-aġ₂-zu ša₃-zu ħe₂-[em-ma]-ħuġ
 182/184 eš₃ nibru^{ki}-ke₄ iri ^lki¹ aġ₂-zu ša₃-zu ħe₂-[em-ma-ħuġ]
 183/185 e₂-šu^l-me-ša₄ e₂ ki aġ₂-zu(-[še₃]) DILI[?] k[u₄-ku₄-da-zu-n]e[?]
 184/186 ġešdana(MUNUS.US₂.DAM)-zu-ur₂ ki-sikil ^d[nin-nibru^k]ⁱ
 185/187 ša₃-ga du₁₁-mu-na-ab bar-ra d[u₁₁-mu-]na-ab
 186/188 enim du₁₀ lugal-la sud-ra₂-a-še₃ ^ldu₁₁-mu-na-ab¹

“My king, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Lord Ninurta, let your heart be calmed towards your beloved city!
 Let your heart [be calmed] towards shrine Nippur!
 When you, *alone*, e[nter] your beloved temple, the Ešumeša,
 say to your wife, the young lady [Ninnibru],
 what is on your mind! Say to her what is in your heart!
 Speak to her favorable words concerning the king, for eternity!”

⁴⁵⁵ In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, quotations from *Angim* make use of the OB composite version of the text, with selected variants shown.

The syntax of the lines following Ninkarnuna's speech is somewhat convoluted, but it is clear that the words of the prayer (**ENIM šiškur₂-ra**)—serving as a gift (**kadraz^a**) of cool water poured on Ninurta's heart—do in fact appease him:

Ex. 6.10 *Angim* 188–190/190–192, 195

188/190 u₄-ba ENIM šiškur₂-ra-ka-ne₂¹
 189/191 ša₃ kadraz^a a se₂₉ su₃-a-ne₂
 190/192 niĝ₂ nam-ĥe₂-a bi₂-in-du₁₁-ga-ne₂
 (...)
 193/195 ša₃ ^dnin-urta¹-ke₄ ba-sa₆

At that time, the *words of* his prayer-offering,
 his *sprinkling cool water on (Ninurta's) heart (as) a gift* —
 everything he had said concerning prosperity—
 (...)
 (these) were pleasing to Ninurta's heart.

In response, Ninurta immediately blesses Ninkarnuna, the deity who uttered the prayer. Then, when he returns to the Ešumeša, he does as Ninkarnuna requested of him and pronounces a blessing on the king.

Unlike in the previously cited examples of **šiškur₂**, where the actor is either a person or a personal deity acting on a person's behalf, in the *Angim* passage, Ninkarnuna appears to act on his own accord. Nevertheless, as in the other hymns, the beneficiaries of the prayer are humans—in this case, the people of Nippur and the king. Whether **šiškur₂** here is meant to be understood in its usual sense of a prayer accompanied by ritual offerings is less clear. The context would seem to indicate simply a formal request, although, in some texts, deities' petitions to each other can be accompanied by offerings.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Compere, for example, Inana and Ebiḫ 61 (Attinger 1998/Delnero 2006 l. 60).

6.1.3 šudu₃

The basic Sumerian word for “prayer,” šudu₃ (Akk. *ikribu*), also appears a few times in the *širgida* corpus. The first example has already been cited above, under **a-ra-zu**: in the closing lines of Ninisina A, the goddess describes herself as “the one who hears prayers (šudu₃) and supplications (**a-ra-zu**)” (Ex. 6.7). A second instance occurs in Ninurta B, in a hymnic sequence praising Ninurta just after his coronation in Eridu:

Ex. 6.11 Ninurta B Seg. B 17–20

B17 dalla mu-un-e₃ ʾabzu¹ eridu^{ʾki-ga²1} saĝ an-še₃ bi₂-in-il₂
 B18 sul ʾgiri₁₇¹-za¹ ʾe₂-kur-ra ĝal₂²-la²¹
 B19 nam-ʾlugal¹-ʾla¹ ʾx x¹-ma-be₂-em¹
 B20 an ki-ʾa¹ ʾenim¹ šudu₃-da-be₂-em

He (Ninurta) appeared brilliantly; in the Abzu, in Eridu, he raised his head high!
 The youth who provided² profusion in the Ekur,
 he is the ... of kingship,
 he *is* the words of prayer (šudu₃) of heaven and earth!

Finally, the Neo-Assyrian version of *Angim* includes a probable reference to šudu₃. However, this appears to be a reinterpretation of the Old Babylonian version, and the meaning is not entirely clear:

Ex. 6.12 Angim 13–14

OB: 13 diĝir-re-e-ne ʾx¹ ʾki²¹-a mu-e-ʾil₂¹
 14 ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne šu-ĝar-ĝar-ra-am₃ mu-e-il₂

*For the gods, you bear ... on the earth;
 For the Anuna, you bear constant retribution.*⁴⁵⁷

NA: 13 [diĝir]-ʾre¹-e-ʾne²¹-ʾer²¹ ʾšudu₃⁻²¹-a mu-ʾun¹-ʾil₂¹
 ʾa-na DIĜIR¹.MEŠ ʾik¹-ri-bi na-ʾša₂-at¹
 14 ^da-nun-na-ki-ke₄-ne šu-ĝar-ĝar-ra mu-e-[il₂]

⁴⁵⁷ I.e. retribution on the Anunas' behalf.

ana rd a-nun-na-^rki^l ^rgi^{l?} ^rmil-^rla^r ^rša^r2-ka-na na-ša^r2-at

For the gods, you *bear* prayers (**šudu**₃^{-?} : *ikribi*);⁴⁵⁸
For the Anuna, you *bear constant retribution*.

6.1.4 Additional Terms

A fourth term for prayer or petition, **ENIM sa**₆ (Akk. *šutēmuqu*; *tēmēqu*, *suppû*), occurs only once in the preserved *širgida* corpus, in the hymn to Martu.⁴⁵⁹ This term is, in general, far less common than **a-ra-zu**, **siškur**₂, and **šudu**₃, but it is nevertheless well-attested in the Sumerian literary corpus. It frequently occurs alongside other terms for prayer, especially in the context of a king making supplications and/or food or drink offerings to a deity.⁴⁶⁰ The Akkadian equivalent *tēmēqu* may imply the notion of a well-conceived or persuasive presentation of a case (CAD T [2006], p. 335, *tēmēqu* discussion section). This could be supported by the use of **ENIM sa**₆ in Sin-iddinam 2 (RIME 4.2.9.2) 24–26 and Sin-iddinam 4 (RIME 4.2.9.4) 20–22, where, in response to this speech act, the gods agree to the king’s request (**a-ra-zu**).

In Martu A, **ENIM sa**₆ is used as an epithet for an unnamed king, in the introductory lines to the long section dealing with Martu’s blessings on the king.

Ex. 6.13 Martu A 33–35

33 saĝ piriĝ ^rur-saĝ-ĝa^r2-am₃ me₃-a a₂-taĥ ^rluga^r1-[la-kam[?]]
34 lu₂ ^rsi-sa₂ di niĝ^r1-[ge[?]-na[?] mu[?]]-un-dab₅-ba e-ne-ra **ENIM sa**₆-[**sa**₆[?]-ge[?]]
35 PA ^rx x^r1 [x x (x)]-na-GUB sud-ra₂-^rše₃1 im-mi-in-[x (x)]

(Having) the head of a lion, he (Martu) is a hero, [he is[?]] the help of the king in battle!

⁴⁵⁸ OB **ki-a** appears to have been replaced by **KA** in a later version, perhaps then reinterpreted as **šudu**₃ : *ikribu*. See Attinger and Glenn 2017, 62 n. 211 (note to line 13).

⁴⁵⁹ In addition to **ENIM sa**₆ “to pray; prayer,” the homographic (and possibly etymologically identical) expression **enim sa**₆ “favorable words” (Akk. *amat damiqti*) is also attested in the *širgida* corpus, but in the context of divine favor or blessing towards humans, rather than prayer to a deity.

⁴⁶⁰ E.g., Rim-Sin E 21–24; Lipit-Eštar A 51–61; Letter from Inim-Enlila to a King 1–2; Letter from Sin-iddinam to Utu 32–33; Sin-iddinam 2 (RIME4.2.9.2) 24–26.

*For the just man who has accepted (his) [firm?] decisions, [the one who] petition[s] (ENIM sa₆) him,
he has established [...]! He [...] him?] to eternity!*

Another term connected to prayer and supplication that occurs twice in the *širgida* corpus is **kadraz**^a (Akk. *ṭātu, kadrû, irbu*) “gift.” Both attestations have already been cited above: in *Angim*, the words of Ninkarnuna’s prayer serve as a “gift” of cool water, calming Ninurta’s heart (Ex. 6.10), and, more significantly, in the *širgida* to Sud, the goddess is asked to accept the gift offered by the suppliant (Ex. 6.1). The substance of gifts designated with the term **kadraz**^a varies from one context to another, including both concrete offerings, such as animals or other commodities, and metaphorical offerings of words or tears; the essential characteristic of the gift is that it serves to gain the favor or compassion of a superior.⁴⁶¹ In *Angim*, the result of the “gift” is Ninurta’s appeasement and favorable response to Ninkarnuna’s request. In the Sud hymn, Sud’s acceptance of the gift is linked to her granting the suppliant’s prayers and blessing him.

6.2 Divine Appeasement

6.2.1 **ša₃ huĝ**

Closely tied to the idea of supplication and offering is that of appeasement, expressed most often in Sumerian literature with the term **ša₃ huĝ** “to calm the heart.” This term occurs twice in the preserved *širgida* corpus, both times in association with prayer. In *Angim*, the substance of Ninkarnuna’s prayer (**siškur₂**) to Ninurta includes the plea to calm his heart towards Nippur (Ex. 6.9). In Ninisina A, the closing lines of the hymn characterize Ninisina as the one who “calms the heart towards the people” and who hears prayers (**šudu₃**) and supplications (**a-ra-zu**) (Ex. 6.7).

⁴⁶¹ See esp. Peterson 2007, 349–351.

Note similarly the characterization of Sud as a mother who has mercy (**arḥuš**) and cares for (**en₃tar**) the people immediately following the reference to her petitioner (Ex. 6.1).

In addition, it is worth noting that the term **ša₃ ḥuḡ** appears repeatedly in the final passage of Ninšubur A, a hymn whose erased subscript may originally have read **ser₃-gid₂-da^dnin-šubur-ra-kam**.⁴⁶²

Ex. 6.14 Ninšubur A Seg. B 1–8⁴⁶³

- B1 [ša₃] ʿde₃¹-ʿem¹-ʿḥuḡ¹-[e] [bar de₃-em-ḥuḡ-e]
 B2 ʿdim₃¹-me-ʿer¹ ʿd¹a-nun-ʿna¹ [niḡ₂-ma₃-e de₃-en-ḥuḡ-e]
 B3 me-e da-gub-be₂ DU AN DU me-e da-gub-ʿbe₂¹ [...] ʿx¹ [...]
 B4 ki-sikil ga-ša-an-an-na <kur²> SUBI₄(MUŠ₃) ʿDU₂^{1?1}-da ʿde₃¹-em-ʿḥul₂¹-ʿe¹
 B5 ga-ša-an-men₃ ʿaḡ₂^{2?1}-ʿba^{2?1} mu-de₆ de₃-em-ḥul₂-e
 B6 ša₃ de₃-em-ḥuḡ-e bar de₃-em-ḥuḡ-e
 B7 dim₃-me-er^da-nun-na niḡ₂-ma₃-e de₃-en-ḥuḡ-e
 B8 nin-e ʾakkil_x(GAD.KID₂.SI.A)^{ki} asila ba-ni-in-ḡar

“Let me (Ninšubur?) calm the hearts, [let me calm the spirits.]

[Let me calm] the gods, the Anuna, [in the *chamber*.]

I will stand by, ..., I will stand by, ...

May the young lady, Inana, who gave form to the *shining* <mountains²>, rejoice

I, the lady, have brought presents, so that she may rejoice.

Let me calm the hearts, let me calm the spirits.

Let me calm the gods, the Anuna, in the *chamber*.”

The lady brought exultation to Akkil.

If we accept as a regular ritual context for the performance of a *širgida* hymn the petitioning of a deity to calm his or her heart, this could explain the scribe’s apparent association of Ninšubur A with the *širgida* classification.

Taken together, the evidence discussed so far supports the hypothesis that at least some of the *širgida* hymns—most notably the *Širgida* to Sud and Ninisina A, but others as well—were sung or recited on ritual occasions during which a supplicant, possibly the Mesopotamian king or

⁴⁶² Cf. section 1.3.1.2.

⁴⁶³ Transliteration and translation after Zólyomi 2005.

someone acting on his behalf, presented gifts and prayers to the praised deity in order to calm his or her heart and to secure a blessing or mercy. This impression is further supported by a final *širgida* to be discussed, the *širgida* to Utu (*Utu ursag*) which, uniquely among the preserved *širgidas*, closes in what can be considered a “heart-pacification unit,” a feature more typical of lamentational liturgies (see Gabbay 2014, 33–34, with previous literature).

6.2.2 Heart-Pacification Unit of *Utu ursag*

Although *Utu ursag* does not use the term **ša₃ hu^ug**, it expresses a very similar concept by means of the phrase **ša₃ ki-be₂ ge₄** “to restore the heart.” The composition begins, as expected for a hymn, with praise for Utu, which is then followed by a break and a fragmentary section. When the text resumes, the speaker is lamenting the inevitability of death as humankind’s fate, and, in subsequent passage, the tone becomes more personal, with the speaker praying that his offenses against his personal god be revealed to him.

Ex. 6.15 Utu-ursag Seg. C 10–14/53–57 (composite text, with selected variants)⁴⁶⁴

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| C10 | diĝir-ĝa ₂ niĝ ₂ -ĝe ₁₇ (gig)-ga-ne ₂
ʽtaka ₄ ¹ niĝ ₂ -nam-ma ga-zu | ḥa-ma ¹ -be ₂ ša ₃ -be ₂ ḡal ₂ ḥa-ma-ab- |
| C11 | maš ₂ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂ ^d utu-kam usu ₃ (UZU)-kam
taka ₄ niĝ ₂ -ʽnam ¹ [ga-zu] | ḥa-ma-be ₂ ša ₃ -be ₂ ʽḡal ₂ ¹ ḥa-ma-ab- |
| C12 | ʽensi ¹ izi [(x)] še ʽšum ₂ ¹ -ma ʽin ^{ʽ1} -[...]
taka ₄ niĝ ₂ -ʽnam ¹ [ga-zu]
[...] mi-im]-ʽma ¹ šu-um-šu lu-ʽum ¹ -mi-[id] | ḥa ₂ -ma-be ₂ ša ₃ -be ₂ ḡal ₂ ḥa-ma-ab- |
| C12 | ʽu ₂ ¹ -ḥub ₂ -me-en (ma-an-dul) igi nu-du
taka ₄ niĝ ₂ -nam ga-zu
ʽsuk ^{ʽ1} -ku-ka-a-ku u ₂ -ul a-na-aṭ-ʽta ₂ -al ¹ | ḥa-ma-be ₂ [ša ₃ -be ₂ ḡal ₂ ḥa-ma-ab- |
| C14 | ma-mu ₂ -da igi nu-du
taka ₄ niĝ ₂ -ʽnam ¹ [ga-zu] | ḥa-ma-be ₂ ša ₃ -be ₂ ʽḡal ₂ ¹ [ḥa-ma-ab]- |

⁴⁶⁴ Citations of *Utu-ursag* in the remainder of this chapter represent the composite text with selected variants, unless otherwise noted. Line numbers follow my edition in Appendix II.8, with the line numbers from Cavigneaux’s edition indicated after a slash where relevant.

(My) offense against my (personal) deity—let him/her⁴⁶⁵ tell it to me,⁴⁶⁶ let him/her reveal⁴⁶⁷ the heart of it to me, let me know everything!⁴⁶⁸
 The diviner, being the one of Utu, the one of the extispicy-omen—let him tell it to me, let him reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know everything!]
 The dream-interpreter, [who] *grain thrown [into?] the fire*—let him tell it to me, let him reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know] everything!
 (I am) deaf, *he/she has covered it for me*,⁴⁶⁹ I do not see! Let him/her tell it to me, [let him/her reveal the heart of it to me, let me know everything!]⁴⁷⁰
 I have (lit. “see”) no dream! Let him/her tell it to me, [let him/her] reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know] everything!

The text continues, in the very difficult closing passage of the hymn, with the speaker lamenting his or her own suffering and praying that Utu restore the favor of his or her personal deity.

Ex. 6.16 Utu ursag Seg. C 15–28/58–71

- C15 im-mi-in-du₁₁-ga-ta(/gen₇) im-ma^{1?}-ra-diri
 [ki]-¹ma¹ iq-bu-u₂ u₂-ta²-te-er
 C16 diri nam-ku₅-da saĝ im-ma^{1?}-an-munšub
 C17 gid₂-da(/i) tu-lu-ra(/da) niĝ₂ ur₅ sa₆-ge-de₃ bar ur-ta [(...)] ¹x¹(-)¹du₁₁¹-ga gur-ru-dam
¹niĝ₂^{2?} diĝir^e-re-ne-kam
 ud-da-ta u₃ ru-mu-u₂-ta tu-ub ka-ab-ti
 C18 niĝ₂ al-du₇-da (/lu₂ in-DUDA-e) na zi BI la-[...]
 C19 lu₂ ^{geš}gidru al bi₂-in-du₁₁ ba-an-ra bi₂-in-du₁₁
 C20 ab-ta(-)si-il (/ ab-da(-)SI-A mu-da-¹an¹-[...] nu-mu-un-da-ni-in-[...]
 C21 diĝir-ĝa₂ igi ħu-mu-un[?]-¹ši¹-¹bar)^{2?} en-ĝu₁₀ ħe₂-ta-re
 C22⁴⁷¹ im-mi-in-DUD-DE₃ (/ im-me-en-di-te-DE₃ ZE₄-e ħa-PA-PA-an-pa)
 C23 ša₃ gur₃-a-ne₂ ħa-ma^{2?}-¹ri^{1?}-pa-de₃
 C24 ^{ge}en₃-bar-¹gen₇¹ NAR^{1?} mu-un-dab-be₂-be₂ mu-un-sun₅¹-sun₅¹-ne-eš
 C25 tumu niĝ₂ du₁₀-ga-ke₄² su ħu-mu-un-tuku₅-tuku₅-ru
 C26 ša₃ diĝir-ĝu₁₀ ki-be₂ ħa-ma^{1?}-ge₄-ge₄
 C27 ^dutu ki al-du diĝir dur₂-ru-ne₂-eš₂ ^{geš}-tu⁹ ĝeštu ser₃^{1?} ga-mu-ra-¹x¹ [(x)] tab-us₂ an-ke₄
 ħe₂-me-¹en¹
 C28 sul ^dutu en dumu ^dnin-gal-ke₄ mim du₁₁-ga ka-tar-zu ga-sil

⁴⁶⁵ Either referring to the deity or anticipating the diviner and dream interpreter of the following lines.

⁴⁶⁶ That is, let him reveal what the offense was.

⁴⁶⁷ Lit. “open.”

⁴⁶⁸ So Dx. Am: “he does not open up its meaning.”

⁴⁶⁹ Or: “it is covered for me.”

⁴⁷⁰ Es: I am deaf; I do not see anything! (So Akk; prefix chain inexplicable in Sum—“he has caused him to see?”).

⁴⁷¹ One source evidently places line 65 between lines 62 and 63.

He/she has made (things) exceed what he/she declared for me!⁴⁷²

He/she has ...*to/for me* more than (his/her) curse,

To make taut and to make limp,⁴⁷³ that which cheers the mood⁴⁷⁴ and ..., and *to revoke*⁴⁷⁵ the ... *that was spoken*⁴⁷⁶—(these things) belong⁷ to the gods.

A: The *thing that is beaten*⁴⁷⁷ ...

D: He/she beats the person, ...

The person requested a staff. He/she commanded that he/she free him/her.

He/she beats him/her ...

The one who is equal to it ...,⁴⁷⁸ he/she cannot ...

Let my deity *look upon me*⁴⁷⁹ and care for me!⁴⁸⁰

*He/she beats him/her.*⁴⁸¹ Let *him/her breathe!*

Let him/her (= the sufferer?) cause you⁷ (= Utu) to *reveal* his/her (=the personal deity's?) *compassion!*

Like an *enbar*-reed *in the wind*⁷ ... have entered there.

Let a good wind ... *(my) body!*

Let the heart of my deity be restored *for me!*

Utu, *at the ... place where the gods dwell*, let me [praise⁷] you in song *for (your) wisdom; you are second (only) to An!*

Youth Utu, lord, son *cherished by Ningal*, let me praise you!

In this final passage, the hymn thus takes on the form of a personal prayer, being addressed to Utu, with the explicit goal of learning the speaker's offenses and reconciling him to his personal deity.

In this regard, the text is more reminiscent of an Emesal prayer or lament than the other texts designated as *širgidas*. Parts of the final passage, in fact, are directly paralleled in the heart-pacification unit of a first millennium prayer to a personal deity, *Eršahuḡa* n38–n42 (Maul 1988, 213–228), formulated in one source as an *eršahuḡa* and identified in another as an incantation

⁴⁷² So A_M, probably D_X. E_{Si}: “*In comparison to what he declared, (things) were made excessive for me*”; Akk. “he has made it excessive!”

⁴⁷³ Akk: “Difficulties and limpness.”

⁴⁷⁴ Akk. “a cheerful mood.”

⁴⁷⁵ Lit. “to turn back on.”

⁴⁷⁶ So D_X. A_M unclear.

⁴⁷⁷ Or **nig₂** as an erroneous verbal component influenced by the phrasal verb **nig₂ ra?**

⁴⁷⁸ So D_X. A_M obscure.

⁴⁷⁹ So A_M. D_X obscure.

⁴⁸⁰ Omitted in D_X.

⁴⁸¹ ...-**di-te-de₃** for ...-**duda-de₃**? (so evidently Cavigneaux: **di-te-ne** “On le frappe”).

(EN₂). The closing passage of the text clearly draws on the same tradition as the end of *Utu ursag*, using identical imagery and, in the *eršahuğa* version of the prayer, closing with the formulaic wish for the deity's heart to be restored.

Ex. 6.17 *Eršahuğa* n38–n42 15'–23'

- 15' u₂-hub-me-en dul₆-la-ab i-bi₂ nu-un-du₈
su-uk-ku-ka-ku ka-at-ma-ku ul a-na-aṭ-ṭa-al
- 16' (aḡ₂) im-mu-e-du₁₁-ga-ta im-ma-ni-diri
e-li ša₍₂₎ taq-ba-a(//taq-bi) tu-ta-at-te-er
- 17' tumu du₁₀-ga-zu (// niḡ₂ du₁₁-ga-zu) ḥa-ba-ab-ri
ša₍₂₎-ar-ka ṭa-a-bu li-ṛzi-qa¹
- 18' ^{ge}en₃-bar nir-mud¹-da-da šu mu-ṛun¹-DAB-DAB-[be₂-en]
ki-ma qa-ne₂-e ina i-di-ip-ti ṛše¹-[...]x
- 19' diḡir-ḡu₁₀ sul-a-lum-ḡu₁₀ [...]
i₃-li₂ en-ne₍₂₎-et-ti [...]
- 20' diḡir-ḡu₁₀ ki i₃-til₃-en-na-ta (//mu-e-til₃-la-ta) i-bi₂(//igi) zi bar-[mu-un-ši-ib₂]
i₍₃₎-li₍₂₎ iṣ-tu a-šar aš₂-ba-ta (// e-ma x (x)-ta)
- 21' arḥuṣ¹ tuku-ma-ra-ab ša₃-ne-ša₄-ḡu₁₀ ṛšu¹ [te-ma-ab²] (//ša₃ ib₂-ba-zu ḥa-ba-se₉-[de₃])
re-e-ma ṛri-ša¹-ma un-ni-ni-ia [liqe²] (// ša₃-ka ag-gu-li-nu-ṛḥa¹)

(*Eršahuğa* version adds:)

- 21a' [... ša₃-zu] ḥa-ma-ṛse₉¹-[de₃]
 [... lib₃]-ba-ka li-ṛnu¹-[...]
- 22' [ša₃-zu ša₃ ama] du₂(tu)-ud-da-gen₇ ki-be₂-še₃ ḥa-ṛma¹-[ge₄-ge₄]
- 23' [ama du₂-ud]-ṛda¹ aia(a.a) du₂-ud-ṛda¹-gen₇ ki-be₂-[še₃ <ḥa-ma-ge₄-ge₄>]

I am deaf! I am covered!⁴⁸² I do not see!
 You have made (things) exceed what you declared for me!
 Let your good wind blow.
 Like an *enbar*-reed in the *wind*, [you] *grasp him* ...
 My god, my sin/punishment [...]
 My god, from the place where you live, look upon me favorably!
 Have compassion for me, ac[cept] my supplication!⁴⁸³

(*Eršahuğa* version adds:)

⁴⁸² So Akkadian. Sumerian: “Cover it!”?

⁴⁸³ So n41. n40: “let your angry heart be cooled!”

Let [your heart] be cooled towards me!
 [Let your heart], like the heart of a mother who engendered (a child), return to its place for me!
 Like [(the heart of) a mother who engendered (a child)] and of a father who engendered (a child), <let it return> to its place for me!
 It is an incantation of “*cool water for* a person’s angered deity”
 [It is an *eršaḥuḡa* of] a person’s deity.

The following color-coded transliteration highlights how closely the final passages of the two compositions overlap:

Utu ursag

- 56 **‘u₂¹-ḥub₂-me-en (ma-an-dul) igi nu-du** ḥa-ma-be₂ [ša₃-be₂ ḡal₂ ḥa-ma-ab-taka₄
 niḡ₂-nam ga-zu]
‘suk²¹-ku-ka-a-ku u₂-ul a-na-aṭ-‘ṭa₂-al¹
 57 ma-mu₂-da igi nu-du ḥa-ma-be₂ ša₃-be₂ ‘ḡal₂¹ [ḥa-ma-ab]-taka₄ niḡ₂-‘nam¹ [ga-zu]
 58 **im-mi-in-du₁₁-ga-ta im-ma¹[?]-ra-ḏiri**
 [ki]-‘ma¹ **iq-bu-u₂ u₂-ta²-te-er**
 59 ḏiri nam-ku₅-da saḡ im-ma¹[?]-an-MUNŠUB
 (...) **ḡen₃-bar-‘gen⁷¹ NAR¹[?] mu-un-DAB-BE₂(-)BE₂** mu-un-sun₅¹-sun₅¹-ne-eš
 68 **tumu niḡ₂ du₁₀-ga-ke₄[?] SU** ḥu-mu-un-TUKU₅-TUKU₅-RU
 69 **ša₃ diḡir-ḡu₁₀ ki-be₂ ḥa-ma¹[?]-ge₄-ge₄**
 70 ^dutu ki al-du diḡir dur₂-ru-ne₂-eš₂ ḡeš-tu₉ ḡeštu ser₃¹[?] ga-mu-ra-‘x¹ [(x)] tab-us₂ an-ke₄
 ḥe₂-me-‘en¹
 71 sul ^dutu en dumu ^dnin-gal-ke₄ mim du₁₁-ga ka-tar-zu ga-sil

Eršaḥuḡa n38–n42

- 15’ **u₂-ḥub-me-en dul₆-la-ab i-bi₂ nu-un-du₈**
su-uk-ku-ka-ku ka-at-ma-ku ul a-na-aṭ-ṭa-al
 16’ **(aḡ₂) im-mu-e-du₁₁-ga-ta im-ma-ni-ḏiri**
 e-li ša₂ **taq-ba-a(/taq-bi) tu-ta-at-te-er**
 17’ **tumu du₁₀-ga-zu (/niḡ₂ du₁₁-ga-zu)** ḥa-ba-ab-ri
 ša₂-ar-ka ṭa-a-bu li-‘zi-qa¹
 18’ **ḡen₃-bar nir-mud¹-da-da šu(-)mu-‘un¹-DAB-DAB-[be₂-en]**
 ki-ma qa-ne₂-e ina i-di-ip-ti ‘še²¹-[...]-x
 (...) **[ša₃-zu** ša₃ ama] du₂(TU)-ud-da-gen₇ **ki-be₂-še₃ ḥa-‘ma¹-[ge₄-ge₄]**
 23’ [ama du₂-ud]-‘da¹ aia(A.A) du₂-ud-‘da¹-gen₇ **ki-be₂-[še₃ <ḥa-ma-ge₄-ge₄>]**

Although lines 57 and 59–66 of *Utu ursaĝ* are not represented in the *eršaḫūĝa* prayer, and the latter adds three lines of unique content before the heart-restoration plea, the direct relationship between the two passages is clearly apparent. The precise nature of the relationship is uncertain, but, whether the later prayer borrowed from the *širgida* itself, both texts drew from a larger, external tradition (participating in the phenomenon of *Versatzstücke* that characterizes Emesal prayers in general), or the *širgida* borrowed from an earlier version of the *eršaḫūĝa* that is no longer preserved, the shared lines reflect a shared or overlapping ritual function between the two compositions. The performance of this *širgida*, like an *eršaḫūĝa*, explicitly aimed to reconcile an individual to his or her deity and thereby to end his or her suffering. Beyond this, the particular significance of the Mesopotamian king for both *eršaḫūĝas* and *širgidas* is striking. As is well known, the ritual supplicant who spoke the words of an *eršaḫūĝa*, at least according to first-millennium evidence, was usually the king himself (see Gabbay 2014, 9 with previous literature). In the case of the *širgidas*, the major ideological and liturgical roles played by the king are treated in detail in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

6.3 Conclusions

Based on the cumulative evidence presented in this chapter, it is safe to conclude that an important ritual function *širgida* hymns could serve was to praise a deity to whom someone—possibly the king—presented offerings and prayers. Although appeasement of divine hearts in order to elicit a positive response is more often associated with lamentational compositions, the praising of a deity through hymns—especially ones that mentions the deity’s compassion and mercy alongside their majesty and power—would not be well-suited to such a goal.

Whether the association with prayer, offering, and appeasement was a defining or even consistent feature of a *širgida* hymn is more difficult to answer. The reader will have noticed that, while certain hymns have been cited repeatedly in this chapter (*Širgida* to Sud, Ninisina A, *Angim*, *Utu ursag*), other fairly well preserved *širgidas* have received little or no mention (Ninurta A, Ninurta B, Nuska A, Nuska B, Martu A). The relatively minor attention these hymns give to the topics of prayer and appeasement does not, of course, exclude the possibility that they were sung or recited to a deity of whom a request was being made, but the texts themselves are silent on the matter. Given the fairly broad nature of hymnic material in general (as opposed to laments, which deal with a more closed set of topics and tend to serve a more restricted function), it is unlikely that, based on their content alone, we will be able to identify only one specific context to which the *širgidas* are suited. Nevertheless, the identification of prayer and offering as at least one of the settings in which they were recited brings us closer to understanding their original place in Old Babylonian society and allows us to interpret their content with more awareness of its potential ideological significance.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary of the Argument of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, I have explored various aspects of Sumerian *širgida* hymns, both in terms of their textual content and in terms of their liturgical setting. In Chapter 2, I explored the general *Sitz im Leben* of the *širgida* hymns from the perspective of archaeology, tablet typology, and secondary cuneiform sources. I demonstrated that the preserved *širgida* texts, with the exception of *Angim dimma* (which had been adopted into scribal school curricula by the Old Babylonian period), fit the profile of so-called “hymnic liturgies” and should thus be considered as part of the broader Old Babylonian liturgical corpus, including both hymns and laments. This is in contrast to previous treatments of the individual *širgida* hymns, which have tended to group them together with compositions belonging to scribal, rather than liturgical, practice. I argued that the most likely context for the inscribing of *širgida* tablets was in the training of apprentice *nar*-musicians or for some other practical purpose having to do with the hymns’ recitation. I also identified the strong connections to Nippur of the preserved *širgida* hymns, and argued that they belonged primarily (though not exclusively) to its cult. Furthermore, in light of contemporary references to *širgida* hymns in Sumerian royal praise poems, I showed that the performance of *širgida* hymns, in particular, played an important role in rituals of kingship and in the royal ideology of Ur III and Old Babylonian kings. In Chapter 3, I offered structural and semantic analyses of all twelve preserved *širgida* texts, arguing that both recurring structural elements and the use of certain types of poetic language worked in conjunction with the hymns’ musical features and accompanying ritual actions to achieve a particular effect, aiming to impact both human and the divine audiences at both a cognitive and an emotional level. In Chapter 4, I further explored the role of the

Mesopotamian king in the preserved *širgida* texts. I presented new evidence to suggest that the king is a far more present figure in the *širgida* hymns than was previously recognized, and argued that they are to be considered “royal hymns” on par with hymnic types that typically mention a ruler by name, such as *adabs* and *tigis*. From the internal textual evidence, I was able to extrapolate certain elements of the *širgidas*’ performative settings and ritual aims, concluding that they were sung or recited during royal rituals—in which the king participated and in which his relationship to the praised deity was an important factor—and that they aimed to reinforce the special bond that existed between the king and the deity, both in the eyes of the deity and in the eyes of the ritual participants and viewers. In Chapters 5 and 6, I examined specific Sumerian terms used in the *širgida* texts that might shed light on the ways in which the hymns were intended to be perceived by an audience and the images or associations they might have invoked, as well as on the types of rituals to which they could have been suited. Chapter 5 presented a philologically oriented survey of material objects and loci referenced in the preserved *širgida* texts that were used in ritual ceremonies. For many of these items, I argued that their material presence in ritual and their simultaneous association with the divine mythological realm (through shared cultural knowledge and, frequently, through the words of the hymns themselves) helped to bridge the gap between the human and divine worlds, transposing the ritual participants—including, perhaps most importantly, the king—into the divine realm. In Chapter 6, I examined particular passages in the *širgida* hymns that reference prayer and offerings on the part of human supplicants and compassion and blessing on the part of divine beings. I determined that, while not all of *širgida* hymns mention these topics, they represent a dominant enough theme that we can assume that rituals involving sacrifice and supplication are at least one ritual occasion upon which *širgida* hymns were performed.

The most significant findings of this dissertation are thus (1) confirmation of the fact that the *širgida* label refers to hymns that were used in a particular ritual setting and/or performed in a particular musical style, rather than being defined by their textual content; (2) the observation that the nearly all of the known *širgida* hymns are strongly associated with the city and cult of Nippur, and that this was probably the primary location of their performance; (3) realization of the central role played by the Mesopotamian king in the *širgida* hymns and their connection to royal ritual and ideologies of kingship; and (4) recognition of the role of prayer and supplication in the performance of *širgida* hymns and their close relationship to other types of liturgical prayers. Additionally, these conclusions validate the hypothesis that a group of hymns sharing a particular liturgical subscript can productively be studied as a textual corpus, even though the criteria for classification go well beyond the textual level. I have demonstrated how approaching a liturgical corpus from the perspective of ritual practice and performative impact, focusing on the effects the textual content might have aimed to achieve in a ritual performance, rather on the text as text, can reveal new insights into the value and the socio-political significance of the corpus as a whole.

7.2 Prospects for Further Study

The results of this dissertation are naturally limited by the scope of the study, which focuses only on a single corpus of Sumerian hymns, and which in many ways represents only the groundwork for interpreting this corpus in its Old Babylonian setting. During the course of my research, a number of other topics have opened themselves up for future research. Firstly, the concepts of kingship portrayed in the verbal content of the *širgida* hymns, identified through close readings of the texts, must now be examined in light of the broader ideological discourse on kingship during the Old Babylonian period in southern Mesopotamia. The fact that only one of the

hymns preserves the name of a ruler to whose reign it can be dated complicates this investigation to some extent, royal ideologies having changed and developed in different ways under different kings and dynasties. Nevertheless, it would be fruitful to explore ways in which the *širgidas*' representation of kingship relates to other representations of kingship known throughout the period: in what ways might the ritual performance of a given *širgida* have reaffirmed dominant religio-political views of the period, helped to push these views in a new directions or shift the focus of the discourse, and/or perhaps even challenged some of these views? Now that the *širgidas* are known to belong to the realm of royal ritual, these questions can start to be addressed.

Relatedly, a second area for future research is a comparison of the verbal content of *širgida* hymns with other hymnic liturgies, especially those that likewise deal explicitly with kingship. Many of the formal features, themes, uses of affective language, and characterizations of the deity and the king that were identified in the preserved *širgida* corpus are also present in other bodies of hymns. Dedicated investigations of other hymnic types, especially *tigis* and *adabs*, that would allow for comparison across liturgical types, remains a desideratum.

APPENDIX I
TEXT PASSAGES MENTIONING *ŠIRGIDAS*

[Intended to be blank]

APPENDIX I.1 OB NIPPUR LU 587–599 AND RELATED LIST

I.1.1 OB Nippur Lu 587–599 (MSL 12, p. 54)

I.1.1.1 Sources

Siglum ⁴⁸⁴	Text	CDLI No.
A	CBS 2241 + CBS 9850 + CBS 9851 + CBS 11394 (SLT 102, PBS 12/1 9) + N 4631 + N 5222	P227886
S'	N 5169	P228396

I.1.1.2 Text⁴⁸⁵

587

A ix 23' ser₃

S' ii' 4' ser₃

588

A ix 24' ʽser₃ʼ-ku₃

S' ii' 5' ser₃-ku₃

589

A ix 25' ʽser₃ʼ-ḫa-mun

S' ii' 6' ser₃-ḫa-mun

590

A ix 26' ʽser₃ʼ-nam-nar

S' *omitted*

591

A ix 27' ʽser₃ʼ-nam-gala

S' ii' 7' ser₃-nam-gala

592

A ix 28' [ser₃]-nam-šub

S' ii' 8' ser₃-nam-šub

593

A ix 30' ser₃-nam-ERIM₂-ma

S' ii' 9' ser-nam-ʽERIM₂ʼ-ma

⁴⁸⁴ MSL 12, pp. 28–32.

⁴⁸⁵ For a translation of this section of OB Lu integrated with OrNS 70, pp. 210–211 (below), see Shehata 2009, 262–263.

594

A ix 31' ser₃-ṛgid₂¹-da
S' ii' 10' ser₃-ṛgid₂¹-[da]

595

A ix 32' ser₃-saĝ
S' ii' 11' ṛser₃¹-[...]

596

A ix 33' ser₃-ṛRI²1486 -gud

597

A ix 34' ser₃-[banda₃[?]]⁴⁸⁷-ṛda¹

598

A ix 35' ser₃-ṛama¹-ṛgan¹

599

A ix 36' ser₃-ma₂-ṛgur₈¹-[re]

I.1.2 OrNS 70, pp. 210–211 i 1'–12'⁴⁸⁸

i 1' [x]-ṛḥa¹-lam-ma
i 2' [x]-da
i 3' [x]-da
i 4' [x]-da
i 5' ṛser₃¹-gid₂-da // OB Nippur Lu 594
i 6' ṛser₃¹-nam-gala // OB Nippur Lu 591
i 7' ṛser₃¹-ṛnam¹-ĝešbun
i 8' ṛser₃¹-ṛnam¹-ERIM₂-ma // OB Nippur Lu 593
i 9' ṛser₃¹-nam-keše₂-da
i 10' ṛser₃¹-ma₂-gur₈-ra // OB Nippur Lu 599
i 11' ṛser₃¹-ša₃-ḥul₂-la
i 12' ṛser₃¹-KAL-dab-ba

⁴⁸⁶ Following DCCLT.

⁴⁸⁷ Shehata and DCCLT restore **ser₃-[ban₃]-ṛda¹**. Also possible is **ser₃-ṛda¹** (cf. MSL 12, p. 54 **šir₃-ṛx¹**). In comparison with Or 70 pp. 209ff. i 9' (below), one might expect **ser₃-[nam-keše₂]-ṛda¹**, but the lacuna is too narrow.

⁴⁸⁸ Edited in Taylor 2001. Tablet from a private collection, of unknown provenance. For a translation these lines, integrated with the Nippur version of OB Lu, see Shehata 2009, 262–263.

APPENDIX I.2 ŠULGI B 272–279

I.2.1 Sources

My score uses the sigla provided in Haayer's unpublished treatment of the text. Correspondences with the sigla in Castellino 1972, 27–29 (StSem 42) are provided in the table below. All sources are from Nippur, with the exception of U₄ (Ur) and X₁ (unprovenanced).

Haayer Siglum	StSem 42 Siglum	Text	CDLI No./Other Online Record
A ⁺⁴⁸⁹	A + z + v ⁺⁴⁹⁰	CBS 7076 + 2 unn. (STVC 52) (+) CBS 8029 + CBS 13992 (StSem 42 fg. 2) + N 2804 (StSem 42 fg. 18) + N 2805 + N 2806 + N 2807 + N 2808 + N 2809 + N 2810 + N 2811 (StSem 42 fg. 18v) + N 2812 + N 2813 + N 2814 + N 2815 + N 2816 (+) N 7450 + N 2820?	P262125
Aw	—	3N-T 575 = IM 58563 (unpublished, no image available)	P356778 (no photo)
Ax	—	Ni 4335 (unpublished, no image available)	P463115 (no photo)
Ay ⁺⁴⁹¹	R ⁺⁴⁹²	UM 29-16-451 (StSem 42 fg. 14) + N 3312A	P256948
B	B	CBS 7071 + CBS 2345 + CBS 2354 (StSem 42 pl. 1ff)	P259350
Bd	S	Ni 2503 (SRT 22)	P345314 (no photo)
Bf	U	CBS 14057 (StSem 42 fg. 2)	P269075
Bg	y	3N-T 902, 68	P356140
U ₄	w	U 16847 = UET 6/1 82	P346167 Ur Online: http://www.ur-online.org/subject/17737/
X ₁	T	AO 6712 (TCL 16 50)	P345394

I.2.2 Score⁴⁹³

272 en₃-du u₄-be₂-ta libir-ra ul-li₂-a

A+ vi 24	en ₃ -du	u ₄ -be ₂ -ta	ṛlibir ¹ -[...]]
Aw iv 3'	en ₃ -du	<		>
Ax ii 13'	en ₃ -du	u ₄ -be ₂ -a-ta	libir-ra	u ₄ ṛul ¹ -[...]
Bd r9	[...]	u ₄ [?] -be ₂ -ta	libir-ra	ul-li ₂ -a
Bf ri' 4'	ṛen ₃ ¹ -[...]]/ [...]	

⁴⁸⁹ Haayer's ms A does not include the following fragments, joined in CDLI: N 2804; N 2806; N 2810; N 2814; N 2815; N 2816.

⁴⁹⁰ Castellino's mss A + z + v include only CBS 7076 + CBS 13992 (A), N 2804 (z), and N 2811 (v).

⁴⁹¹ Haayer's ms Ay does not include N 3312A, joined in the CDLI photo.

⁴⁹² Castellino's ms R does not include N 3312A, joined in the CDLI photo.

⁴⁹³ My transliterations of mss Aw and Ax follow Haayer's unpublished manuscript. No images of these sources are available to my knowledge.

U ₄ r5'	ʔen ₃ ¹ -du	u ₄ -be ₂ -a-ta	libir-ra	ʔu ₄ ¹ ul-a-ʔaš! ¹⁴⁹⁴
X ₁ 10	en ₃ -du	u ₄ -be ₂ -ta	libir ¹ -ra	ul-li ₂ -a

273 tigi₂ za-am-za-am ŠU.IGI.DU-ĝu₁₀-ne

A+ vi 25	tigi ₂	za-am-za-ʔam ¹	[...]	
Aw iv 4'	tigi ₂	<		>
Ax ii 14'	tigi ₂	za-am-za-am	ŠU.[...]	
Bd r10	[...]	ʔza ²¹ ʔam ¹	ŠU.IGI.DU-ĝu ₁₀ -ne	
Bf ri' 5'	ʔtigi ₂ ¹⁴⁹⁵	[...]		
U ₄ r6'	ʔtigi ₂ ¹	za-am-za-am	ŠU.IGI.DU-ĝu ₁₀ -ne ¹⁴⁹⁶	
X ₁ 11	tigi ₂	za-am-za-am	ŠU.IGI.DU-ĝu ₁₀ -ne	

274 u₄ na-me lul-ŠE₃ ba-ra-pa₃ ka-ge ba-ra-bi₂-ge₄

A+ vi 26	ʔu ₄ ¹ ʔna ²¹ -ʔme ²¹	lul-ŠE ₃ ⁻	ba-ʔra ¹ -[...]	
Aw iv 5'	u ₄ na-me	lul-<		>
Ax ii 15'	u ₄ na-me	[...]		
Bd r11	[...]		ʔpa ₃ ¹	ka-ge ba-ra-bi ₂ -ge ₄
Bg 1'	[...]	ʔlul-ʔŠE ₃ ¹	ʔba ¹ -[...]	/ ka-ge ʔba ¹ -[...]
U ₄ r7'	u ₄ na-a-me	lul-ŠE ₃	ba-ra-ʔbi ₂ ¹ -pa ₃ ¹⁴⁹⁷	/ ka-ge ba-ra-bi ₂ -ge
X ₁ 12	ʔu ₄ ²¹ na-me	lul-ŠE ₃	ba-ra-pa ₃	ka-ge ba-ʔra ¹ -bi ₂ -ge ₄

275 niĝ₂ libir-ra-be₂ en₃ ħe₂-bi₂-tar-tar šub-bu-de₃ ba-ra-bi₂-šum₂

A+ vi 27	ʔniĝ ₂ ²¹ ʔlibir ¹ -ʔra ¹ -ʔbe ₂ ¹	[...]	/	ʔšub ¹ -ʔbu ²¹ -[...]	
Aw iv 6'	niĝ ₂ libir-ʔra ¹ -<				>
Ax ii 16'	(traces)				
Bg 2'	[...] ʔlibir ¹⁴⁹⁸ -ra-ba	en ₃ [...]	/	šub-bu-ʔde ₃ ²¹ [...]	
U ₄ r8'	niĝ ₂ libir-ra-be ₂	en ₃ ħe ₂ -bi ₂ -tar-tar	/	šub-bu-de ₃ ba-ra-bi ₂ -šum ₂	
X ₁ 13	niĝ ₂ libir ¹ -ra-be ₂	en ₃ ħe ₂ -bi ₂ -tar-tar		šub-bu-de ₃ ba-ra-bi ₂ -šum ₂	

276 tigi₂ za-am-za-am ki di-be₂ niĝ₂ na-ʔme²¹ ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-ga ħe₂-ni-us₂² (var. -RU²)

A+ vi 28	ʔtigi ₂ ¹ [...]		/	[...]	
B vi 1'	[...]		/	[...] ʔx ¹	ʔħe ₂ ²¹ -[X]-ʔRU ²¹⁴⁹⁹
Bg 3'	ʔtigi ₂ ¹⁵⁰⁰ za-am-za-ʔam ²¹	[...]	/	ĝeš-tu ⁹ ĝeštu ¹ -[...]	

⁴⁹⁴ Collated in Ludwig 2009 as AŠ!

⁴⁹⁵ ʔLUL¹.[BALAG]

⁴⁹⁶ Collated in Ludwig 2009 as NE!

⁴⁹⁷ Collated in Ludwig 2009 as PA₃!

⁴⁹⁸ [IGI].ʔŠE₃¹

⁴⁹⁹ Collated Jan. 7 2019. RU is likely but not certain (cf. šub in l. 278).

⁵⁰⁰ ʔLUL¹.ʔBALAG¹

U4 r10'⁵⁰¹ tigi₂ za-am-za-am ʔki¹ ʔx (x)¹ / ʔġeš¹-tu⁹ġeštu-ga ʔħe₂^{ʔ1}-[...]]
 X1 14 tigi₂ za-am-ʔza¹-ʔam¹ ki di-be₂ niġ₂ na-ʔme^{ʔ1} ʔġeš¹ ʔtu⁹ ʔġeštu-ga ħe₂-ni-ʔus₂/ri¹

277 ser₃-gid₂-da-be₂ (var. -ġa₂¹) e₂ du₁₀-ga-ġa₂ (var. ser-gid₂-da e₂ du₁₀-ga-na) pa-e₃ ħa-ba-ni-in-AK

B vi 2' ʔser₃¹-ʔgid₂¹-ʔda¹ e₂ du₁₀-ga-na / pa-ʔe₃¹ ħa-ba-ni-in-AK
 Bg 4' [...] ʔgid₂¹-da-be₂ e₂ [...]]
 U4 r9'⁵⁰² ʔser₃¹-gid₂-da-ġa₂¹⁵⁰³ e₂ du₀-ga-ġa₂ pa-ʔe₃¹ [...]]
 X1 15 ser₃-gid₂-da-be₂ ʔe₂¹ du₁₀-ga-ġa₂ pa-ʔe₃¹ [...] ʔba^{ʔ1}-ni-AK

278 niġ₂ šu-ta ba-ra-šub-ba-be₂ (var. -bu-da-[x] ^{lu-u₂ ar-mi})

B vi 3' niġ₂ šu-ta ba-ra-šub-ba-be₂
 Bg 5' [...] ʔta^{1ʔ1} ba-ʔra¹-[...]]
 U4 r11' ʔniġ₂¹ ʔšu¹-ʔta¹ ba-ra-šub-ʔbu¹(-)[...]]
 X1 16 niġ₂ šu-ta ʔba¹-ra-šub-bu-da-[x] ^{lu-u₂ ar-mi}

279 šu nam-nar-ra-ke₄/-kam ħe₂-bi₂-la₂-la₂ (^{lu-u₂ u₃?-x-x})

B vi 4' ʔšu¹ nam-nar-ra-kam ħe₂-bi₂-la₂-la₂
 Ay+ ii 1' ʔšu¹ ʔnam¹-ʔnar¹-[...]]
 Bg 6' [...] ʔnar-ʔra¹-[...]]
 U4 r12' šu ʔnam¹-[...]]
 X1 17 šu nam-nar-ra-ke₄ ħe₂-bi₂-la₂-ʔla₂¹ ^{lu-u₂ u₃? (or ši-ib-?)^{ʔx} x¹}

I.2.3 Composite Text and Translation

272 en₃-du u₄-be₂-ta libir-ra ul-li₂-a
 273 tigi₂ za-am-za-am ŠU.IGI.DU-ġu₁₀-ne
 274 u₄ na-me lul-šE₃ ba-ra-pa₃ ka-ge ba-ra-bi₂-ge₄
 275 niġ₂ libir-ra-be₂ en₃ ħe₂-bi₂-tar-tar šub-bu-de₃ ba-ra-bi₂-šUM₂
 276⁵⁰⁴ tigi₂ za-am-za-am ki di-be₂ niġ₂ na-ʔme^{ʔ1} ʔġeš¹-tu⁹ ʔġeštu-ga ħe₂-ni-US₂^ʔ (var. RU^ʔ)
 277 ser₃-gid₂-da-be₂ (y, T; w: -ġa₂¹; B: omitted) e₂ du₁₀-ga-ġa₂ (y, w; B: -na) pa-e₃ ħa-ba-ni-in-AK
 278 niġ₂ šu-ta ba-ra-šub-ba-be₂ (var. -bu-da-[x] ^{lu-u₂ ar-mi})
 279. šu nam-nar-ra-ke₄/-kam ħe₂-bi₂-la₂-la₂ (^{lu-u₂ u₃?-x-x})

The hymns (en₃-du) from ancient times, ancient things of old,

⁵⁰¹ This source reverses the order of lines 276 and 277.

⁵⁰² This source reverses the order of lines 276 and 277.

⁵⁰³ Collated in Ludwig 2009 as ĠA₂¹. Castellino reads -ta. -ġa₂ perhaps influenced by ser₃-ġa₂ in line 291?

⁵⁰⁴ One source (w = UET 6/1 82) reverses the order of lines 276 and 277.

the *tigis* and *zamzams* of my predecessors—
 I never *had them recited*⁵⁰⁵ *falsely*, I did not *reject them*.
 I cared for *those*⁵⁰⁶ ancient things and did not *let them be forgotten*.
 I ... *everything* in/of wisdom at the place where the *tigis* and *zamzams* are *played*.⁵⁰⁷
 I made *their*⁵⁰⁸ *širgidas* appear in full glory in my⁵⁰⁹ good house.
*Those*⁵¹⁰ things that had fallen from the hand,
 I “attached to the hand” of *nar*-musicianship.

I.2.4 Selected Commentary

Line 273

ŠU.IGI.DU

For ŠU.IGI.DU “preceding, previous; predecessor” (Akk. *maḥra*), see the commentary to SEpM 21 6 in Kleinerman 2011, 179, with previous literature. Note also the use of ŠU.IGI.DU in the Sin-iddinam inscription from Maškan-šapir (Steinkeller in Stone and Zimansky 2004) ii 29 and in Warad-Sin 12 (RIME 4.2.13.12) (Attinger 2019k, s.v. ŠU.IGI.DU adj. and ŠU.IGI.DU s.).

Line 274

lul-ŠE₃ pa₃

On this usage of **pa₃**, as a verb of speech or recitation with songs as the direct object, see Shehata 2009, 283 with n. 1632 and Klein and Sefati 2014, 87 n. 21. For **lul-ŠE₃ pa₃**, see Lämmerhirt 287–288 (“etwas falsch wiedergeben”) and cf. esp. Iddin-Dagan D 75 **mu lul-e-eš pa₃**.

⁵⁰⁵ Literally “revealed.”

⁵⁰⁶ Or “their (i.e. the predecessors?) ancient things.”

⁵⁰⁷ One source (w = UET 6/1 82) reverses the order of this line and the next (276 and 277).

⁵⁰⁸ The predecessors? Or “*those širgidas*.” Ms w: “(everything) of my? *širgidas*.”

⁵⁰⁹ B: “his” (scribal error?).

⁵¹⁰ Or “their.”

ka-ge ge₄

For **ka-ge ge₄**, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 653 ex. D 15 with n. 51, with previous literature.

Line 277

-be₂

The ambiguity of the suffix **be₂**—either a the third person non-human/collective possessive suffix (“its,” “their”) or a demonstrative suffix (“these,” “those”)—makes precise interpretation of the form **ser₃-gid₂-da-be₂** in line 277 difficult (written with **-be₂** in two of the four sources; omitted in one source, written **-ga₂¹** in another). In contrast to most previous translations of the line, I tentatively take **be₂** as a possessive suffix rather than a demonstrative, translating “their *širgidas*.”⁵¹¹ If this interpretation is correct, the most likely referent of the suffix is Šulgi’s predecessors, whose *tigis* and *zamzams* have already been mentioned in line 273. Less likely but not impossible is a possessive suffix referring to the place or places of performance mentioned in line 276.⁵¹² In any case, regardless of whether the *širgidas* are explicitly marked as belonging to Šulgi’s ancestors, the conclusion seems unavoidable that they are ancient hymns, rather than contemporary hymns composed by Šulgi’s scholars or musicians.

pa-e₃ AK

For the image of songs or hymns “appearing in full glory” (**pa e₃**), cf. Nanše A 121 and Šulgi E 252.

⁵¹¹ So also Ludwig 1990, 51: “deren **šir₃-gid₂-da**.” Contrast, e.g., ETCSL: “those *šir-gida* songs,” Shehata 2009, 277: “Jene **Širgida**,” Ceccarelli 2016, 195 ad b 101: “Diese *sergida*-Lieder.”

⁵¹² Although one source delays mention of the place of performance until the following line (reversing the order of lines 276 and 277), this is the same source that writes **ser₃-gid₂-da-ga₂¹** in place of **ser₃-gid₂-be₂**.

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APPENDIX I.3 ŠULGI E 23–30, 54

I.3.1 Sources

Siglum ⁵¹³	Text	CDLI No./Other Online Record
A _x	FK 26a = TCD 4687/8 (PBS 10/2 7)	P463117 (no photo)
B _x	AO 5380 (TCL 15 14)	P345358
C _x	YBC 7152 (YOS 22 13)	P357305 (no photo) ⁵¹⁴ Yale Peabody Museum: https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-021216 (no photo)
D _N	Ni 4378 (ISET 1 p. 147, pl. 89) (+) Ni 4504 (ISET 1 p. 158, pl. 100)	P343275 (no photo)
F _N	N 1762 + N 1788 + N 6064 + N 1448 (BPOA 9 138) (all BPOA 9 pl. 28)	P276591
G _N	CBS 13298 (STVC 71) + CBS 15130 + N 960 + N 2879 (BPOA 9 139)	P268379
H _N	Ni 4519 (ISET 1 p. 162, pl. 104) (+) Ni 4595 (ISET 1 p. 166, pl. 108)	P343330 (no photo)
I _N	N 3281 + N 3450 (BPOA 9 140) + N 3487 + N 3497	P467839

I.3.2 Score of ll. 23–30

23 sig-še₃ ġeš⁵¹⁵tukul ab-be₂ bala-e-ġa₂

A _X 23	sig-še ₃ ⁻	ġeš ⁵¹⁵ tukul ⁵¹⁶	ab-e	bala-ʾx ¹ [...] -ġa ₂ LA ₂ ?
C _X 23	sig-še ₃ ^{!?} ⁵¹⁷	ġeš ⁵¹⁵ tukul	ab-e	bala-e-ke ₄
D _N 7 ^c	[...]	ġeš ⁵¹⁵ tukul	ab-be ₂	bala-[...]
F _N i 8 ^c	[...]	ġeš ⁵¹⁵ tukul	ʾab ¹ -be ₂ ?	bala-e-ġa ₂

24 kur elam^{ki} u₂ abula-gen₇ dab₅-be₂ ma-gid₂-da


A _X 24	kur elam ^{ki}	u ₂ abula-gen ₇	ʾdab ₅ ¹ [...] ʾx ¹ -gid ₂ -da
C _X 24	kur elam ^{ki}	u ₂ -abula-gen ₇	dab ₅ -be ₂ ʾma ¹ -ʾgid ₂ ¹ _(x) -id [?] ¹ -da DU-da?
D _N 8 ^c	[...]	ʾabula ¹ -gen ₇	ʾdab ₅ ¹ -ʾbe ₂ ¹ ʾma ¹ -[...]
F _N i 9 ^c	[...] ʾelam ^{1ki}	u ₂ ʾabula ¹ -ʾgen ₇ ¹	ʾdab ₅ ¹ -be ₂ ʾma [?] ¹ -ʾgid ₂ [?] ¹ -ʾda [?] ¹

25 igi-nim-ta UN še-gen₇ dul-le-ġa₂

⁵¹³ I assigned each source a siglum based on the order in which they are listed in Klein 1991, 40. The subscript letters refer to provenance: N = Nippur, X = unknown provenance.

⁵¹⁴ I am grateful to K. Wagensonner for providing me with RTI images of this tablet.

⁵¹⁵ ĠA₂ in copy.

⁵¹⁶ TUG₂ in copy: .

⁵¹⁷ Drawn as SIK₂ or U₈ in copy.

A _X 25	igi-nim-ta	UN še-gen ₇	dul-le ġa₂¹ LA₂⁵¹⁸
C _X 25	igi-nim-ta	UN ¹ še ¹ - ¹ gen ₇ ²¹	[...]- ¹ ġa ₂ ¹
D _N 9 ⁴	[...]- ¹ ta ¹	UN [...]	
F _N i 10 ⁴	[x]- ¹ nim ¹ -ta	¹ UN ¹ še- ¹ gen ₇ ¹	¹ dul ²¹ - ¹ le ¹ -ġa ₂

26 kur za₃ til-la-aš me₃ ¹DU²¹-ġa₂

A _X 26	kur za ₃ ⁵¹⁹	til-la ²⁵²⁰ -aš	me ₃ ⁵²¹ [...]NI LA ₂ ²
C _X 26	kur za ₃	til-la-aš	¹ me ₃ ¹ [...]ġa ₂
F _N i 11 ⁴	[...]	til-la-a-aš ²	¹ me ₃ ¹ ¹ DU ²¹ -ġa ₂

27 anše šu-ge₄ kaskal ma₂ nu-¹x (x)¹ nim²-ta DU-ġa₂

A _X 27	anše šu ² -ge ₄ ²	kaskal ¹ ma ₂ ¹ nu- ¹ x ¹ [(x)]	¹ nim ²¹⁵²² -ta DU ²⁵²³ -ġa ₂
C _X 27	anše šu-ge ₄	kaskal ma ₂ ¹ nu ²¹ - ¹ x ¹	¹ nim ²¹⁵²⁴ -ta DU ⁵²⁵ -ġa ₂
F _N i 12 ⁴	[...] šu-ge ₄	kaskal ma ₂ nu- ¹ x (x) ¹	¹ nim ²¹⁵²⁶ - ¹ ta ²¹ - ¹ x (x) ¹

28 šu TUKU₄-a ki-ġiri₃-ġen-na-ġa₂

A _X 28	šu TUKU ₄ ⁵²⁷ -a	ki ġiri ₃ -ġen-na- ke₄²
C _X 28	šu TUKU ₄ -a	ki- ¹ ġiri ₃ ¹ -ġen-na- ġu₁₀
F _N i 13 ⁴	¹ šu ¹ ¹ TUKU ₄ ¹ -a	¹ ki ¹ ¹ ġiri ₃ ¹ - ¹ ġen ¹ -na-ġa ₂

29 ser₃-gid₂-da a-a-¹ar¹ (var. ar₂) nam-lugal(-la)

A _X 29	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	ar₂⁵²⁸	nam-lugal-la
C _X 29	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	ar₂	¹ nam ¹ -lugal-la
F _N i 14 ⁴	¹ ser ₃ ¹ -gid ₂ -da	a-a- ¹ ar ¹	¹ nam ¹ -lugal

30 šumun-ša₄ kuġ₂-ġar bala-bala-e-be₂ mu-ši-in-ġar-ġar-re-eš₂ (var. -ra)

A _X 30	šumun-ša ₄	kuġ ₂ -{x}-ġar	bala-bala-e-be ₂	mu- ši-ġar-ġar-ra
C _X 30	šumun-ša ₄	kuġ ₂ -ġar	bala-bala-e-be ₂	mu-ši-in-ġar-ġar-re-eš
F _N i 15'-16'	ša¹-mu-ša₄	kuġ ₂ -ġar	bal- ¹ bal ¹ - ¹ e ¹ -be ₂ /	¹ mu ¹ -ši-in-ġar-ġar-re- ¹ eš ₂ ¹

⁵¹⁸ -**ġa₂** LA₂, written as ligature.

⁵¹⁹ GUB in copy.

⁵²⁰ DU in copy.

⁵²¹ AK in copy.


⁵²² Or KUŠU₂.

⁵²³ DU in copy.

⁵²⁴ Or KUŠU₂.

⁵²⁵ Or KAŠ₄.

⁵²⁶ Or KUŠU₂.

⁵²⁷ TUG₂ in copy: .

⁵²⁸ TE in copy.

I.3.3 Score of l. 54

54 ser₃-gid₂-da a-a-ar nam-lugal(-la)

A _X r 21	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	ar ₂	nam-lugal-la	
B _X ii 13	ser ₃ -gid ₂ - ¹ da ¹	¹ a ¹ -a-ar	nam-lugal	
G _N 17	šar ₃ -gid ₂ - ¹ da ¹	a-a-ar	¹ nam ¹ -[...]	
H _N i 4'	[...]	¹ ar ¹	nam-lugal	
I _N ii 9	¹ ser ₃ ¹ - ¹ gid ₂ ¹ -[...]			

I.3.4 Composite Text and Translation of ll. 23–30

- 23 sig-še₃ ^{ĝeš}tukul ab-be₂ bala-e-ĝa₂
 24 kur elam^{ki} u₂ abula-gen₇ DAB₅-be₂ ma-gid₂-da
 25 igi-nim-ta UĜ₃ še-gen₇ dul-le-ĝa₂
 26 kur za₃ til-la-aš me₃ DU[?]-ĝa₂
 27 anše šu-ge₄ kaskal ma₂ nu-¹x (x) nim[?]-ta DU-ĝa₂
 28 šu TUKU₄-a ki-ĝiri₃-ĝen-na-ĝa₂
 29 ser₃-gid₂-da a-a-¹ar¹ (var. ar₂) nam-lugal(-la)
 30 šumun-ša₄ kuĝ₂-ĝar bala-bala-e-be₂ mu-ši-in-ĝar-ĝar-re-eš₂ (var. -ra)

As for the fact that I bring weapons across the sea,⁵²⁹ to the south,
 that the land of Elam, ... like grass *at the gate*, *stretched out* for me,⁵³⁰
 that I cover the *people like grain*, from the north,
 that I *send*[?] battle to the very ends of the foreign land,
 that I ... old donkey *of the road*, ... *boat* ...,
 my exploits ... :
 they (= the masters *and composers of* ...) ⁵³¹ composed *širgidas*, royal praise,
šumunšas, *kunĝars*, and *balbales* of these things!

I.3.5 Selected Commentary

Line 24

u₂ abula-gen₇ DAB₅-be₂ ma-gid₂-da

⁵²⁹ Lit. “my making weapons cross over the sea.”

⁵³⁰ Or “*stretched out ... for me like grass at the gate*”?

⁵³¹ **um-mi-a** MIR[?](-re) ĝar-ĝar-ĝu₁₀-ne (l. 20).

The reference to Elam “stretching out” (**gid₂**) like grass (**u₂**) would appear to evoke the image of grass growing long (**gid₂**), particularly associated with scenes of destruction and desolation. I know of no other images of grass growing long at a gate (**abula**), but images of grass overgrown in pathways, at walls, etc., do occur.

The significance of **DAB₅-be₂** is unclear. Perhaps, if one accepts Sövegjártó’s observation that the equative suffix **{gen₇}** need not occur at the end of the NP it marks (Sövegjártó 2010, 7), something like “Elam stretched out for me like grass seizing a gate.”

Lines 29–30

-be₂

I understand the possessive suffix **{be₂}** attached to the hymnic types in l. 30 as part of an anticipatory genitive construction: literally, “Of my (...), they composed its (...)songs.” Also possible is to understand the final /a/ of the preceding lines as locative, expressing the content of the hymns, in which case **{be₂}** in l. 30 could be taken as demonstrative.

mu-ši-in-ġar-ġar-re-eš₂

The subject of the verb is specified in line 20 as **um-mi-a MIR[?](-re) ġar-ġar-ġu₁₀-ne** “masters and composers of” My reading of the signs **MIR[?](-re)** is extremely tentative. A score is provided here:

Ex. I.1 Šulgi E 20

A _X 20	um-mi-a	MIR [?] -r ¹ x ¹	[(x x)] (-)r ¹ ge ¹ -MU-ne-zu
B _X i 20	um-mi-a	MIR [?] -re	ġar-ġar-r ¹ ġu ₁₀ ¹ -ne
C _X 20	um-mi-a	MIR [?]	ġar-ġar-ġu ₁₀ -ne
D _N 4'	[...]-r ¹ a ² ¹	r ¹ MIR [?] ¹ -re	ġa ₂ -r ¹ ar ² ¹ -[...]
F _N i 4'	[...]-r ¹ a ¹	r ¹ MIR [?] ¹ -re	ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ -ġu ₁₀ -ne

Proposed interpretations of the signs read **MIR[?](-re)** have included: **kur₄-kur₄(!)** (composite text);⁵³² **kur₄'-kur₄'(NĠIN)-re** (ms B_X);⁵³³ **ad[?] x** (ms A_X);⁵³⁴ and **x x RI** (ms D_N).⁵³⁵ Figure I.1 provides images of the signs in question from the available handcopies and photographs. The only signs I can think of that might potentially fit the traces in all five sources are **MIR[?](-re)**.⁵³⁶ However, this is extremely tentative, and would assume a mistake in at least some of the handcopies, and provides no clear meaning. Collation is required for all of the sources.



None of the readings proposed so far, including **MIR[?](-re)**, provides a satisfactory meaning. For discussion of the term and possible interpretations, along with the evidently parallel term **ŠIR₃.NAR** occurring Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 375 and elsewhere, see esp. Klein 1990, 76 n. 50 (“perhaps both **kur₄-kur₄** in [Šulgi E] 20 and **ŠIR₃.NAR(-d)** in [Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 369–375] could represent an underlying /kurkudr/ ‘entertainment,’ ‘music,’ ‘entertaining songs’ or the like”) and Ludwig 1990, 189–195 ad Z. 12, 17–28, esp. 190 (**NĠIN.RI/ŠIR₃.NAR ġar-ġar**: “Liederkomponisten?” **NĠIN.RI/ŠIR₃.NAR** possibly referring to a particular “Liedgattung”).

⁵³² Klein 1990, 73, 76 n. 50.

⁵³³ Ludwig 1990, 35, 41 n. 70, 190; Lämmerhirt 2012, 11 with n. 82, **NĠIN** collated.

⁵³⁴ Ludwig 1990, 190 n. 465; Lämmerhirt 2012, 11 n. 83.

⁵³⁵ Ludwig 1990, 190 n. 465.

⁵³⁶ In ms C, cf. the general shape of **AGA** in rev. 1  and rev. 9 .

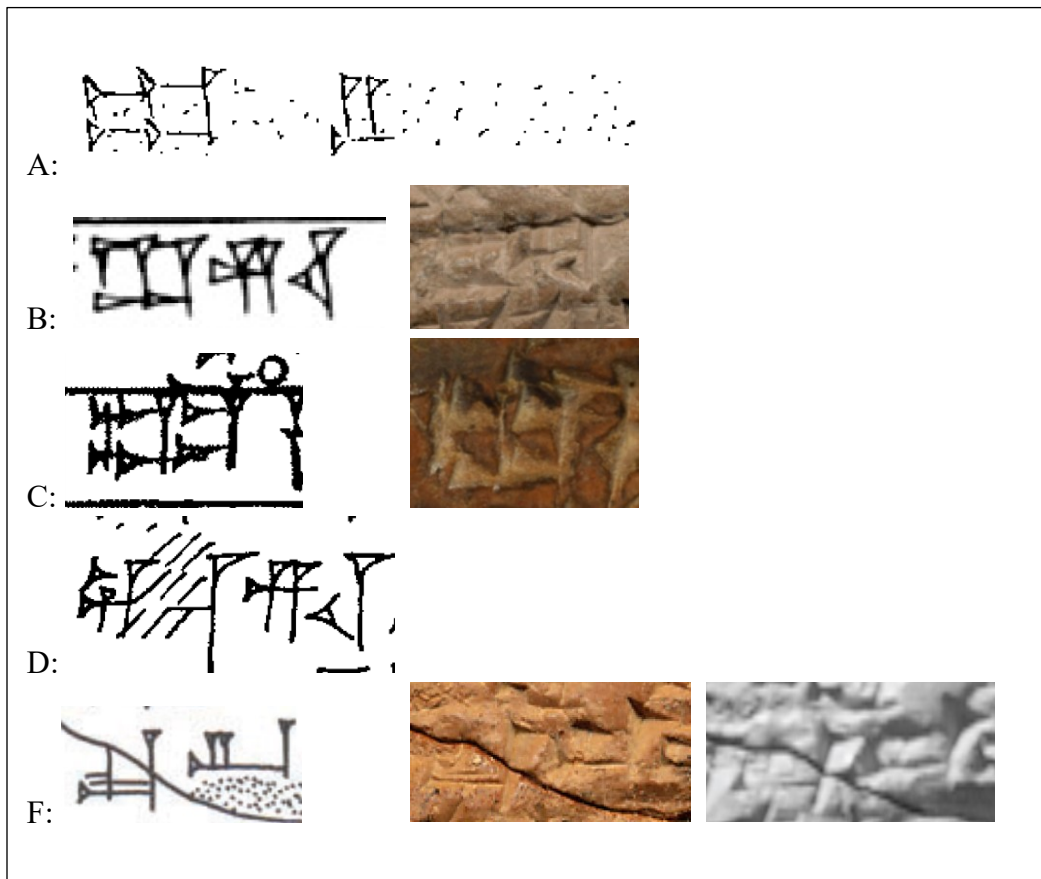


Figure I.1 *MIR²(-re)* in Šulgi E 20⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ All photos are from CDLI, with the following exceptions: the photo of ms C is a screen-capture from the RTI image provided by K. Wagensonner; the second photo of ms F is from BPOA 9 pl. 28. For the handcopies, see the table of sources above.

APPENDIX I.4 IŠME-DAGAN A+V SEG. A 335–339

I.4.1 Sources

Mss. E+ and N are from Nippur; ms I+ is from Ur.

Siglum ⁵³⁸	Text	CDLI no.	Comments
E + F + O+ ⁵³⁹	CBS 13904 (SEM 112) + CBS 14028 (STVC 74) + CBS 14137 (STVC 125) + N 2823 (both BPOA 9 167) + CBS 15116 + N 874 + N 7461 + UM 29-16-760 (all BPOA 9 pl. 36)	P268914	
N	UM 29-13-598	P255529	<i>Kurzzeilen</i>
I + Išme-Dagan “V” ms C	UET 6/3 529 (*16 + *145 + *208a) (photo SANTAG 2 pl. 8)	P346567	<i>Kurzzeilen</i>

I.4.2 Score

335 a-da-ab tigi₂ 'šumun-ša₄¹ ma-al-ga-tum

E+ iv 7' a-da-ab tigi₂ 'šumun¹-š₄¹ ma-al-ga-/tum
N vi 5'-8' a-¹da¹-¹ab¹ // ¹tigi¹ // 'šumun¹-š₄¹ // ¹ma¹-¹al¹-¹ga¹-[]

336 ser₃-gid₃-da <za₃>-mim nam-¹lugal-ĝu₁₀ ša₃¹-be₂ niĝ₂ til-¹la¹

E+ iv 8' ser₃-gid₂-da mim nam-¹lugal¹-ĝu₁₀¹ ša₃¹-be₂ ¹niĝ₂¹ til-¹la¹
N vi 9'-11' ¹ser₃¹-¹gid₂¹-¹da¹// [...]
I ri' 1' [...] // niĝ₂ ¹x¹ [...]

337 a-ra-ḫi bala-bala-¹e¹ za-am-za-am kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂

E+ iv 9' a-ra-ḫi bala-bala-¹e¹ za-am-¹za¹-am kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂
N vi 12'-15' []-¹x¹-[] // ¹bala¹-bala-¹e¹ // ¹za¹-¹am¹-¹za¹-am // kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂
I+ ri' 2-5' a-¹ra₂¹-[] // bala-¹bala¹-[] // za-am-za-[] // kuĝ₂-ĝar-¹be₂¹

338 nar-gal an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a

E+ iv 10' ¹nar¹-gal an-¹zu¹-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a
N vi 16'-17' nar-gal an-zu-ne // ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a
I+ ri' 6'-7' nar-gal an-zu-/e-ne // ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-¹am₃¹

⁵³⁸ Ludwig 1990, 2–3 (Išme-Dagan “A”), 19–20 (Išme-Dagan “V”). All sigla are for Ludwig’s “Išme-Dagan A” unless otherwise noted.

⁵³⁹ E = CBS 13904 + CBS 14028; F = CBS 15116; O = UM 29-16-760. Ludwig’s mss E, F, and O do not include the following fragments: CBS 14137, N 2823, N 874, N 7461.

339 en₃-du ki du₁₂-ba mu-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-gal-eš-a

E+ iv 11' [en₃]-[du¹ [ki¹ du₁₂-ba mu-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-gal-eš-a
 N vi 18'-20' en₃-du [ki¹ [du₁₂¹-ba // mu-ĝu₁₀ // mi-ni-gal-eš-a
 I+ ri' 8'-11' en₃-[du¹ // ki du₁₂-a-[] // mu-[] // mi-ni-[gal¹]-[...]

I.4.3 Composite Text and Translation

A335 a-da-ab tigi₂ [šumun-ša₄¹ ma-al-ga-tum
 A336 ser₃-gid₂-da <za₃>-mim nam-[lugal-ĝu₁₀ ša₃¹-be₂ niĝ₂ til-[la¹
 A337 a-ra-ḫi bala-bala-[e¹ za-am-za-am kuĝ₂-ĝar-be₂
 A338 nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a
 A339 en₃-du ki du₁₂-ba mu-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-gal-eš-a

*Their*⁵⁴⁰ *adabs*, *tigis*, *šumunšas*, *malgatums*,
širgidas, my royal praise, whose content is *complete*,⁵⁴¹
arahis, *balbales*, *zamzams*, and *kunĝars*—
 that the wise *nar*-singers have composed them for me,
 that they have made my name great in the places where hymns (en₃-du) are played (du₁₂),
 ...

⁵⁴⁰ I.e. the *nar*-musicians'? Or: "Those."

⁵⁴¹ Lit. "a complete thing."

APPENDIX I.5 DIALOGUE 2 110–115

I.5.1 Sources

All sources are from Nippur, with the exception of ms *W_{Civil}* (Ur).

Siglum (Wilcke) ⁵⁴²	Siglum (Civil) ⁵⁴³	Text	CDLI No.
—	A	A 24192	
A + A' ⁵⁴⁴	B	HS 1606 (TMH 3 42; Wilcke Koll. pp. 36–40) + Ni 9497 (ISET 1 165) + UM 29-15-197: i 1–iv 4'	HS 1606: P345637 ⁵⁴⁵ (no photo)
—	C ⁵⁴⁶	3N-T 336 (= UM 55-21-307) + 3N-T 406 (= IM 38463)	3N-T 336: P257246
—	K	N 4104 + N 4115	P278992
D ⁵⁴⁷	H	Ni 4056 (ISET 2 97) + Ni 4114 + Ni 4139 (both ISET 2 108) + Ni 4241 (ISET 2 108)	Ni 4056 + Ni 4241: P343761 (no photo) Ni 4114 + Ni 4139: P480133 (no photo)
N	I	Ni 4384 (ISET 1 p. 148, pl. 90)	P343277 (no photo)
—	G'	CBS 15004	P269583
—	L	N 1049 + N 3370	P276195
R	M(?)	Ni 9907 (ISET 2 92)	P343751 (no photo)
—	—	CBS 10397	P265614
—	W	UET 6/3 634 (*248)	P346671

I.5.2 Provisional Score⁵⁴⁸

110 **nam-nar-e nu-ub-du₇**(var. DU) **kiĝ₂-ge₄-a-aš la-ba-ab-du₇** (var. DU)

A _{Civil} iii 16	nam-nar-e	nu-ub-du ₇	kiĝ ₂ - ¹ ge ₄-[...]	]-¹ du ₇
A _{Wilcke} /B _{Civil} ii 26'	nam-nar-e	nu-ub-du ₇	kiĝ ₂ -ge ₄ -a-aš	la-ba-ab- ¹]- ¹ du ₇
C' _{Civil} iv 7'	nam- nar	nu-ub- DU	kiĝ ₂ -ge ₄ -a-aš	la-ba-ab- ² -du ₇
G' _{Civil} r3'	[...]			]-ba-ab-du ₇
D _{Wilcke} /H _{Civil} r16'	nam-[...]	nu-ub- ¹ du ₇	kiĝ ₂ -[...]-a-aš	la-ba-ab- DU
N _{Wilcke} /I _{Civil} ii' 3'	nam- nar	nu- ¹ ub ² -[...]]
K _{Civil} iii 7'	nam- ¹ nar ¹ -e	nu-ub- DU	¹ kiĝ ₂ - ¹ ge ₄ -[...]	/ la-ba-ab- ¹ du ₇
L _{Civil} r5	[...]-e	nu-ub- DU /	[]-ge ₄ -a-aš	la-ba-ab-du ₇

⁵⁴² These sigla are provided in Wilcke 1976b, 37 (through N), supplemented by Attinger 1993, 33 (through U).

⁵⁴³ These sigla are used in an unpublished manuscript of Civil's.

⁵⁴⁴ Wilcke's mss A (HS 1606) + A' (Ni 9497) does not include UM 29-15-197.

⁵⁴⁵ HS 1606 + Ni 9497 is also mistakenly listed in the CDLI record for HS 1606a: [P343150](#) (no photo). UM 29-15-197 (?) is included in the record for Ni 9492: [P343353](#) (no photo).

⁵⁴⁶ Civil's ms C comprises 3N-T 406 + 3N-T 336. Since I acquired images of the two fragments at different times, the former is included in my score as C_{Civil} and the latter as C'_{Civil}.

⁵⁴⁷ Wilcke's ms D includes only Ni 4114 + Ni 4139. Attinger 1993, 33 notes the two additional pieces.

⁵⁴⁸ I have not collated any of the sources, and many of the photos available to me are difficult to read. A complete edition of this composition is in preparation by M. Ceccarelli.

111 e₂ lu₂-še₃ u₃-(un)-ĝen lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-sa₂-e

ACivil iii 17	e ₂ lu ₂ -še ₃	u ₃ -un-ĝen	ʽlu ₂ ʼ	[]
AWilcke/BCivil ii 27'	e ₂ lu ₂ -še ₃	u ₃ -un-ĝen	lu ₂	nu-mu-e-da-sa ₂ -ʽ(ʁ)ʼ	
C'Civil iv 8'	e ₂ lu ₂ -še ₃	u₃-ĝen	lu ₂	nu-mu-un-da-sa ₂ -e	
DWilcke/HCivil	<i>omitted</i>				
NWilcke/ICivil ii' 4'	e ₂ lu ₂ -še ₃	ʽu ₃ ʼ- [...]
KCivil iii 8'	e ₂ ʽlu ₂ ʼ-še ₃	u₃-ĝen	lu ₂	nu- [...]
LCivil r6	[...]	]-ʽĝenʼ	ʽlu ₂ ʼ	ʽnuʼ-ʽmuʼ-ʽx xʼ	
WCivil r1'	[] ʽlu ₂ ʼ-ʽše ₃ ʼ	[...]]

112 a₂-ne₂ ĝal₂ u₃-bi₂-in-gaka₄ ser₃-gid₂-da nu-ub-be₂

ACivil iii 18	a ₂ -ne ₂	ĝal ₂	u ₃ -bi ₂ -ʽinʼ- [...]
AWilcke/BCivil ii 28'	a ₂ -ne ₂	ĝal ₂	u ₃ -< bi₂ >-in-ʽtaka ₄ ʼ	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	nu-ʽubʼ-ʽbe ₂ ʼ
C'Civil iv 9'	ʽa ₂ ʼ- ne₂	ĝal ₂	im ² -taka ₄	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	nu-ub-be ₂
DWilcke/HCivil r17'	ʽa ₂ ʼ-ʽne ₂ ʼ	ĝal ₂	u ₃ -bi ₂ -ʽinʼ-taka ₄	ser ₃ -gid ₂ -da	nu-ub-be ₂
NWilcke/ICivil ii' 5'	a ₂ -ne ₂	ĝal ₂	[...]]
KCivil iii 9'	a ₂ -ne ₂	ĝal ₂	u ₃ -bi ₂ -ʽinʼ- [...] /	ser ₃ -<< da >>-gid ₂ -da	nu-ʽubʼ- [...]
LCivil r7	ʽa ₂ ʼ- ne₂	ʽĝal ₂ ʼ	u ₃ -bi ₂ - [...] /	ʽser ₃ ʼ-gid ₂ -ʽdaʼ	ʽnuʼ- [...]
WCivil r2'	ʽa ₂ ʼ- ne₂	ĝal ₂	ʽu ₃ ʼ- [...]

113 igi dumu um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃ u₃-ba-tuš tigi₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-be₂

ACivil iii 19	igi	dumu um-mi-a-ke ₄ -ne-ʽše ₃ ²¹	[...]	/ tigi ₂ a-da-ab ʽxʼ [...]
AWilcke/BCivil ii 29 ⁶	igi	dumu um-mi-a-ʽke ₄ ¹ -še ₃	u ₃ -ba-tuš	/ tigi ₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-ʽbe ₂ ¹
C ⁷ Civil iv 10 ⁷	igi	dumu um-mi-a-ʽke ₄ ²¹ -še ₃	u ₃ -ba-tuš	/ tigi ₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-be ₂
DWilcke/HCivil	omitted			
NWilcke/ICivil ii ⁸ 6 ⁸	igi	dumu ʽum ¹ -ʽmi ¹ -[]
KCivil iii 10 ⁹		dumu um-mi-a- še₃	u ₃ -ba-[]	/ tigi ₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-[]
LCivil r8	ʽigi ²¹	ʽdumu ¹ ʽum ¹ -[...]-ʽše ₃ ¹	u ₃ -[]	/ ² [...] ʽ(x) ¹ [...]]-ʽbe ₂ ¹
CBS 10397 r1 ⁹	[...]			
WCivil r3 ⁹	ʽigi ¹	dumu um-mi-a-ʽke ₄ ¹ -[...]		

114 e-LIL₂-la₂ šu-ne₂-še₃ la-ba-ab-du₇-(un) lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-ĥul₂-e

ACivil iii 20	e ² -LIL ₂ -la ₂	šu-ne ₂	la-ba-ab ² - [...] /	lu ₂ nu-mu-un-ʽdaʼ- [...]
AWilcke/BCivil ii 30'	e-LIL ₂ ² -la ₂	šu-ne ₂ -ʽše ₃ ʼ	la-ba-ab-du ₇	/ lu ₂ nu-mu-e-ʽdaʼ-ĥul ₂ -e
C'Civil iv 11'	e-KAL²-le₂	šu-ne ₂ -ʽše ₃ ʼ	la-ba-ab-du ₇ - un	/ lu ₂ nu-mu-un-da-ĥul ₂ -e
DWilcke/HCivil r18'	[...]-ʽla ₂ ʼ ²	šu-ne ₂ -še ₃	la-ʽbaʼ-ab-ʽdu ₇ ʼ	ʽlu ₂ ʼ nu-un-da-ĥul₂-le
NWilcke/ICivil ii' 7'	e-LIL ₂ - e	ʽšuʼ- [...]
KCivil iii 11'	[]-ʽx xʼ	ʽšuʼ-ne ₂ -še ₃	[...] / [...]	
CBS 10397 r2'	[...]			ʽlu ₂ ʼ ʽnuʼ-mu-da-ĥul ₂ - le
WCivil r4'	ʽe ¹ -KA ₂ - x	šu-ne ₂	ʽlaʼ ² - [...]

115 u₃ ze₄-e nam-lu₂-lu₇ (var. lu₂) al-ge-na ka-ba a-ab-si

ACivil iii 21	u ₃ ze ₄ -e	lu ₂	al-ge-na	ʽkaʽ ¹ -[...]	
AWilcke/BCivil ii 31'	u ₃ ze ₄ -e	lu ₂	ʽgeʽ ¹ -na	ka-be ₂	a-ab-ʽsiʽ ¹
C'Civil iv 12'	u ₃ ze ₄ -e	nam-lu ₂ -lu ₇	al-ge-na	ka-ba	abʽ ¹ -siʽ ¹ 549
DWilcke/HCivil r19'	[...]	ʽx x xʽ ¹	ʽalʽ ¹ -ʽgeʽ ¹ 550-ʽnaʽ ¹	ʽkaʽ ¹ -ba	a-ab-si
NWilcke/ICivil ii' 8'	u ₃ ze ₄ -e	ʽnamʽ ¹-[...]		] / saġ-ʽbaʽ ¹	[...]
RWilcke/MCivil 1'	traces				
CBS 10397 r3'	[...]		] -ʽnaʽ ¹	ka-ba	ab-si
WCivil r5'	ʽu ₃ ¹ ze ₄ -e	nam-lu ₂ (-)[...]]

I.5.3 Composite Text and Provisional Translation

- 110 nam-nar-e nu-ub-du₇ (var. DU) kiġ₂-ge₄-a-aš la-ba-ab-du₇ (var. DU)
 111 e₂ lu₂-še₃ u₃-(un-)ġen lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-sa₂-e
 112 a₂-ne₂ ġal₂ u₃-bi₂-in-taka₄ ser₃-gid₂-da nu-ub-be₂
 113 igi dumu um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃ u₃-ba-tuš tigi₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-be₂
 114 e-LIL₂-la₂ šu-ne₂-še₃ la-ba-ab-du₇ lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-ħul₂-e
 115 u₃ ze₄-e nam-lu₂-lu₇ (var. lu₂) al-ge-na (var. ge-na) ka-ba a-ab-si

(To onlookers/arbiter):

He is not suited to the craft of the *nar*-musician; he is not suited to the work.

When he enters a man's house, ...

When he opens his arms (wide), he cannot articulate a *širgida*!

When he sits before the *student(s)*, he cannot articulate a *tigi* or an *adab*!

...is not suited to his hands. No one rejoices over him!

(To rival):

And (you think) they say that you're an upright man?!⁵⁵¹

I.5.4 Selected Commentary

Line 114

a₂ (poss. suff.) ġal₂ taka₄

⁵⁴⁹ Possibly **si** written over top of **ab** due to lack of space.

⁵⁵⁰ Sign split across Ni 4056 and Ni 4241.

⁵⁵¹ Lit. perhaps: "And you, does 'manhood that is upright' (var. 'a man who is upright') fill (any) mouth?"

The precise nature and significance of the gesture designated with **a₂ ġal₂ taka₄** are unclear. See most recently Attinger 2015a, note to 264, who suggests, best on context, that the expression designates a gesture or behavior preceding an activity deemed to be important.⁵⁵² For other interpretations, see the literature cited by Attinger. The same expression is also attested in Šulgi B 350, in unclear context, and in Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld, in Enkidu’s description of the fate of the man who passed away having five children:

Ex. I.2 Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld 263–264 (composite text)⁵⁵³

263 lu₂ dumu-ne₂ ia₂-am₃ iġi bi₂-du₈-am₃ iġi bi₂-du₈-am₃ a-na-gen₇ an-AK
 264 dub-sar sa₆-ga-gen₇ a₂-ne₂ ġal₂ bi₂-in-taka₄ e₂-gal si-sa₂-be₂ ba-an-ku₄-ku₄

(Gilgameš:) “He who has five children—did you see him?” (Enkidu:) “I saw him.” (G:) “How is he treated?”

(E:) “Having ‘opened his arms’ like a fine scribe, it is into the palace that he enters *with a sure step*.”

The corresponding passage of the first-millennium Standard Babylonian Gilgameš Epic renders **a₂-ne₂ ġal₂ bi₂-in-taka₄** with the literal Akkadian translation *issu petât*:

Ex. I.3 SB Gilgameš XII 11 (George 2003, 734–735)⁵⁵⁴

110 [ša mārūšu 5-ma] ʾta¹-mu-ru a-ta-mar
 111 [kī DUB].ʾSAR¹ dam-qi₂ id-su pe-ta-at
 112 [i-ša₂-riš] a-na E₂.GAL KU₄-ub

Elsewhere, *petû* with *idu* is very occasionally attested referring to a threatening gesture (see CAD P [2005], p. 351, *petû 4 idu*). Its interpretation in the Gilgameš line, as with the Sumerian version, is uncertain. Perhaps, following Attinger’s understanding of **a₂ ġal₂ taka₄**, the “opening” of one’s arms can generally be understood as a gesture indicating a sense of confidence or authority.

⁵⁵² “un geste/comportement solennel précédant une activité jugée importante.”

⁵⁵³ Translation after Attinger 2015a.

⁵⁵⁴ Reconstructed text following George.

Line 115

For this difficult line, cf. the translation in Volk 2000, 26 with n. 131: “Und du (meinst), Menschsein, das Bestand hat, wäre in irgendeinen ‘Mund gefüllt’?”, adopted in Lämmerhirt 2010, 583 ex. B 241, and the translation in Jaques 2006, 54 S97: “et (on remplit sa bouche de ceci =) la rumeur est que tu serais (membre de) l’humanité véritable.” Cf. also **lu₂ al-ge-na** “verlässlicher/rechtschaffener Mann” in Lämmerhirt’s ex. B 238 (Dialogue 1 44–45) and B 246 (Dialogue 3 51)⁵⁵⁵ (Lämmerhirt 2010, 583–584), along with examples of **lu₂ ge-na** “homme digne de confiance, homme droit, probe, honnête” (“rechtschaffener Mensch”) cited in Attinger 2019k s.v. **ge(-na)**, **ge-en**.

⁵⁵⁵ See also the score in Johnson and Geller 2015, 146–147 l. 38, with the authors’ note that here, too, **al-ge-na** varies with **ge-na**.

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APPENDIX I.6 KAR 158

For the MA catalogue of songs KAR 158, in which a number of *širgida* hymns were originally included, see the recent edition in Wasserman 2016, 195–234, along with my discussion in section 2.1.3.2.

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APPENDIX II
***ŠIRGIDA* TEXT EDITIONS**

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APPENDIX II.1 *ANGIM DIMMA* (1.6.1)

II.1.1 Selected Editions and Translations⁵⁵⁶

Edition: Cooper, Jerrold. 1978. *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*. Analecta Orientalia 52. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Score and Annotated Translation: Attinger, Pascal and Anna Glenn. 2017. “Angim dimma (1.6.1).” Accessed September 29, 2018. http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/va_personen/prof_dr_attinger_pascal/index_ger.html (“Übersetzungen”).

Transliteration/Translation: No. 1.6.1 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>)

Translation: Pp. 377–389 in: Bottéro, Jean and Samuel Noah Kramer. 1989. *Lorsque les Dieux Faisaient l’Homme: Mythologie Mésopotamienne*. Gallimard.

II.1.2 Sources

Sources for *Angim*

Text	Date	Siglum ⁵⁵⁷	CDLI	Lines Preserved ⁵⁵⁸
3N-T 423 = IM 58472 (AnOr 52 pl. 1, 10)	OB	A	P356678	obv. 1–21 rev. 22–36
3N-T 679 = IM 58614 (AnOr 52 pl. 10)	OB	A’	P356804	obv. 1–15[rev. missing(?)
Ni 9503	OB	A’’	P357014	obv. i]2–8[ii]54–62[rev. iii]151–162[
N 3036 (AnOr 52 pl. 10)	OB	A’’’	P278099	obv.]2–9[rev. missing
Ni 4131 (TADA 8/2 pl. 30)	OB	B	P453294	obv.]5–16[rev.]74–85
CBS 13301 (BE 29 9)	OB	C	P268382	obv.]9–20[rev.]181–194[
Ni 9641 (ISET 2 20)	OB	D	P343635	obv.]19–32[rev.]165–181[

⁵⁵⁶ For further translations, partial translations, and discussions, see Attinger and Glenn 2017, 2.

⁵⁵⁷ Sigla are from Cooper 1978, 53–55, supplemented in Attinger and Glenn 2017. Asterisks indicate new material since Cooper’s edition.

⁵⁵⁸ Line numbering follows ETCSL (different from Cooper).

Text	Date	Siglum ⁵⁵⁷	CDLI	Lines Preserved ⁵⁵⁸
3N-T 414 = IM 58466 (AnOr 52 pl. 2f., 11f.)	OB	E	P356675	obv. i]29–51 ii]80–104 rev. iii 105–128[iv 164–185[
N 1746 (AnOr 52 pl. 11) + N 6664 + N 6697 + N 7778 + N 7899 (last four BPOA 9 44)	OB	*E ⁵⁵⁹	P276867	obv.]32–42[rev.]47–58[l.e. 104?–105?
CBS 8034 (STVC 115) (+) CBS 8013 (SEM 40)	OB	F (+) M	P262962	obv. i]43–48[ii]87–101[rev. missing
N 3670 (AnOr 52 pl. 11)	OB	G	P278685	obv.]49–62[rev. missing
3N-T 792 = IM 58712 (AnOr 52 pl. 4)	OB	H	P356836	obv. 53–69[rev.]88–102
CBS 14185 (AnOr 52 pl. 5)	OB	I	P269160	obv.]53–67[rev.]142–162[
Ni 4282 (ISET 2 25)	OB	J	P343648	obv. i unclear ii]65–77[rev. missing
Ni 2741 (SLTN 10)	OB	K	P345141	obv.]75–82[rev.]102–109
CBS 15087 + N 6326 (AnOr 52 pl. 12)	OB	L	P269649	obv.]76–88[rev.]98–103[
3N-T 918, 421 (AnOr 52 pl. 12; SLFN pl. 7)	OB	M'	P356477	obv.]105–109[rev. missing
Ni 4313 (ISET 1 pl. 83 [p. 141])	OB	N	P343239	obv.? i': traces ii':]117–122[rev.? missing
CBS 14220a (AnOr 52 pl. 13)	OB	N'	P269189	obv.]121–128[rev. missing
Ni 1580 (SRT 17)	OB	O	P345309	obv. missing rev. iv]122–128[v]154–162[vi]195–200[
CBS 14012 (SEM 41) + UM 29-16-64 (AnOr 52 pl. 6)	OB	P	P269037	obv. 123–144 rev. 145–159
Ni 9758	OB	P'	P356963	obv.]123–134?| rev.]196–208
Ni 4297 (ISET 2 26)	OB	Q	P343650	obv. missing rev. iii]128–143[iv missing
Ni 9762 (ISET 2 25)	OB	R	P343649	obv.]136–147[rev.]182–195[

⁵⁵⁹ Cooper's E' includes only N 1746.

Text	Date	Signum ⁵⁵⁷	CDLI	Lines Preserved ⁵⁵⁸
N 3100 (AnOr 52 pl. 13)	OB	S	P278157	obv.?]139–152[rev.? missing
Ni 9765 (ISET 1 pl. 124 [p. 182])	OB	T	P343413	obv.]140–153[rev.]181–188[
3N-T 442 = IM w/n (AnOr 52 pl. 2f.)	OB	U	P356689	obv.]142–147[rev.]152–160[
Ni 9507 (ISET 1 pl. 146 [p. 204])	OB	V	P343537	obv.?]145–156[rev.? missing
3N-T 903, 112 (AnOr 52 pl. 13; SLFN pl. 6)	OB	W	P356180	obv.]146–148, 151[rev.]149–150, 152–154[
Ni 4449 (ISET 2 26)	OB	X	P343651	obv. missing rev. iii?]147–156[iv?]201–208
HS 1561 (TMH NF 4 68)	OB	Y	P345707	obv.]153–158[rev.]169–181[
N 3540 (AnOr 52 pl. 13)	OB	Y'	P278565	obv.?]163a?–170 rev.? missing
3N-T 811 = IM 58730 (AnOr 52 pl. 13)	OB	Z	P356837	obv.]168–182[rev.]190–207[
Ni 2304 (SLTN 11)	OB	AA	P345142	obv.?]179–186[rev.? missing
N 1337 (AnOr 52 pl. 14)	OB	AA'	P276484	obv.]187–194[rev. missing
Ni 9741 (ISET 1 pl. 123 [p. 181])	OB	BB	P343409	obv.? missing rev.?]197–204[
N 3094 (AnOr 52 pl. 14)	OB	CC	P278151	obv.]198–203 rev. 204[,]207
3N-T 916, 347 (SLFN pl. 7)	OB	*DD	P356401	obv.]129–130 rev. 131–133[
CBS 13402d (BPOA 9 43)	OB	*EE	P464143	obv.]28–38[rev. missing
N 4359	OB	*FF	P279218	obv.]124–130[rev.]133–137[
2N-T 136 = UM 55-21-27	OB	*GG	P257288	obv.]5–15[rev.]30–39[
N 3566	OB	*HH	P278591	obv.]185–194[rev.]202–207
MS 3374	OB	*II	P252315	obv. 160–183?[rev.]185–208
N 6286 (AnOr 52 pl. 14) (+) CBS 11153 (NABU 2012/31)	MB	*Aa ⁵⁶⁰	P280051	obv.]128–153, unplaced line[rev.]161–183[
MS 5072	MB	*Bb	P254154	obv. missing? rev. iii? 115–145[⁵⁶¹ iv?]170–204?[

⁵⁶⁰ Cooper's Aa includes only N 6286.

⁵⁶¹ Lines follow a different order from the main text.

Text	Date	Siglum ⁵⁵⁷	CDLI	Lines Preserved ⁵⁵⁸
CBS 7133	MB	*Dd	P262169	obv. 37–38 rev. uninscribed(?)
BM 98745 = 1905-4-9.251 + BM 122652 (AnOr 52 pl. 15)	MA	aA	P357196	obv. i 1–14[ii 59–62[rev. iii missing iv]199–207, colophon
VAT 9441 (KAR 12) + VAT 10648 (both AnOr 52 pl. 16f.) + VAT 11216 (all AoF 17, pp. 180–181; Wagensohn 2018, 72–73)	MA	*bB ⁵⁶²	P282598	obv.]66–86? rev.]102–108, colophon
VAT 8884 (KAR 18)	MA	cC	P282604	obv. 152–167[rev.]186–207, colophon
K 2864 (MVAG 8/5 pl. 1)	NA	a	P357088	obv. 1–12[rev.]47–52, colophon
K 4864 + K 4869 (both CT 15 42) + K 9385 (AnOr 52 pl. 7)	NA	b	P345480	obv.?]52–63[rev.? missing
K 8531 (MVAG 8/5 pl. 2f.)	NA	c	P357115	obv.]69–83 rev. 84–98[
Rm 126 (MVAG 8/5 pl. 4)	NA	d	P357147	obv.]77–83 rev. 84–91[
K 38 (MVAG 8/5 pl. 5f.)	NA	e	P393724	obv.]119–136 rev. 137–148, 151
K 4829 + K 4844a + K 4976 + K 5055 + K 5090 + K 5314 (all MVAG 8/5 pl. 7f.) + K 13487 (all AnOr 52 pl. 18 ⁵⁶³)	NA	f	P357103	obv.]155–171[rev.]185–207, colophon
79-7-8, 290 (+) Rm 117 (both MVAG 8/5 pl. 9f.)	NA	g (+) h	79-7-8, 290: P451928 Rm 117: P424628	obv.]158–168[,]174–181 rev. 182–189[,]194– 206[
K 4852 (AnOr 52 pl. 16)	NA	i	P357104	obv.]132–136 rev. 137, 139, 143?, 141?[
K 4822 (AnOr 52 pl. 16)	NA	j	P357101	obv.]165–172[rev.]187–194[
STT 2, 180	NA	k	P338499	obv. 1–9[rev. missing
K 15984 (AnOr 52 pl. 17) (+) K 17313	NA	l ⁵⁶⁴	K 15984: P357143 K 17313: P402664	obv.?]159–166[rev.? missing

⁵⁶² Cooper's bB includes only VAT 9441 + VAT 1648.

⁵⁶³ Cooper's list of fragments omits K 5314, but it is present in his photo

⁵⁶⁴ Cooper's l includes only K 15984.

Text	Date	Siglum⁵⁵⁷	CDLI	Lines Preserved⁵⁵⁸
BM 121035 (AnOr 52 pl. 15)	NA	m	P357204	obv.]167–173[rev.]186–202[
K 13804 (AnOr 52 pl. 17)	NA	n	P357136	obv.? missing rev.?]181–185[
IM 67575 (CTN 4 198)	NA	*o	P363612	obv.]11–26 rev. 27–40?[
K 9037	NA	*p	P357119	obv.]172–180[rev.]182–187[

Tablets with Short Extracts (along with Other Material)

Text	Date	Siglum	CDLI	Lines Preserved⁵⁶⁵
AUAM 73.2258	MB	*Cc	P249794	obv. 82–86?[rev. (extract from Ura 7B)[
4N-T 33 = IM 58822 (OIP 97 No. 38)	NB	x	P313113	obv.](unidentified) rev. 34–40[
4N-T 32 = IM 58821 (OIP 97 No. 37)	NB	y	P313112	obv.?](unidentified), 36–39, (unidentified)[rev.? missing
UM 29-15-534A (BPOA 9 45)	NB	—	P256293	obv. (other)[rev.](other), 165

⁵⁶⁵ Line numbering follows ETCSL (different from Cooper).

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APPENDIX II.2 NINURTA A (4.27.01)

II.2.1 Editions and Translations⁵⁶⁶

Edition: Pp. 116–121 in: Sjöberg, Åke W. 1973. "Hymn to Numušda with a Prayer for King Šiniqīšam of Larsa and a Hymn to Ninurta." *Orientalia Suecana* 22, 107–121.

Transliteration/Translation: No. 4.27.01 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>)

II.2.2 Sources

N₁: N 3415 + N 7700 (UF 42, 606 no. 44)

CDLI: [P278450](#)

Lower central/right-hand fragment of a ruled multi-column(?) collective tablet, with two lines missing between the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse. Assuming Ninurta A was originally about 60-70 lines long, at least 40 some lines must be missing after the text on the reverse breaks off, which means least 40 lines of text are likely missing from the beginning of the obverse. This suggests the tablet most likely originally had more than one column and that it is to be understood as a collective tablet. The two unidentified lines prior to the beginning of Ninurta A thus probably represent the end of a different composition, and obv. 2' may even represent a subscript ([...] ^dnin-[urta²-kam²]).⁵⁶⁷

obv.:]2 unidentified lines; A1–A8[

rev.:]A11–A18[

N₂: Ni 4346 (ISET 1 pl. 87, p. 145)

CDLI: [P345351](#) (together with AO 4650; no photo)

⁵⁶⁶ Throughout Appendix II.2, “Sjöberg” refers to Sjöberg’s edition, unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁶⁷ The fact that there is no double ruling to separate the compositions is not problematic; although double-rulings are more common, some collective tablets separate compositions with a single ruling, often leaving a small amount of space between the ruling and the start of the next composition (the tops of the signs hanging just below the ruling rather than overlapping with it). Compare, for example, the single-column tablets CBS 10222 (photo StOr 46, p. 322; [P265461](#)) and AO 5385 (TCL 15 20; [P345364](#)) and the multi-column tablets N 4305 (PAPS 107, p. 485; [P275012](#)) and CBS 11325 (PBS 1/1 9) + CBS 11348 + CBS 11362 + CBS 11367 (all BE 29 1) + CBS 11388 + N 3357 (BPOA 9 272) (all: photo BPOA 9 pl. 60-61; [P266482](#)). On our tablet, there is in fact some space between the tops of the wedges in Ninurta A Seg. A 1 and the preceding ruling; however, given how few signs are preserved in the line, it is difficult to tell whether this is intentional.

Central left-edge fragment of an unruled 1-column tablet.

obv.:]A11–A18[

rev.:]B6–B17[

X₁: AO 4650 (TCL 15 7)

CDLI: [P345351](#) (together with Ni 4346)

Largely preserved unruled single-column tablet, missing about 6–8 lines from the bottom edge.

obv.: A1–A23[

rev.:]B1–B24; subscript

II.2.3 Text

0a

N₁ 1' [x x (x x)]-^rĝal₂¹ ^rNE¹ [x x (x)]

0b

N₁ 2' [x x (x x)] ^dnin-[urta[?]-kam[?]]

Segment A

A1

X₁ 1 ur-saĝ dumu nir-ĝal₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂
N₁ 3' []-^rĝal₂¹ ^rd^den¹-[]

Hero, noble son of Enlil,

A2

X₁ 2 ^dnin-urta gud ĥuš nam-nun-na pa₃-da¹⁵⁶⁸
N₁ 4' [...] ^rĥuš¹ nam-^rnun¹-[...]

Ninurta, furious bull chosen in princehood

A3

X₁ 3 meš₃ e₂-šu-me-ša₄ pa e₃-a

⁵⁶⁸ The final sign in the line is poorly drawn, probably due to its placement at the edge of the tablet, but **DA** is likely.

N₁ 5' [...]-me-ša₄ pa ʿe₃¹⁵⁶⁹-[...]

young man who *made* the Ešumeša appear in full glory,

A4

X₁ 4 ʰe₂-du₇ e₂-ʿkur¹-ra di-ʿku₅¹ ʿunken¹⁵⁷⁰-na
N₁ 6' [...]-ʿkur¹-ra di-ku₅ ʿunken¹-[...]

fitting ornament of the Ekur, judge of the assembly,

A5

X₁ 5 rab₃^{?571} SUMUR⁵⁷²-ʿra₂^{?1573} ʿdiĝir¹-ʿre¹-e-ne
N₁ 7' [...] ʿx¹-ʿDU¹ ʿdiĝir¹-ʿre¹-[...]

wrathful neckstock[?] of the gods,

A6

X₁ 6 gud du₇-du₇ ʿki¹-bala-a ʿĝiri₃¹ gub
N₁ 8' [...]-ʿdu₇¹ ʿki¹-bala¹-a [...]

charging bull who sets (his) foot upon the rebel land,

A7

X₁ 7 ʰnin-urta ʿen¹ e₂-šu-me-ʿša₄¹-ʿke₄¹
N₁ 9' [...]-ʿurta¹ en ʿe₂¹-[...]

Ninurta, lord of the Ešumeša,

A8

X₁ 8 para₁₀ an-na-ʿke₄¹ dur₂ nam-[x-(x-)ĝar [...]
N₁ 10' [...]-ʿke₄^{?1} ʿdur₂^{?1} [...]
[took] his seat on the *heavenly* throne-dais!⁵⁷⁴

A9

X₁ 9 u₄-šakar ʿgibil¹-ʿam₃¹ uĝ₃-e ʿam₃¹-[x (x x)]
As the new crescent-moon, [he ...] for the people!

⁵⁶⁹ ʿUD¹. [DU].

⁵⁷⁰ Note collation in Peterson 2010, 607.

⁵⁷¹ Or **lugal**.

⁵⁷² Read **sumur** or **sur₂**.

⁵⁷³ If the sign is in fact **DU**, the *Winkelhaken* in the upper right corner has been rubbed out.

⁵⁷⁴ Or “throne-dais of An.”

A10

X₁ 10 ^dnanna ^ʾan¹ ^ʾuraš²¹-a ^ʾDU¹ [x (x x)]
 [(...)] Nanna, [*who*] ... in heaven and earth[?].

A11

X₁ 11 ḡidru ku₃ ^ʾan²¹ ^ʾsud⁻¹-^ʾaḡ²¹ šu-na ^ʾḡal¹-^ʾla²¹-[am³[?]]
 N₁ r1' [...] ku₃ u₄ su₃-^ʾra²¹ [...]]
 N₂ 1' ^ʾU₂²¹ ^ʾKA²¹ ^ʾX¹ [...] ⁵⁷⁵

Having the pure⁵⁷⁶ scepter of the brilliant heavens⁵⁷⁷ in his hand,

A12

X₁ 12 men zi ^ʾan¹-^ʾna¹ saḡ-ḡa₂ ḡal₂-[la²-am³[?]]
 N₁ r2' ^ʾmen¹ ^ʾzi¹ an-na [...]
 N₂ 2' men zi [...]

having the true *men*-crown of the heavens on his head,

A13

X₁ 13 ^dutu ḡa-šu-^ʾur₂¹-^ʾta¹ ^ʾe₃¹⁵⁷⁸-[x-(x)]
 N₁ r3' [^d]^ʾutu¹ ^ʾḡa¹-[...]]
 N₂ 3' ^dutu ^ʾḡa¹-[...]]

[(...)] Utu, coming out from the *ḡašur*-trees,

A14

X₁ 14 ^dnanna kur ^ʾun₃²¹⁵⁷⁹[-(na²)] ^ʾsud²¹-^ʾra₂¹(-)[x x x (x)]
 N₁ r4' [^d]^ʾnanna¹ ^ʾkur¹ ^ʾun₃²¹[-(na²)] ^ʾsud²¹-^ʾx¹(-)[...]
 N₂ 4' ^dnanna¹ [...]]

Nanna, [in²] the high[?] mountains, *the brill[iant light[?] ...]*⁵⁸⁰

A15

⁵⁷⁵ So copy. From the way the signs are drawn on the copy, it is not impossible that this source has something like: ^ʾḡidru²¹ ^ʾku₃²¹ ^ʾx x¹ [...], but this cannot be confirmed or rejected without collation.

⁵⁷⁶ Or “shining.”

⁵⁷⁷ So X₁. N₁: “of distant days“

⁵⁷⁸ ^ʾUD¹.^ʾDU¹.

⁵⁷⁹ ^ʾkur-^ʾra²¹ instead of ^ʾkur ^ʾun₃²¹ is not excluded in either source, but the sign in question looks closer to ^ʾun₃ in X₁, particularly in comparison with the ^ʾra signs elsewhere on the tablet (so also Sjöberg).

⁵⁸⁰ Or: in the distant[?] high[?] mountains, [...].

X₁ 15 en ʿniġir²¹-si [x x] ʿx¹ ʿx⁵⁸¹ [x x x (x)]
 N₁ r5' [...] ʿx¹-ʿta²¹ [x x (x)]
 N₂ 5' ʿen⁵⁸² niġir⁵⁸³-[...]]

The lord, bridesman² [...]

A16

X₁ 16 ʿlugal¹ ʿAME² kur-ʿra¹(-)[(x)](-)ʿin²¹-ʿku⁴-[x x (x x)]
 N₁ r6' [...]]-ʿku⁴-[(x)]
 N₂ 6' lugal ʿAME²⁵⁸⁴ [...]]

The king [...] enter[s²] the *storerooms* of the mountain [(...)]

A17

X₁ 17 ʿmeš³-ʿgen⁷ ʿgurun¹-ʿna²¹ si¹²-ʿga¹ [x x]
 N₁ r7' [...]] gurun-na ʿsi¹²-(x x x)
 N₂ 7' meš³-ʿgen⁷ [...]]

Like a *meš*-tree, ripe with fruit, [...]

A18

X₁ 18 []-ʿx¹ ʿL¹ ʿx¹ igi zi ʿbar⁵⁸⁵-(x x (x))
 N₁ r8' [...]] igi ʿzi¹ ʿbar¹-(...)
 N₂ 8' ʿx¹-ʿx¹-[...]]

[...] looking favorably *on* [...],



A19

X₁ 19 [x (x)] ʿzi²¹ KA⁵⁸⁶ ʿx¹-e [x x (x)]

the true² [...] ... [...]

⁵⁸¹ The traces could match –**ta** (cf. ʿta²¹ in N₁), but not enough of the sign is preserved to say anything further.

⁵⁸² ʿ^den¹ is also possible.

⁵⁸³ The sign as drawn in the copy looks like LUGAL:  but is formed very differently from LUGAL in the following line: . If one imagines that the downward-pointing oblique of the copy was actually more horizontal on the original, the traces would not be far off from the beginning of **MIR**; however, without collation, this remains entirely conjectural.

⁵⁸⁴ Copy has ʿ**ma**¹. Sjöberg reads **amas**!-

⁵⁸⁵ The additional traces pointing to **ġal**₂ drawn in de Genouillac's copy may be surface damage. **igi zi ġal**₂ in place of **igi zi bar** is otherwise unattested.

⁵⁸⁶ KA or SAĠ. It is unclear whether the first part of the sign contains traces of a *Winkelhaken* or only a small vertical wedge.

A20

X₁ 20 [x (x)] ʽxʽ ʽKAʽ⁵⁸⁷(-)ʽdimʽ⁵⁸⁸ TUKU⁵⁸⁸ h₂ul₂(-)ʽxʽ [x (x)]

[...] ..., ⁵⁸⁹rejoicing [...]

A21

X₁ 21 [x (x)] ʽxʽ KARA₂ ʽšuʽ⁵⁹⁰ ʽxʽ šu mu-ʽnaʽ⁵⁹⁰-ʽniʽ⁵⁹⁰-[x (x)]

...

A22

X₁ 22 [x (x)] ʽxʽ ʽxʽ ʽxʽ AN men ku₃ [x (x)]

... the pure/shining *men*-crown ...

A23

X₁ 23 [x x x x x (x x)] ʽxʽ ʽxʽ ʽpaʽ₃ ʽUNʽ⁵⁹⁰ [x]

About 6–8 lines missing from the end of the obverse of X₁.

Segment B

About 6–8 lines missing from the beginning of the reverse of X₁.

B1

X₁ r1' [...] ʽxʽ [...]

B2

X₁ r2' [...] (*traces*)

B3

X₁ r3' [x (x x)] ʽxʽ ʽxʽ e-ne di⁵⁹⁰(-)[x (x)]

[...] playing ... [...]

B4

X₁ r4' [x x] ʽxʽ ʽxʽ teš₂ du₁₁-ga-[x (x)]

⁵⁸⁷ KA or SAĜ.

⁵⁸⁸ UR₄ or KIN not excluded.

⁵⁸⁹ ʽKAʽ⁵⁹⁰(-)ʽdimʽ⁵⁹⁰ TUKU: perhaps “*having a fine/delicate mouth*” or “... delicate object, ...”

⁵⁹⁰ The traces between **ne** and **di** drawn in de Genouillac’s copy represent the ends of the horizontal wedges from **ne**, intersected by the tails of two vertical wedges hanging down from the line above.

[...] *roaring* ...,

B5

X₁ r5' [x (x)] ʾx¹ bad-daʾ en ^dnin-urta-ʾke^{4ʾ1}

in the distant [...], lord Ninurta

B6

X₁ r6' ʾx¹ x(-)am₃(-)ME ʾin¹-ʾnin^{9ʾ1} me šar₂-ra unu₂ la₂ ʾsubi¹⁵⁹¹ [la₂]

N₂ r1' ʾx¹ [...]

.... the mistress² of the myriad me's, adorned in jewelry, [adorned in] *šuba*-stones,

B7

X₁ r7' ʾd¹ʾinnana¹ ʾi-li AK²⁵⁹² šID² šEN² x⁵⁹³(-)na(-)KA mu-na-ni-ʾib⁵⁹⁴¹-[x]⁵⁹⁵

N₂ r2' ʾd¹innana¹ ʾx¹ [...]

Inana, full² of charm, ... *to him/her in the ... of ...*

B8

X₁ r8' ʾen²¹ ki(-)gal an-na si LA₂²⁵⁹⁶ ʾGU₂²¹⁵⁹⁷ nu(-)ʾx¹ [(x)]⁵⁹⁸

N₂ r3' en ki(-)ʾgal¹ [...]

Lord ... *the heavenly pedestal*, ...

B9

X₁ r9' ad(-)da abzu-a muš₃ nu-tum₂-mu-ʾda¹ [(x)]

N₂ r4' ad² gal² ʾx¹ [...]

In order that *the intendant* not cease (to be present) in the Abzu,

⁵⁹¹ ZA.[MUŠ_{2/3}].

⁵⁹² At least one Winkelhaken is faintly visible inside the AK sign; either **me**₃ or AK with a form similar to aBZL no. 052 (p. 22) ex. Lgbd II 199 A.

⁵⁹³ Possibly **unken**²? Cf. **unken** l. 4.

⁵⁹⁴ **ib** is likely, but not enough is preserved to be sure.

⁵⁹⁵ Sjöberg reads: **x x ʾi-li!-sa₆ x il₂?-la?-na KA mu-na-ni-x**.

⁵⁹⁶ LA₂ or ME is possible, but LA₂ is slightly better in comparison with other sign forms on the tablet. The scribe varies in how high he places the horizontal wedge in both LA₂ and ME, but the sign in question is more similar to his LA₂'s with relatively low horizontals (cf. lines 1, rev. 6') than his ME's with relatively high horizontals (cf. lines 3, rev. 10').

⁵⁹⁷ Or **BI**²?

⁵⁹⁸ Sjöberg reads: **en-ki-gal-an-na si LA₂ x x x [(...)]**. The first signs were collated by Falkenstein as **maḥ-di-**, but because of text B (**en-ki-gal ...**), Sjöberg assumes the first sign is a partially destroyed EN mistakenly read by Falkenstein as **maḥ**.

B10

X₁ r10' en pa₄-ses x⁵⁹⁹ me du₁₀-du₁₀-ga [(x x)]
 N₂ r5' ʽenʽ ʽpa₄ʽ-ʽsesʽʽ [...]

in order that the lord, the foremost one *of* ..., [(who ...)] the good *me*'s,

B11

X₁ r11' ʽen-ki-ke₄ eš₃ abzu šu mu₂-mu₂-ʽdaʽ [(x)]
 N₂ r6' ʽen-ki-ke₄ [...]

Enki, (*continue to*) *tend* the shrine Abzu,

B12

X₁ r12' abzu ġeš-tu⁹ ġeštu maḥ kalam-ma si-ʽx⁶⁰⁰ʽ [x (x)]
 N₂ r7' abzu-gen⁷ [...]

the Abzu [(...)] *that fills* the land with great wisdom [(...)]!

B13

X₁ r13' e₂ iri⁶⁰¹-ba⁶⁰² ʽx⁶⁰³ sikil-la-ka-ne₂
 N₂ r8' e₂ʽ iri-ba²ʽ [...]

The houses/temple of *that city*,⁶⁰⁴ *the (ones) of his pristine ...*⁶⁰⁵

B14

X₁ r14' ĠA₂ DUB(-)ŠEN²(-)ĠA₂ mim du₁₁-ga-ne₂
 N₂ r9' ĠA₂ DUB(-) [...]

his cherished

⁵⁹⁹ Sjöberg reads **e₂**, following the collation by Falkenstein. However, the sign looks different from the **e₂**-sign preserved at the beginning of Seg. B 13. The beginning of the sign looks almost as though extra clay was pushed over top of the heads of the wedges (cf. the sign read **x** in Seg. B 13). See the Figure II.1. Note that there is a space between this sign and **me**.

⁶⁰⁰ Possibly **ga**¹³?

⁶⁰¹ Probably **URU**, but **ĠEŠGAL** is also possible.

⁶⁰² **KU (tuš)** instead of **-ba** is not excluded.

⁶⁰³ Sjöberg reads this sign as **e₂**, following the collation by Falkenstein. The shape of the sign, however, looks different from **e₂** at the beginning of the line, and more similar to the signs read **ĠA₂(?)** in Seg. B 10 and 14–15. The beginning of the sign looks almost as if extra clay were pushed over top of the heads of the wedges (cf. the sign read **x** in Seg. B 10). See Figure II.1.

⁶⁰⁴ Or “*its (the land's?) cities*”?

⁶⁰⁵ Lit. “his (*ones*) of the pristine”

B15

X₁ r15'ĜA₂ DUB[?] ŠEŠ⁶⁰⁶(-)a pa₃-da-ne₂
 N₂ r10'ĜA₂ 'DUB¹ [...]

his chosen ...

B16

X₁ r16'ĝeš⁶⁰⁷eren duru₅ IZIM 'KU¹-KU-a-ne₂
 N₂ r11'x¹⁶⁰⁸ [...]

his ... festivals⁶⁰⁹ by the wet cedars,⁶¹⁰

B17

X₁ r17'ša₃-tum₂ e₃⁶¹¹(-)DE₃ ĝar-ra-ne₂
 N₂ r12'x¹ 'x¹ [...]

and his fields established to spread forth⁶¹²—

B18

X₁ r18'en KA ku₃ kur un₃-na gub-bu-de₃
the lord (equipped with) a pure mouth,⁶¹³ for setting up ...⁶¹⁴ on the high mountain!

B19

X₁ r19'ĝeš⁶¹⁵ ĝešnu₄⁶¹⁶ NĠG₂-be₂⁶¹⁷ en-nu-uĝ₃ AK-de₃
A light to keep guard over those things,

B20

X₁ r20'iti-da eš₃ gal¹-la muš₃ nu-tum₂-mu-de₃
to ensure that monthly, in the great shrine, they not cease!

B 21

⁶⁰⁶ Or **uri₃**. Other ŠEŠ signs in this tablet have more *Winkelhaken*, but the form **ses-a** is much more likely than **urin-a**.

⁶⁰⁷ ĝeš with damage inside? Or **e₂**?

⁶⁰⁸ Copy has EN 'x¹. **eren**?' may be possible, but collation is required.

⁶⁰⁹ Or **ser₃** "songs."

⁶¹⁰ Or "his wet cedars and ... festivals."

⁶¹¹ Over erasure? **e₁₁** is also possible. Sjöberg's reading, **ma** (following the collation of Falkenstein), looks less likely.

⁶¹² Or "established (for one) to go down into"?

⁶¹³ Or "word."

⁶¹⁴ Or "in order to stand"?

⁶¹⁵ With damage inside? Over erasure?

⁶¹⁶ What looks like possible sign between ĝešnu₄ and ĜAR is almost certainly damage.

⁶¹⁷ GA (for niĝ₂-gur₁₁) also possible, but BI is slightly better (this scribe does not normally stagger the horizontal wedges in GA, but cf. GA in Seg. B 24 (rev. 24')).

X₁ r21' u₄-ta-u₁₈-lu en diĝir-re-e-ne
Uta-ulu, the lord of the gods,

B 22

X₁ r22' ur-saĝ gal an-na' en gal ^den-lil₂-la₂
great hero of An, great lord of Enlil,

B 23

X₂ r23' ^dnin-urta dumu maḥ e₂-kur {eras.??} -ra
Ninurta, exalted son of the Ekur,

B 24

X₁ r 24' nir-ĝal₂ aia ^uugu₆-na ^rza₃^l-^rmim^l-zu du₁₀-ga-^ram₃^l
trusted one of his father who bore him, your praise is sweet!

Subscript

X₁ r25' ser₃-gid₂-^rDU^l ^rd^l^rnin^l-^rurta^l-kam
It is a širgida of Ninurta.

II.2.4 Commentary

Seg. A 2

The nuance of the locative in the expression **nam-nun-na pa₃-da** is uncertain. One might expect something like “chosen *for* princehood,” but then we should have the terminative (cf. Laws of Lipit-Eštar⁶¹⁸ 36–37, Išbi-Erra A⁶¹⁹ iv 9’). More relevant is probably a use of the locative similar to **hi-li** (loc.) **pa₃**, lit. “chosen in allure,” with the sense of “chosen for (one’s) allure” (see Attinger 2019i, comment to l. 353).

Seg. A 3

The form **pa e₃-a** is usually to be understood as “who has appeared brightly, has been made manifest,” and previous translations of this line adopt this meaning: “the young (god), manifest on the Ešumeša” (Sjöberg); “the hero manifest in E-šu-me-ša” (ETCSL). However, the absence of a locative case ending {’a} in both sources points against this interpretation. Instead, I tentatively take **pa e₃** as active (with causative meaning), with the Ešumeša as the semantic object (in the directive/Loc3 case).

⁶¹⁸ Roth 1997, 23–35.

⁶¹⁹ Sjöberg 1993.

Seg. A 5

rab₃ SUMUR-**ra**₂²¹

On the reading of SUMUR (**sumur** or **sur**₂), see Crisostomo 2014, 369 ad 138, with previous literature. In **rab**₃ SUMUR-**ra**₂²¹, it is difficult to decide whether to read the first sign as **rab**₃ or **lugal**.⁶²⁰ My reading **rab**₃ is based primarily on literary parallels, where Ninurta is frequently described as the “neckstock of the gods.”⁶²¹ Also in favor of **rab**₃, though by no means decisive, is the fact that two or perhaps three vertical wedges are visible in the second half of the sign, versus only one (or two?) in **lugal** in line 16.⁶²² We might expect SUMUR-**ra**₂ “wrathful” to modify an animate subject, thus **lugal** “king” rather than **rab**₃ “neckstock,” but inanimate objects are also occasionally described with this adjective: e.g., **ti** SUMUR “wrathful arrow” (Gudea Cyl. B xiv 5/1135), ^{kuš}**usan**₃ SUMUR “wrathful whip” (Išme-Dagan AB [Ludwig and Metcalf 2017] 105), and **e**₂ SUMUR “wrathful house” (Ur-Namma A 40), in addition to its frequent use with **šu**, lit. “wrathful hand,” and with storms, winds, etc.

The primary factor that would speak against **rab**₃ in favor of **lugal** is that the absence of the determinative **geš** would be unusual for the OB period.⁶²³ Note also that the reading **lugal** SUMUR-

⁶²⁰ Both Sjöberg and ETCSL read **lugal**, followed by illegible signs.

⁶²¹ For Ninurta as the “neckstock of the gods” (referring to his role as enforcer of justice for the gods, not a neckstock used against the gods), see *Lugale* 57, *Angim* 162 (Cooper 1978 l. 163), Šulgi T 22, Bur-Suen A 9, and Išme-Dagan O Version B (BM 114862) 10’ (also *Angim* 92 “neckstock of An”).

⁶²² On LUGAL vs. RAB₃ in the OB period, see aBZL nos. 221a and 221b with comment on p. 198 ad 221b.

⁶²³ **rab**₃ almost never omits the **geš** determinative in OB literary texts, although a few exceptions are attested: see esp. Ur-Namma F 13 **rab diğir-re-e-ne** // Ur-Namma E 7’ **a-ra₂-ab diğir-re-ne**; also **rab** in Ur-Ninurta A 24 and Kudur-mabuk 1 (RIME 4.2.13a.1) 15.

‘ra₂’ diġir-re¹-e-ne might have a near parallel in Šulpae A 50 **maškim SUMUR diġir-re-e-ne**

“wrathful bailiff of the gods,” but, conversely, one could argue that the image of a bailiff is semantically closer to that of a metaphorical “neckstock” than to that of a king.

Seg. A 6

ġiri₃ gub

Usually it is not **ġiri₃ gub** but rather **ġiri₃** + poss. suff. **gub** that means “to step (on), to step (into),” but there are some exceptions.⁶²⁴ Cf., for instance, **me (...)** (loc.) **ġiri₃ gub-ba** “who has set foot upon the (...) *me*’s” in Nuska A Seg. B 55 and EWO 136. In reference to the conquering of enemies, **ġiri₃ gub** may be used with **gu₂** (...) (loc./loc2), “to step on the neck of (...).”⁶²⁵

Seg. A 8

para₁₀

For the common trope of a divinity taking his or her seat on a dais, expressed most frequently with **dur₂ ġar**, see the examples in PSD B (1984), pp. 138-139, bara₂ A 1.8.1).

⁶²⁴ See Attinger 2019k, which distinguishes between **ġiri₃ gub** “se diriger, se rendre” and **ġiri₃** + poss. suff. (...) **gub** “poser le(s) pied(s) sur,” “monter (dans un véhicule),” “diriger ses pas vers, se rendre à, vers.” For a discussion of the various constructions involving **ġiri** and **gub**, along with numerous examples, see Karahashi 2000, 89–92.

⁶²⁵ Šulgi B 26, Šulgi E 235, Ur-Namma C 35, Utu-ḫeġal 4 (RIME 2.13.6.4)123; cf. **ġiri₃** with poss. suff. in Ninurta and the Turtle 18.

dur₂ ġar

The expression **dur₂ ġar** occurs most frequently with a loc./loc2 referent designating the location where one sits (cf. Karahashi 2000, 81–83), but a location in the directive/loc3 is also attested. Examples with **para₁₀ (...)** (dir./loc3) include: Inana D 87 ms A (// loc./loc2 in mss E and I);⁶²⁶ Inana D 101 mss H and I[?] (**para₁₀-mah₁ unu₂-gal-e**); Nungal A 86 mss N_{i-1} , N_{iii-14} , N_{iii-31} (// loc./Loc2 in N_{iii-16});⁶²⁷ Enlil A 40 (//loc./Loc2).⁶²⁸ Cf. also Inana C 107 ms D (**ki-tuš an gal-la-ke₄**) and Nungal A 29 (**e₂-a muš₃-be₂**).⁶²⁹

Seg. A 11

N₁: ġidru (...) u₄ sud-ra₂

The expression to be restored in ms N₁, **ġidru (...) u₄ sud-ra₂** “scepter of distant days” or “eternal scepter,” occurs frequently in Sumerian literature and is unproblematic. Although the sign that follows **sud-ra₂** is not preserved, we are justified in assuming **sud-ra₂** “distant” rather than X₁’s **sud-(ra₂-)aġ₂** “brilliant light,” since the two sources clearly diverge at this point.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁶ *Casus pendens* also possible.

⁶²⁷ *Casus pendens* also possible.

⁶²⁸ See score in Delnero 2006, 2128–2129: **para₁₀-zu** (= dir./loc3) in six or seven sources, varying with **para₁₀-ba** (1x –**za**) in two to five sources. Contrast the score in Attinger 2019l: **para₁₀-ba** (1x –**za**) in all but one source, varying with **para₁₀-be₂** (= dir./loc3) in N_{i-1}.

⁶²⁹ *Casus pendens* also possible.

⁶³⁰ The orthographically possible **ġidru ku₃-babbar sud-ra₂-[aġ₂]** “scepter of brilliant silver” is unlikely, since a scepter of silver (**ku₃-babbar**, *kaspu*) does not otherwise appear in textual portrayals of royal or divine insignia (the only textual reference known to me is the scepter plated with silver belonging to a statue of Nannaya, mentioned in UET 3 740, on which see Paoletti 2013, 343 and *passim*).

X₁: ġidru ku₃(-)an sud-aġ₂

The expression preserved in ms X₁, **ġidru ku₃(-)an sud-aġ₂** is more difficult, and it is possible that the scribe of N₁ altered the text, either intentionally or unknowingly, to give a more obvious or more familiar meaning.

In X₁, **ġidru ku₃(-)an sud-aġ₂** has previously been analyzed as “scepter of brilliant **ku₃-an**-metal”—**ku₃-an** being a type of metal known sporadically from economic documents and lexical lists, but otherwise unattested in Sumerian literature.⁶³¹ I tentatively read instead **ġidru ku₃ an sud-aġ₂** “pure/shining scepter of the brilliant heavens.” A term **an sud-(ra₂-)aġ₂** is attested in at least two other compositions. In the first, there is no question that **an sud-aġ₂** refers to the sky: in Rim-Sin C, a prayer to An, we read **UBUR an sud-aġ₂ ġal₂ ħu-mu-ra-ab-kaka₄** “Let the breasts of the brilliant heavens be opened for you (Rim-Sin)” (Rim-Sin C 23). The motif “breasts of heaven” is well known in Sumerian literature.⁶³² The second attestation of **an sud-(ra₂-)aġ₂** occurs in an Emesal prayer to Inana, attested in the OB period as part of a *balaġ* and in the first millennium as an *eršema* (Cohen Eršema 34.1//34.2; HES 2 Nr. 42, Synopsis No. V). Here the expression occurs as an epithet of Inana, written **an su-da-aġ₂** in the unorthographic OB source (ll. 1–4), **an su₃-ud-**

⁶³¹ So Sjöberg, ETCSL. **KU₃.AN** is also used as an Old Assyrian logogram for the metal *amūtu*. See most recently Giusfredi 2017, with previous literature.

⁶³² See Steible 1975, 21–22 ad 23 for discussion of this line. On “the breasts of heaven,” see further Lämmerhirt 2012, 76 ad 47. Cf. Išme-Dagan D Seg. D 25, Lugalzagesi 1 (RIME 1.14.20.1) iii 27–28, Kusu A 33, Nanna L 24, TH 332.

aĝ₂ in the first-millennium version (l. 1), and translated in the first-millennium version with *nu-ur₂* AN-*e*. The precise meaning of the term is less apparent here than in the Rim-Sin composition, since a translation like “the brilliant heaven(s)” seems somewhat unusual as a divine epithet. More fitting would be something like “light of heaven,” (cf. Cohen’s “celestial luminary” in Cohen 1981, 130, 134), especially given that **sud-(ra₂)-aĝ₂** “brilliant light” occurs frequently as a divine epithet⁶³³ and the Akkadian version clearly reads “light of heaven.” However, as already observed by Gabbay, the grammar of the Sumerian, **an su₃-ud-aĝ₂**, does not support the translation “brilliant light of the heavens,” and the meaning “brilliant heaven(s)” (Gabbay “shining heaven”) is more likely (Gabbay 2015, 159 ad 1).⁶³⁴

Aside from our line, I know of only one other example where a scepter is modified by the word **an** (gen.), where it is unclear whether **an** refers to heaven or to the god An:

Ex. II.1 Hymn to Inana FLP 2627 (ETCSL 4.07.a) 4–6

- 4 ʾme-en ku₃ an¹-na saĝ-ĝa₂ ĝal₂-la-e
- 5 ʾtu⁷₁-ba ku₃-ku₅ an¹-na ša₃-ga la₂-a-e
- 6 **ĝidru ku₃ an-ʾna¹** šu-na ĝal₂-be₂

Note, in addition to the similarities between line 6 of this hymn and the present line of Ninurta A (Seg. A 11) the similarities between line 4 of the Inana hymn and the subsequent line of Ninurta A (Seg. A 12).

⁶³³ Note especially Inana as the “brilliant light of heaven” (**sud-ra₂-aĝ₂ an-na**) in, e.g., Iddin-Dagan A 5 and Šulgi X 742.

⁶³⁴ The only way to save the interpretation “light of heaven” would be to assume a right-headed noun-noun compound, formed on the same pattern as **an-ša₃**, **an-edin**, **an-šar₂**, etc.; however, as Jagersma observes, this pattern is very rare in Sumerian and seems already to be unproductive by the Old Sumerian period (Jagersma 2010, 117–118).

Seg. A 12

men zi

The use of **zi** “true, legitimate” to modify **men** is unusual, this adjective appearing far more regularly with the *aga*-crown than with the *men*-crown. See Lämmerhirt 2010, 57–59, for discussion and further examples.

Seg. A 13

ḥa-šur₂

For the association of Utu with the *ḥašur*-tree, see Woods 2009, 190, with n. 29, and, more extensively, Polonsky 2002, 306–327. On the identity of this tree, most likely a type of cedar or cypress, see the bibliography in Mittermayer 2009, 271 ad 401.

Seg. A 15

For the term **niĝir-si** “bridesman” (Akk. *susapinnu*), referring to some male member of a wedding party, see esp. Malul 1989, along with Greengus 1966, 69 with n. 82; Wilcke 1985, 277–278; Volk 1989, 222 ad 29; Schretter 1990, 203–204, no. 216; Behrens 1998, 129–131 ad 114–115; Sefati 1998, 116–117; and Stol 2016, 96–98, §2.5.1, with previous literature. The divine figure most frequently characterized as a **niĝir-si** in Sumerian literature is Dumuzi, in his marriage

to Inana, but in at least one case Enlil may fill the role (see Malul 1989, 248–249; Wilcke 1985, 277 with n. 96; Behrens 1998, 130).

The term **en niĝir-si** appears most frequently in the divine name **^den-niĝir-si**,⁶³⁵ a figure who is equated with Dumuzi in god lists and in the Emesal Vocabulary and *Udughul* 16 190' (Geller 2016, 536) (see Schretter 1990, 267, no. 493; Krebernik 2003, 157–158; Richter 2004, 312–313). Additionally, the *niĝirsis* (Emesal **li-bi-ir-si**) of Inana are referred to as “lords” (**en**) in Dumuzi-Inana C1 Seg. A 5 ([^dinnana] **li-bi-ir-si-zu en-me-eš**).

In our line, it is unclear whether **en 'niĝir'¹-si** refers to Ninurta, a characterization of him that would be otherwise unattested, or to another god, probably Dumuzi.

Seg. A 17

On this line and the image of the fruit-bearing *meš*-tree, see Peterson 2010, 607, with previous literature. For **gurun (loc.) si₁₂-ga** “ripe with fruit” cf. also Keš Temple Hymn 39, TH 199, TH 494, and EWO 22. See Peterson 2011, 67 n. 43 for further examples of **si₁₂-g** with nouns in the locative case.

⁶³⁵ Also written **en ^dniĝir-si** in Ewe and Wheat 18.

Seg. A 20

KA[?](-)dim₃[?]

If the tentative reading **KA[?]1-1dim₃[?]1** is correct, the same obscure term appears also in Elegy 1 (Elegy on the Death of Nannaya) 5 **KA(-)dim₃ sa₆-sa₆ (var. sa₃-sa₃)** and Elegy 2 (Elegy on the Death of Nawirtum) 50 (Kramer 1960 l. 162) **KA x LA KA(-)dim₃ KA sa₆**. In the original edition of the elegies, Kramer translated **dim₃** as “attractive(?),” presumably based on its association with **sa₆**.⁶³⁶ See Sjöberg 1983, 319 ad 5 for further discussion of the term (no translation). Something like “fine, delicate” for **dim₃**, derived from **dim₃(-ma)** “weak, helpless” (*ulālu, dunnamû, enšu*) and/or connected to **dim₃** “fine, delicate object; figurine” is possible. Both of these meanings of **dim₃** are discussed below. Note that a similar adjectival usage may also apply in UET 3 816 3’–5’//UET 3 1498 vi 42–43. In the present line, the broken context does not allow us to determine which meaning of **dim₃** applies.

****Aside on dim₃****

⁶³⁶ Kramer translates in Elegy 1 5: “fair and attractive(?) of speech,” and in Elegy 2 50 (=162): “the [comely(?) mouth(?), the attractive (?) mouth (?), the gracious mouth (?)” (Kramer 1960).

The range of meanings of **dim₃(-ma)**⁶³⁷ is given succinctly in Civil 1984, 294 ad 123: (1) “pole, post” (*makūtu*); (2) “weak, fragile, delicate” (*dunnamu*, *šerru*,⁶³⁹ *ulālu*); (3) “corpse;” and perhaps (4) “figurine.” For the last meaning, see more recently the discussion in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 38–39 ad MA 43 sqq. (“objet délicat, bibelot;” “bibelot précieux, objet mignon;” crafted by the “sculptor” (**tibira**) and “ebonist” (**naḡar**); equated with *makūtu*; used especially as an epithet for a beloved, and, in magical contexts, probably referring to a figurine of an enemy sorcerer or of a patient). Cf. also Sefati 1987, 159–160; 1990, 62–63 ad 31–32; 1998, 277–278 ad 45 (“figurine”); Jaques 2013, 64 ad 3 (*šerru* “baby, infant;” *dunnamû* “weakling;” *ulālu* “feeble, dumb;” “figurine” or “delicate object, bibelot” in magic contexts). An additional meaning proposed in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 184–185 ad 3, where **dim₃** refers to a type of “demon infernal,” is unlikely to be relevant here.

⁶³⁷ Following Attinger 2019k, I am hesitant to group together the forms **dim₃** (Attinger “bibelot”) and **dim₃-ma** (Attinger adj. “faible”; subs. “faible, être sans défense”), since the two never seem to vary with one another in a given line. However, **dim₃-ma** may occur as a form of **dim₃** “fine/delicate object, figurine” in Inana I 19 **munus dim₃-ma til₃-la** and Ludīgira to His Mother 31 **dim₃-ma til₃-la//dim₃-ma zu₂ til₃-la**⁶³⁸ where the association with ivory (Sum. **zu₂**, Akk. *šinnu*[ZU₉[KA×UD]]), Hitt. *lahpa*-(?)) recalls **dim₃ zu₂ (am-si)** “ivory figurine” in Dumuzi-Inana Y 45 and RTC 19 4. Conversely, the form **dim₃** may be synonymous with **dim₃-ma** “weakling, dimwit” in Two Women B 145 // “Two Women A” CBS 7167 obv. 3 (Matuszak 2016, 236–237 with n. 29). In the absence of a more in-depth study, I prefer to leave the relationship between **dim₃** and **dim₃-ma** an open question.

⁶³⁸ In the trilingual source RS 25.421 (Ug. 5 169, AuOrS 23 50, CTH 316.A): Sumerian missing; Akkadian: ‘ma¹-ku-ut šinni(ZU₉[KA×UD]) qu₂-ut-tu₃-tu₃; Hittite *la-aḡ-pa-aš-ma-aš ku-ra-ak-ki-iš ma-a-an zi-in-na-an-za*.

⁶³⁹ Note that neither of the two equations of **dim₃** with *šerru* (*šarru*) “baby, young child” cited in the dictionaries is certain: (1) in Inana C 138, preserved in ms P (IM 51544 (TIM 9 22) 3’-4’), the sign read **dim₃** is unclear: the copy has **nundum dim₃**? **sa₆** : *ša-ab-ti še-er-ri-im na-ša-qum*, Akkadian: “to kiss the lips of a baby (is yours, oh Ištar);” (2) in the group vocabulary reference, **e₂-dim₃-ma** : E₂ *šar-ru* (5R 16 iv 52 = DCCLT K 02021a + K 04357 + DT 014 r ii 44’)—sometimes read instead E₂ *šer₃’-ru* (AHw p. 1217: *bīt šerru*; CAD Š2 [1992], p. 317: E₂ *šer₂-ru*)—the significance of *šarru* is uncertain (see Krecher 1966, 83–84 ad I 10 and George 1993, 76 no. 171). **dim₃** is, though, used as an epithet for a baby in Ni 1751 + N 4523 obv. 3 (Jaques 2013, 61-65, “baby doll”).

Outside of literary/incantational and lexical contexts, **dim₃** designating a figurine can be used in reference to small figurines of *taškarim*-wood (**dim₃ ĝešdašgari tur**) and of ivory (**dim₃ zu₂ am-si ĤA ĤAR KA tur**), listed among diplomatic gifts exchanged between two ED IIIb queens (RTC 19 3–4; see Marchesi 2004, 179). Cf., perhaps, the use of **dim₂** in the transaction recorded on the Ur III administrative document UET 3 816 3’–5’: **1 ĝešĝiri₃-gub dim₃ / 2 ĝešsila₃ bur-zi dim₃ / ba-an-ĝar**; in the summary tablet UET 3 1498 vi 42–44, this transaction was listed among the transactions of the **e₂ naĝar** (see Loding 1974, 41–136; Van De Microop 1999–2000).

Seg. B 4

For **teš₂ du₁₁** as a spelling of **te-eš du₁₁** “cry, roar” (*rigmu, šaltu*), see Attinger 1993, 728–729, §870–§875, with previous literature.

Seg. B 6

For the restoration of **la₂** at the end of the line, cf. **unu₂ la₂ sub₁ la₂** in Dumuzi and Enkimdu 17.⁶⁴⁰ Note also the first-millennium *eršema* Cohen Eršemma No. 34.2 = Gabbay HES 2 No. 42, line 10, which provides the Akkadian translation *ša šukutti šubî šaknat* “who (= Inana) wears the *šuba*-jewelry.”

⁶⁴⁰ The pair **unu₂ sub₁** also appears as direct object of **la₂** in Inana D 196 and TH 315.

Seg. B 8

en ki(-)gal an-na si

It is tempting to see in this expression something like “lord *who fills the heavenly pedestal*,” but one would expect rather **ki-gal an-na-ke₄ si(-a)** (cf. **para₁₀-ge** with **si** in PSD B (1984), p. 139, baraz A 1.8.2). I know of no other instances where **ki-gal** “pedestal” occurs with the verb **si** “to fill,” nor where it is modified with **an-na**.

Seg. B 9

ad(-)da

For my tentative translation of **ad-da** as “intendant,” i.e. the person responsible or in charge (in the Abzu), cf. PSD A3 (1998), p. 13, ad-da 3.2.

Seg. B 10–16

E₂ vs. ĜA₂

Within Seg. B 10–16, seven signs occur that are read by Sjöberg as either e_2 or \hat{GA}_2 , indicated with white boxes in Figure II.1. Citing collations provided by Falkenstein, Sjöberg reads e_2 in B10 (4th sign), in B13 (4th sign), and in B16 (1st sign, mistakenly reading e_2 - $\hat{ge}\check{s}$ - rather than e_2 or $\hat{ge}\check{s}$). Without citing collations, he reads \hat{GA}_2 in B13 (1st sign), in B14 (1st sign, 4th sign), and in B15 (1st sign).



Figure II.1 e_2 , \hat{GA}_2 , and $\hat{ge}\check{s}$ in AO 4650 rev. 10'–16'. Photo: taken by A. Glenn, courtesy of the Louvre Museum

My tentative reading of the signs is somewhat different. I take as my starting point the initial sign in B13, which, in contrast to Sjöberg/Falkenstein, I read as **e₂**. This is based primarily on the fact that, elsewhere on this tablet, the scribe consistently writes **e₂** with the heads of the two horizontal wedges aligned, rather than staggered (cf. **e₂** in Seg. A 3, 4, 7). The only other **e₂/ĜA₂**-shaped sign in this section with aligned horizontal wedges is the first sign in B16, which, due to its shape and the context, I take to be **ĝeš** (in **ĝešeren**) (despite possible traces of two small vertical wedges at the beginning of the sign). The remaining five signs, in which the upper and lower horizontal wedges are staggered, are more difficult. The initial signs in B14 and B15 and the fourth sign in B14 would seem to be **ĜA₂** (as read already by Sjöberg), although the shape of the fourth sign in B14 is somewhat different than the other two. The fourth sign in B10 and the fourth sign in B13 are unclear to me. They look somewhat different from the signs read as **ĜA₂** in B14 and B15, but are closer to these than to the sign read **e₂** in B13 and elsewhere on the tablet, making Sjöberg/Falkenstein's **e₂** unlikely.⁶⁴¹

Seg. B 10

For **pa-šeš** see discussions in Sjöberg 1967, 216–217 (“allererster,” among other meanings) and Krispijn 2004, 105–112 (“älterer/ältester Verwandter, Führer”).

⁶⁴¹ In both B10 sign 4 and B13 sign 4, it looks almost as though the clay has gotten pushed over top of the beginning of the sign, obscuring the heads of the left-most wedges. However, I have no explanation for how something like this would have happened, and I do not know of any parallel cases.

Seg. B 13–18

I am at a loss to explain the content of Seg. B 13–18. The non-finite verbal forms + {**ane**} in Seg. B 14–17 could be understood as the pronominal conjugation, but against this is **sikil-la-ka-ne₂** in Seg. B 13, assuming the lines are syntactically parallel. For this reason, I prefer to understand the forms as adjectival, modifying the mostly obscure NPs that precede them. Also possible are non-finite verbal forms serving as nouns (“his having honored the ...,” “his having chosen the ...,” etc.).

The absence of a finite verb at the end of the series is problematic, regardless of how the non-finite forms are to be analyzed. One, very contrived, solution could be to understand the NPs in Seg. B 13–17 as direct objects of **gub-bu(-d)** in Seg. B 18, but the syntax would be difficult. One would have to take **kur un₃-na gub-bu-de₃** as “in order to set up (all these) on the high mountain,” but, again, the absence of a finite verb is problematic. A purpose clause (present/future non-finite verbal form in the directive/non-human dative case, marked with **-de₃**) can sometimes function adnominally, rather than adverbially—thus “a pure mouth/word *for setting up* ...” (cf. Jagersma 2010, 169, 668–670)—but this is rare in literary texts, and, more importantly, one would expect the word order to be different: if this were an epithet along the lines of “Lord (equipped with) a pure mouth/word *for setting up* ... on the high mountain, the words **en KA ku₃** “Lord (equipped with) a pure mouth/word” should precede the direct objects of **gub**.

Seg. B 16

ġeš**eren**

The species (sg. or pl.) of tree encompassed by the term **ĝeš²eren** in Old Babylonian Sumerian is not universally agreed upon, some scholars arguing for “juniper,” the traditional translation being “cedar.” Aside from the problems inherent in trying to map Mesopotamian taxonomies onto modern ones, the question hinges on what geographic region(s) can be designated by the term **kur ĝeš²eren-na**, an issue that will not be resolved here. My translation “cedar” is merely conventional. For further discussion, see Streck 2016–2018, 237, Kogan 2012, 242–244, and Michalowski 2011, 346 ad 4, with previous literature.

ĝeš²eren duru₅

For attestations of the term **(ĝeš²)eren duru₅**, which appears in similar contexts to **ĝeš²eren** alone and is frequently associated with **ĝeš²ha-šu-ur₂**, see the lists of references in Sjöberg 1988, 171–172 ad ii 2⁶⁴² and Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 168 ad 48,⁶⁴³ with further attestations in Keš Temple Hymn 50a (Delnero 2006 l. 50a, Gragg 1969 l. 51), Lugalbanda I 498 (Wilcke in Volk, ed. 2015 l. 487), and Ur III incantation FSB 74 (b) (Rudik 2015, 392–394).

The nuance of **duru₅** in this expression is not certain. From its basic meaning “wet, soft” (Akkadian *ruṭbu(m)/raṭbu(m)*, *labku(m)*), the most obvious image is that of a cedar dripping sap—hence the most frequent translation, “sappy cedar” or “saftige Zeder.” Other suggestions have

⁶⁴² Sjöberg’s CT 15 27, CT 15 30, and TCL 15 are sources for the Dumuzi composition edited in Römer 1992. BM 54720 is a source for *Abzu pelam* (CLAM pp. 47–64).

⁶⁴³ Flückiger-Hawker’s “Incantation to Utu” is the composition edited in Alster 1991. NBC 7915 is a source for Utu B.

included “fresh” (Streck 2016–2018, 238), “verdant” (Alster 1991, 71),⁶⁴⁴ and “luxuriant” (ETCSL Gudea Cylinders 589, 596).⁶⁴⁵ A single, first-millennium bilingual attestation translates ^{ĝeš}**eren duru_s** as *erēnu ellu* “pure cedar,” a term otherwise attested in ritual texts referring to ritual materials.⁶⁴⁶ Aside from this passage, the only context in which **duru_s** is regularly equated with *ellu* is in the term **za-gin₃ duru_s** (= *zagindurû, uqnû ellu*), where it designates a type of lapis lazuli.⁶⁴⁷ Whether the Late Babylonian translation of ^{ĝeš}**eren duru_s** as *erēnu ellu* reflects the traditional understanding of the term is not clear; it may also represent a late interpretation influenced by **za-gin₃ duru_s**. Polonsky 2002 sees a connection between the two terms, noting that both can be associated with the rising sun god: Utu arises from his residence among the (^{ĝeš})**eren duru_s** trees, and he is said to wear a beard of **za-gin₃ duru_s**. She thus sees in both the image of dew glistening in the morning sun, translating “glistening **eren**-tree” and “glistening lapis lazuli,” respectively.⁶⁴⁸ According to this interpretation, **eren duru_s** would represent a cedar wet with dew, rather than with sap.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. the proposed understanding of **za-gin₃ duru_s** as “greenish lapis lazuli,” on which see CAD Z (1961), p. 11, *zagindurû*, discussion section.

⁶⁴⁵ Note that, in lexical lists, ^{ĝeš} alone is occasionally qualified with **duru_s**, but this most likely refers to cut wood rather than a living tree. Cf. **duru_s** “fresh” appearing in opposition to **e₃-a** or **had₂** “dried,” qualifying ^{ĝeš}**ma-nu**, reeds, and various kinds of fruits (see Postgate 1992, 115–122 on **duru_s** qualifying fruits; 136 n. 12 on **e₃** = *abālu* “dried”).

⁶⁴⁶ *Abzu pelam* 23 **ma^{ĝeš}eren duru_s gu₂ ab-ba-ĝu₁₀** : E₂ *e-re-ni el-li ša₂ a-ḫi ti-am-ti* (CLAM p. 50, ms B = BM 54720). For *erēnu ellu*, see BBR 100 = ABRT I 60–62 40 and BBR 75–78 i 56f. (both cited in CAD E [1958], p. 276, *erēnu* A).

⁶⁴⁷ For lexical references, see CAD U (2010) *uqnû*. Note also the bilingual equation **za-gin₃ duru_s** : *uqnû ellu* in first-millennium *Uruamairabi* Tablet 17 12 (Volk 2006) and cf. **duru_s** = *el²-lum* in OB Ea/Aa Secondary Branch 10 i 8–11 (MSL 14, p. 128; DCCLT line i 8a–i 8f).

⁶⁴⁸ See Polonsky 2002, 193, 212, 329, 982, and note the translation “glistening cedar” *passim* in pp. 306–333, 519–520.

Seg. B 18

KA ku₃

The terms **ka ku₃** and **enim ku₃** occur frequently in Sumerian literature (the former used, for example, with **ba** “to open the pure mouth,” the latter, for example, with **du₁₁** “to utter a pure word;” indistinguishable in many other contexts). Both can be associated speech that has a creative or determining force, such as the pronouncement of fates (see Zgoll 1997a, 78–81, 319 ad Zeile 15) or the uttering of an incantation (cf. **ka-ku₃-ĝal₂** = *āšipu*, CAD A/2 [1968], 432). In our line, it is unclear whether **ka ku₃** “pure mouth” (i.e. mouth that utters pure words) or **enim ku₃** “pure word” is meant. For **en KA ku₃**, “lord (equipped with) a pure mouth/word,” cf. Ibbi-Suen D Seg. B 8 (said of Nanna/Suen).

Subscript

ser₃-gid₂-DU

This is the only preserved instance of the term *širgida* written with **DU** instead of **da**. An explanation eludes me, as there are no indications that **gid₂** could have a /dʰ/ *Auslaut* (reading -**ra₂**), nor any apparent reason the /a/ of **ser₃-gid₂-da** would be assimilated to /u/ (reading -**du**).

APPENDIX II.3 NINURTA B (NINURTA'S JOURNEY TO ERIDU) (4.27.02)

II.3.1 Editions and Translations⁶⁴⁹

Edition: Pp. 80–106 in: Falkenstein, Adam. 1959. *Sumerische Götterlieder: 1. Teil*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1959/1. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Edition: Reisman, Daniel. 1971. "Ninurta's Journey to Eridu." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24: 3-10.

Summary with translation/translation: Pp. 97–103 in: Wagenossoner, Klaus. 2005. “‘Wenn Götter Reisen...’ Götterreisen, -prozessionen und Besuchsfahrten in den sumerischen literarischen Texten.” MA thesis, Universität Wien.

Transliteration/Translation: No. 4.27.02 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>)

II.3.2 Sources

N₁: CBS 13938 (STVC 34; photo JCS 24, 9–10)

CDLI: [P268939](https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/P268939) (with photos)

Collations: transliteration on ETCSL includes collations by Veldhuis (1999)

Nearly complete ruled two-column tablet, missing about 5–10 lines from the bottom edge.

II.3.3 Text

Segment A

A1

N₁ i 1 [... e₂-kur]-^rta¹ e₃-a
 [...] who came forth from [the Ekur]!

A2

⁶⁴⁹ Throughout Appendix II.3, unless otherwise stated, “Falkenstein” refers to Falkenstein’s edition, “Reisman” to Reisman’s edition, and “Wagenossoner” to Wagenossoner’s treatment.

N₁ i 2 [ḏnin-urta ...] ʿe₂¹-kur-ta e₃-a
[Ninurta ...] who came forth from the Ekur!

A3

N₁ i 3 [...zi]-ʿde₃¹-eš-ʿe¹ ʿpa₃^{?1650}-da
Who was [right]ly [chosen^{?651} ...]

A4

N₁ i 4 [...] ʿx¹ ʿd^{en}¹-[lil₂]-ʿla₂¹
[...] of En[lil]:

A5

N₁ i 5 [...] ʿda^{?1}
in order to[?] [...]

A6

N₁ i 6 [x x x] ʿx¹ [x a₂[?]] ʿaĝ₂^{?1}-e-da
in order to give com[mands[?] ...]

A7

N₁ i 7 [ḏnin[?]]-ʿurta^{?1652} ʿki¹ ʿd^{en}¹-ʿlil₂¹-ʿla₂¹-ʿta¹ [eridu]ʿki¹-še₃ na-ĝen
[Ninur]ta[?] went from the place of Enlil to [Eridu]!

A8

N₁ i 8 ʿnam¹-ḥe₂ ʿnam¹-be₂ tar-ʿre¹-de₃
In order to decree abundance as its fate,

A9

N₁ i 9 ʿx⁶⁵³¹ D^I⁶⁵⁴ DU₁₀-ʿge^{?1655} ʿgu₂¹ [x x]-de₃
in order to make [...],

A10

N₁ i 10 [x] ʿdaĝal^{?1}-la u₂-ʿšem¹ ʿgiri₁₇¹-ʿzal¹ ʿgu₂¹ ʿme^{?1}-ʿer^{?1} ʿme^{?1}-ʿre^{?1}-ʿde₃¹
in order to make fragrant plants *and profusion*⁶⁵⁶ thrive[?] in the broad[?] ... ,

⁶⁵⁰ Or **du₂[?]**.

⁶⁵¹ Or “born[?]”

⁶⁵² This sign is now almost completely destroyed (only traces of a final vertical wedge remaining), but was drawn as IB in the handcopy and read as **-urta** (with no indication of damage) by Falkenstein and Reisman.

⁶⁵³ Falkenstein’s **[luga]**l is possible.

⁶⁵⁴ KI is also possible.

⁶⁵⁵ Paleographically either **du₁₀-ʿge¹** (so Falkenstein, ETCSL) or **šar₂-re** (so Reisman).

⁶⁵⁶ Or: *profusely?* of *profusion*?

A11

N₁ i 11 [tur₃] ʾamaš¹-a ʾi₃¹ ga ʾdugud²¹-[x]-de₃²⁶⁵⁷
 in order to make heavy² the cream and milk in the [cattle pen] and sheepfold,

A12

N₁ i 12 [(x)] ʾlu₂²¹ ʾsipa¹ ḥul₂-ʾe¹-ʾde₃¹
 in order to make the shepherd [...] rejoice,

A13

N₁ i 13 [ur]-saĝ^d ʾnin¹-ʾurta¹ eridu^{ki}-še₃ ʾna¹-ʾĝen¹
 the valiant warrior Ninurta went to Eridu!

A14

N₁ i 14 [i¹⁷]ʾidigna¹ ʾi¹⁷ʾburanuna^{1ki}-be₂ gu₃ ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ʾda¹
 In order to make the Tigris and Euphrates roar,

A15

N₁ i 15 [x (x)] ʾx¹ ʾx¹ LI DA engur ḥu-luḥ-e-da
in order to [...], in order to make the subterranean waters rage,

A16

N₁ i 16 [abbar(-ra)] ʾḥi¹⁷¹.SUḪUR^{ku₆} suḫur^{ku₆}¹-ʾmaš₂¹-e
 in order to make the carp and the *suḫurmaš*-fish [in the marshes]

A17

N₁ i 17 [x x (x)](-)ʾḥi¹-li ʾta₃¹-ʾta₃¹-ʾge¹-da
be adorned in [...] *and* *allure*,

A18

N₁ i 18 [ĝeš-ge]-a ge uš₂ ge ḥenbur NISAĜ¹⁷ ʾNIG₂²¹⁶⁵⁸(-)¹NAM AK-AK-da
 in order to make the ‘dead reed’ and the young reed in [the canebrakes] ...

A19

N₁ i 19 [x (x)] ʾx¹ ʾx¹ niĝ₂-ʾzi¹-ĝal₂ edin-na
 in order to make the, the living creatures of the steppe,

A20

⁶⁵⁷ The final three signs of the line are now incompletely preserved, but were drawn with no indication of damage in the handcopy. Falkenstein, Reisman, and ETCSL transliterate with no indication of damage, but each reads the signs differently: Falkenstein: **dugud-de-de₃**; Reisman: **dugud-de₃-da**; ETCSL: **dugud-de₃-de₃**.

⁶⁵⁸ This sign is written differently from every other instance of ĜAR on the tablet (in all of which bottom wedge points downward from right to left); **limmu** is also possible.

N₁ i 20 [x (x)] 'lu¹-lim 'tarah¹-maš 'am^{1?} gal
[...], the deer, the wild goat, and the great wild bull?

A21

N₁ i 21 [x (x)] 'x¹⁶⁵⁹-a-ba e-'ne[?] 'hul^{2?}-la¹ di-da
play? joyfully? in their [...]

A22

N₁ i 22 [x] 'x¹'gu¹-la(-)KA la²-e¹-da¹ gu² x (x)-da¹
In order to ..., in order to ...,

A23

N₁ i 23 'x¹-ga² niĝ²-ku⁵ nu-du¹²-du¹²-da 'EG² 'x¹ 'SILIG[?] 'ba¹-e-da
in order that the ... *not be subject to taxation*, in order that ... *be distributed*,

A24

N₁ i 24 [me[?] ki]-en¹-gi-ra nu-ḥa-lam-e¹-da
in order that the [*me*'s?][?] of Sumer not be destroyed,

A25

N₁ i 25 [ĝeš[?]-hur[?]] kur-kur-ra¹ 'šu¹ nu-bala-e¹-da
in order that the [designs?][?] of all the lands not be disturbed,

A26

N₁ i 26 [x] 'x¹ KA 'x x¹-da 'niĝ²-ge¹-na di-da
in order that ..., in order that faithfulness be practiced,

A27

N₁ i 27 [x x x x (x x)]⁶⁶⁰ en-lil²-la²-'(ke⁴)⁶⁶¹
in order that [...] of Enlil

A28

N₁ i 28 [x x x x (x x)] 'x¹ 'di[?] 'ku⁵-ru-da¹
[...] render judgments?

About 5–10 lines missing at end of col. i

Segment B

⁶⁵⁹ Possibly 'ter'[?], but then a would make little sense.

⁶⁶⁰ Reisman proposes: [^dnin-urta] 'dumu'

⁶⁶¹ -'ke⁴ is likely (so Falkenstein, Reisman, ETCSL), but it is also possible that the traces at the end of the line are merely the end of the line ruling.

B1

N₁ ii 1 [...]

B2

N₁ ii 2 ʽxʽ [...]

B3

N₁ ii 3 ʽxʽ [...]

B4

N₁ ii 4 ʽxʽ [...]

B5

N₁ ii 5 ʽlugalʽ [abzu-še₃ DU-aʽ-ne₂ʽ ĝiri₃ mu-na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂ (?)]
[Asʽ] the king [goes to the Abzu, *he* makes way for him (?)].

B6

N₁ ii 6 ʽninʽ-ʽurtaʽ eriduʽkiʽ-ʽšeʽ ʽDUʽ-[aʽ-ne₂ʽ] / ʽĝiriʽ mu-na-ĝa₂-ʽĝa₂ʽ
[Asʽ] Ninurta goes to Eridu, *he* makes way for him.

B7

N₁ ii 7 ʽkaskalʽ ʽizimʽ-gen₇ mu-na-du₃ edin mu-ʽnaʽ-[x]
*He*⁶⁶² prepares⁶⁶³ the road festively for him, *he* [...] the steppe for him!

B8

N₁ ii 8 ʽninʽ-urta abzu eridu^{ki}-ga / ul-la mi-ʽniʽ-ʽib₂ʽ-tum₂-mu
He brings Ninurta into the Abzu, into Eridu, in exuberance!

B9

N₁ ii 9 lugal abzu-a ku₄-ra-ne₂ / u₄ ĥe₂-ĝal₂-ʽam₃ʽ ĝe₆ giri₁₇-zal-am₃
When the king has entered the Abzu, the day is (a day of) abundance! The night is (a night of) profusion!

B10

N₁ ii 10 ʽninʽ-ʽurtaʽ ʽeriduʽkiʽ-ga ku₄-ra-ne₂ / ʽu₄ʽ ĥe₂-ĝal₂-ʽam₃ʽ ĝe₆ giri₁₇-ʽzalʽ-am₃
When Ninurta has entered Eridu, the day is (a day of) abundance! The night is (a night of) profusion!

⁶⁶² Or impersonal, (“One prepares the road ...” =) “The road is prepared....”

⁶⁶³ Or “has prepared.”

B11

- N₁ ii 11 ʾme¹ ʾu⁴ til₃-la-ke₄ saĝ ʾmu¹-ʾna¹-ʾrig⁷₁/ ur-saĝ an-ʾna¹-ke₄
 He, the valiant warrior of An, bestowed on him the *me*'s of living days.

B12

- N₁ ii 12 me niĝ₂ ul-e ki-be₂ mu-ši-ʾge⁴₁ / en me šar₂-ra-ke₄
 He, the lord of the myriad *me*'s, restored[?] the eternal *me*'s.⁶⁶⁴

B13

- N₁ ii 13 u₄ du₁₀ ki-en-gi-ra e₃-dam en ʾx¹ ʾEN[?]₁ ʾx¹
Being the one who is to bring forth the good day of Sumer, the lord[?] ...

B14

- N₁ ii 14 ^dnin-urta dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-ʾke₄¹
 Ninurta, the son of Enlil,

B15

- N₁ ii 15 nam-lugal-še₃ men mu-un-il₂ ʾme[?]₁-ʾe[?]₁ am₃-ma-TUM₂
 put on the *men*-crown as a sign of⁶⁶⁵ kingship. He *was suited* to the *me*'s[?]!

B16

- N₁ ii 16 nam-en-še₃ SUĤ za-gin₃ mu-un-keše₂ ʾhe₂¹-ĝal₂ šu ʾx¹⁶⁶⁶-in-du₈
 He tied on the gleaming SUĤ-emblem as a sign of⁶⁶⁷ *en*-ship. He took abundance in his hand!

B17

- N₁ ii 17 dalla mu-un-e₃ ʾabzu¹ eridu^{ʾki¹}-ʾkam¹ / saĝ an-še₃ bi₂-in-il₂
 He appeared brilliantly; *being (the one) of* the Abzu, *of* Eridu, he raised his head high!⁶⁶⁸

B18

- N₁ ii 18 sul ʾgiri₁₇¹-zal ʾe₂¹-ʾkur¹-ʾra¹ ʾĝal₂[?]₁-ʾla[?]₁
 The youth who provided[?] profusion in the Ekur—

B19

- N₁ ii 19 nam-ʾlugal¹-ʾla¹ ʾx⁶⁶⁹₁ ʾdim₂[?]₁-ma-be₂-ʾem¹

⁶⁶⁴ Lit. “*me*'s, the eternal things.”

⁶⁶⁵ Lit. “for.”

⁶⁶⁶ Both Reisman and ETCSL read **šu bi₂-in-du₈**, but the broken sign appears too narrow to be NE. Perhaps **i₃-?**

⁶⁶⁷ Lit. “for.”

⁶⁶⁸ Lit. “towards heaven.”

⁶⁶⁹ Possibly **šu?**.

he is the ... of kingship!

B20

N₁ ii 20 an ki-¹a¹ ¹enim¹ šudu₃-da-be₂-em
He is the words of prayer *of* heaven and earth!⁶⁷⁰

B21

N₁ ii 21 an ¹en²₁-¹lil²₁-da ¹kisal²₁-la ¹UL¹ ¹mu²₁-[x (x)]-¹DU²₁
An, with Enlil², ... in the courtyard.

B22

N₁ ii 22 (*traces*)

About 5–10 lines missing from the end of col. ii.

Segment C

About 5–10 lines missing from the beginning of col. iii.

C1

N₁ iii 1' [(...)]⁶⁷¹ / ¹x x (x)¹ MU ¹x x (x)¹

C2

N₁ iii 2' ¹nin-urta ki ¹en²₁ ¹zi²₁⁶⁷²-da-še₃² / ¹bad₃¹ gal-¹be₂¹ ze₄-e-¹me-en¹

Ninurta, for² the *place of the true² lord²*, you are its great wall!

C3

N₁ iii 3' ¹nam¹-¹ur¹-¹saĝ¹-¹zu¹-¹še₃¹ ¹nir¹ ¹im¹-te-e-ĝal₂
Because of your valor, *you have* trust in *yourself*.⁶⁷³

C4

N₁ iii 4' en eš-bar ¹zi¹ dumu ¹en-lil₂-la₂
Lord (who makes) true decisions, son of Enlil,

C5

N₁ iii 5' ša₃-gada-la₂ ¹dîĝir¹ nam tar-ra nam-en-na tum₂-ma

⁶⁷⁰ Lit. “In heaven and earth, he is their words of prayer.”

⁶⁷¹ The preserved tablet appears to begin with an indented line-continuation, although surface damage at the beginning of the line, rather than an indentation, is possible.

⁶⁷² ¹GI¹ is also possible. See comment to this line.

⁶⁷³ Or: “one has trust in you” (i.e. “you are trustworthy”).

clad in linen, god who decides fates, who is suited to lordship,

C6

N₁ iii 6' šu-luḥ ku₃-ga ṽlugal⁷⁴ ṽnam¹-isib zu ṽpara₁₀¹ ṽku₃¹-ge ḥe₂-du₇
one of the pure lustration rites,⁶⁷⁴ king⁷, expert in the office of *isib*-priest, ornament
befitting the pure/shining throne-dais,

C7

N₁ iii 7' ḏnin-urta abzu ṽeridu^{ki}-ga an-da nam tar-ra
Ninurta, who, in the Abzu, in Eridu, has decided fates with An,

C8

N₁ iii 8' enim du₁₁-ga-ṽzu¹ niḡ₂-me-ḡar-am₃
the word you have spoken brings silence.⁶⁷⁵

C9

N₁ iii 9' nam ṽtar¹-ṽra¹-zu niḡ₂ nu-kur₂-ru-dam
The fate you have decided is unchangeable.

C10

N₁ iii 10' enim-zu-a {nam⁷} nam tar-ra-zu-še₃
Eloquent one, because of the fate you have decided,

C11

N₁ iii 11' diḡir ur-saḡ abzu-ke₄-ne giri₁₇ šu ṽma¹-ṽra¹-ṽḡal₂¹-[le²]-ṽeš¹
the gods, valiant warriors of the Abzu, pay homage to you!

C12

N₁ iii 12' ṽlugal¹ abzu-ta saḡ ḥe₂-ṽil₂¹ x-zu [x (x)]
Oh king, you raised your head from the Abzu, *your* ... [...]

C13

N₁ iii 13' ḏnin-urta eridu^{ki}-ta saḡ ḥe₂¹-ṽil₂¹ ṽx (x)¹⁶⁷⁶ [(x x)]
Ninurta, you raised your head from Eridu, ... [...]

C14

N₁ iii 14' nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂ ṽmi¹-ni-in-i-ṽi¹-ṽne¹
They exalt *you* in (your) valor!

⁶⁷⁴ Or: “who has purified the lustration rites.”

⁶⁷⁵ Lit. “is silence.”

⁶⁷⁶ Probably either ṽen¹ or x-ṽzu⁷.

C15

N₁ iii 15' diġir^da-^rnun¹-[ke₄-ne (?)] ^rgu₃²¹ mu-un-de₂(-)^rx¹⁶⁷⁷ [(x)]
 The Anuna gods ...

C16

N₁ iii 16' ^rlugal¹ [...] ^rx¹ [...]
 King, ...

C17

N₁ iii 17' ^drⁿin¹-urta ^rx¹ [...]
 Ninurta, ...

C18

N₁ iii 18' ^rx x¹ e₂-be₂ ^rx¹⁶⁷⁸ [...]
 ... *that* house ...

C19

N₁ iii 19' [GAL].UŠUM^{PIRIĜ} ^rnam¹-^he₂(-)^rBE₂ ^rx¹ [...] ^rx¹
 [Dra]gon, *lion*, [...] abundance [...]

C20

N₁ iii 20' ^renim¹ ^den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ ^rx x¹ ^rzi¹-^ri²¹-^rzi²¹ ^rur²¹-[saġ²] ^dnin-urta
 Because of the word of Enlil, *rising* ..., oh Ninurta,

C21

N₁ iii 21' nam-^rlugal¹-zu ni₂ me-lim₄-be₂ ^rx (x)¹ ^ri₃²¹-^rdul²¹-e
 the fear and awesome radiance of your kingship cover' ...

C22

N₁ iii 22' ^rur¹-saġ-e ġeš mi-ni-ib-ur₃-^rur₃¹-^rre¹ KALAM mu-^rni¹-ib-ge-en-e
 Oh hero, *you strip the trees* and *you* make the *land*⁶⁷⁹ secure!

C23

N₁ iii 23' ^rku₃¹ za-gin₃ niġ₂-gur₁₁ ^hur-saġ-ġa₂

⁶⁷⁷ ETCSL's proposed ^rne²¹ looks unlikely from the traces, but I have no better suggestion. Cf. the following images of the entire verbal form (a) and, from a different angle, the final traces alone (b):



⁶⁷⁸ Possibly UNU'.

⁶⁷⁹ Or uġ₃ "the people."

Silver and lapis-lazuli, treasures of the mountains,

C24

N₁ iii 24' ʾaia¹-zu ^den-lil₂-ra kur-ša₃-ta mu-ʾna¹-[x] ʾx¹ [(x)]
for your father Enlil, [you[?] ...] from the heart of the mountains.

C25

N₁ iii 25' diġir ʾza₃¹ ʾdib[?]¹ ʾx¹ [x] ʾx¹ [x x x (x)]
Surpassing[?] deity, [...]

C26

N₁ iii 26' diġir ʾgu₂¹ ʾNE¹. [RU[?]680 ...]
deity [*who* ...] the ene[my][?], [...]

C27

N₁ iii 27' ʾdu₁₀¹-us₂ ʾdili¹(-)ʾa[?]681 [...] [
...] a single path [...]

C28

N₁ iii 28' en kur gul-ʾgul¹ u₃-ʾma¹ ʾdu₁₁¹-[x (x)]
Lord who destroys the lands, [...] victory,

C29

N₁ iii 29' ^dnin-ʾurta¹ ur-saġ ^den-lil₂-la₂ ze₄-ʾe¹-[x (x)]
Ninurta, you [are] the valiant warrior of Enlil!

C30

N₁ iii 30' an-ʾna¹ ʾnir¹ ʾmi¹-ʾni¹-ġal₂ ʾur[?]¹-[...] [
You are trusted in heaven, ...]

Segment D

About 5–10 lines missing from the beginning of col. iv.

D1

N₁ iv 1' (*traces*)

D2

N₁ iv 2' [x x x] ʾx¹ mu-ra-ʾan¹-šum₂

⁶⁸⁰ I owe the suggested reading of ʾgu₂ NE¹. [RU ...] to P. Attinger.

⁶⁸¹ So already Falkenstein. Both Reisman and ETCSL read instead **du₁₀-us₂-sa. dili ʾa[?]** is far more likely from my photos, but re-collation is required.

[...] gave to you.

D3

N₁ iv 3' [x x me²] ʔgal² ʔninnu¹ šu-luḥ dadag-ga
[...] fifty great² [me's²], the pure lustration rites,

D4

N₁ iv 4' [x x] ʔx¹ e₂-igi-šu-galam ki nam tar-ʔre¹-ʔzu¹ / [me]-be₂ ninnu-ʔam₃¹
the [me's] of [...], the Egišugalam, the place where you decide fates, (of which) there
are fifty,

D5

N₁ iv 5' [x x] ʔkiĝ²-sig ki ĝeš² bansur il₂-i-za / ʔme¹-be₂ ninnu-am₃
the me's of [...] the evening meals of the place where your table is set up,⁶⁸² (of which)
there are fifty,

D6

N₁ iv 6' [x x] ʔx¹ lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-ʔpa₃¹-de₃
[in² ...,] no one can discover.

D7

N₁ iv 7' [x x]-ʔna² me SAR₂⁶⁸³ nu-mu-ni-ib₂-sud⁻-sud⁻
[In² ...,] the myriad⁶⁸⁴ me's cannot be removed.

D8

N₁ iv 8' [x x] maḥ-am₃ e₂-zu maḥ-am₃
Your [...] is grand! Your temple is grand!

D9

N₁ iv 9' [x x]-ʔzu¹ maḥ-am₃ ʔšu¹-ʔluḥ¹ ʔku₃¹-zu maḥ-am₃
your [...] is grand! Your pure lustration rites are grand!

D10

N₁ iv 10' [nam]-ʔlugal¹-zu ʔGU₃²-be₂ maḥ-am₃
The voice² of your kin[gship] is grand!

D11

N₁ iv 11' [nam]-ʔur¹-saĝ²-zu za-ʔpa¹-ʔaĝ²-be₂ maḥ-am₃
The noise of your val[or] is grand!

⁶⁸² Lit. "of your place (where one) sets up the table."

⁶⁸³ or read **du**₁₀.

⁶⁸⁴ or: "good."

D12

N₁ iv 12' [dⁿnin]-urta dumu ^rd^en¹-lil²-la² / [x (x)] ^rmaḥ¹-am³ ^re²¹(-)^rx¹⁶⁸⁵ um-ta-e₃
 Ninurta, son of Enlil, / after [your? ...], which is grand, *came out*⁶⁸⁶ from [...] temple,

D13

N₁ iv 13' [x x]-^rzu¹ maḥ-am³ ^rkalam¹-ma bi²-la²
you suspended your [...], which is grand, over the land!

D14

N₁ iv 14' [x (x) sig]-^rta¹ igi-^rnim¹-še₃ [tug²]-^rgen⁷¹ bi²-dul
you made [...] cover (it) from south to north like a [garment]!

D15

N₁ iv 15' [x (x) nam]-maḥ-^rzu¹ ^rd^en-lil²-la² niĝ² ša₃-^rga¹-na-ka
 [...], your grand[ness] is Enlil's desire!⁶⁸⁷

D16

N₁ iv 16' [dⁿnin-urta] ^rnam¹-^rmaḥ¹-^rzu¹ ^rd^en¹-^rlil²¹-la² niĝ² ^rša₃¹-ga-^rna¹-^rka¹
 [Ninurta], your grandness is Enlil's desire!

D17

N₁ iv 17' [x x x] a₂ gal ^raĝ²¹-e-zu niĝ² ša₃-ga-^rna¹-ka
 That you give great instructions [...] is his desire!

D18

N₁ iv 18' [x x] ^rx¹ ^rnam¹ ^rtar¹-^rre¹-zu niĝ² ša₃-ga-na-ka
 That you decide fates [...] is his desire!

D19

N₁ iv 19' [ĝeš³gu-za] ^rnam¹-lugal-la ge-ne²-zu niĝ² ša₃-ga-na-^rka¹
 That you make firm [the throne] of kingship is his desire!

D20

N₁ iv 20' [x (x)] ^rsi¹ sa₂ U₄ DU₆-LA₂ šu⁶⁸⁸-na ĝa₂-ĝa₂-^rzu¹ / niĝ² ša₃-ga-na-ka

⁶⁸⁵ The space appears slightly too narrow for -^rta¹. Perhaps -^rzu¹, for “(from) your temple”? (On the occasional omission of the ablative case marker following a possessive suffix, see Ceccarelli 2016, 147 ad a 16, with previous literature).

⁶⁸⁶ Or: “after you brought out ...”

⁶⁸⁷ Lit. “the thing of Enlil's heart.”

⁶⁸⁸ This sign read **šu** was previously read **še₃**, but the wedge that appears at first glance to form the upper horizontal of a **še₃** sign in fact belongs to the preceding **la₂**. **še₃** with a shorter top wedge is possible (cf., e.g., the form in aBZL p. 167 no. 420 from Lgbd II 271 A) but **šu** is more likely:

That you place the just [...] *of eternity*⁶⁸⁹ in his (the king's?) hands is his desire!

(*double ruling*)

Subscript

[ser₃]-gid₂-da ^dnin-urta-kam
It is a *širgida* of Ninurta.

Catch-line/incipit 1

[...]-[saĝ¹ ʾan^{?1} ʾna^{?1} a₂-na

Catch-line/incipit 2

[nin[?] nuĝun[?]] zi kalam-ma[?]



⁶⁸⁹ Lit. “*of stored up days*.”

II.3.4 Commentary

Seg. A 1

Based on the repetition of this line in Seg. A 2, it is likely that it begins with an epithet for Ninurta, and that Seg. A 2 begins with his name. Falkenstein's reconstruction of **ur-saĝ**, which appears as an epithet for Ninurta later in the text and frequently in the literary corpus, has generally been adopted (Reisman, ETCSL), although other epithets are also possible (note, e.g., Falkenstein's alternative suggestion of **lugal**).

PSD A2 (1994), p. 57 reconstructs the beginning of the line as [**ur-saĝ a₂-ĝal₂ ^da-nun(-na)-ke₄-ne e₂-kur-r**]a e₃-a, parallel to Lipit-Eštar D 1 **ur-saĝ a₂-ĝal₂ ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne e₂-kur-ta** [e₃-a]. However, even if the reconstruction of e₃-a at the end of Lipit-Eštar D 1 is correct, the fact that both incipits would end in **e₂-kur-ta e₃-a** does not, to my mind, warrant a reconstruction of the entire incipit.⁶⁹⁰

Another incipit possibly ending in **e₂-kur-ta e₃-a** occurs in the Louvre incipit list L 36 : **nam₂ nun-e e₂-kur-ta DU-a**, where DU has sometimes been emended to e₃ (so, e.g., ETCSL). Although an identification of this incipit with Ninurta B cannot be excluded, it is very unlikely, given that the text would have to be emended, and, more importantly, that this list otherwise includes compositions belonging to the scribal curriculum.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁹⁰ The incipit to Lipit-Eštar D also appears in the Old Babylonian incipit list U3 and in the Middle Babylonian(?) incipit list HS 1477 (TUM 3 53) + HS 1578 (TUM 4 53) 47 (Bernhardt and Kramer 1956–1957, 391–393; Wilcke 1976b, 41). In the latter, its classification as an *adab* to Ninurta confirms the identification as Lipit-Eštar D, rather than another hymn with the same incipit.

⁶⁹¹ A possible identification of Ninurta B with L 36 was proposed by Kramer 1942, 18, but was withdrawn in Bernhardt and Kramer 1956–1957, 393 n. 3: “das Ende der Zeile ist tatsächlich –DU-a (nicht –e₃-a) zu lesen, und die Identifizierung, welche in *BASOR* 88 [1942], p. 18, Anm. 30 vermutet wurde, ist deshalb unzutreffend.” On the distinction between lists of curricular incipits and lists of liturgical incipits, see Delnero 2010, 42–43.

Seg. A 3

[...**zi**']-**de**₃**-eš**-**e**'

[...]-**de**₃**-eš**-**e** represents an adverbial form, almost certainly **zi-de**₃**-eš**-**e** “rightly” or, less likely in this context, **u**₄**-de**₃**-eš**-**e** “like daylight” (**zi** and **u**₄ being by far the most common words with /d/-*Auslauts* occurring in the adverbial case).⁶⁹²

'pa₃**'**-**da**

The sign (or possibly two signs) before the final **-da** should represent as a verbal base with a /d/-*Auslaut*. All that is preserved is the top part of a final vertical wedge.

If we are right in reconstructing **zi-de**₃**-eš**-**e** earlier in the line, semantically we would expect something like **pa**₃,⁶⁹³ **du**₁₁ (with **mi**₂ preceding **zi**),⁶⁹⁴ or **du**₂,⁶⁹⁵ each of which occurs multiple times as a preterite non-finite verbal form preceded by **zi** (adv.), serving as an epithet. Either **pa**₃ or **TU** is possible here, both having have /d/ *Auslauts*.

Based on parallels, it is likely that the beginning of the line would have included the agent who chose (**pa**₃) or bore (**du**₂) Ninurta (and, in the case of **pa**₃, possibly the office for which he was chosen).

Seg. A 6–28

Purpose clauses: alternation between -da and -de₃

⁶⁹² On {**eš(e)**} as a distinct case marker and on its different spellings, both with and without a final /e/, see Attinger 1993, 253–254.

⁶⁹³ Cf. Išbi-Erra C 3; Lipit-Eštar B 46; Nanna A 43.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Sin-iqišam A 8, Ninkasi A 2 // 4; Ur-Namma I Seg. B 9.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. Ninisina E 1 // 7; Enlil A 61.

In Sumerian purpose clauses, the distinction between a non-finite present/future verbal form in the locative case (ending in **-da**) and one in the directive/non-human dative case (ending in **-de₃**) is not entirely understood, and there are indications that, by the OB, the significance of the distinction was starting to be forgotten (Edzard 2003, 136; Thomsen 1984, 265-266). The significance of their alternation in this hymn eludes me; it is possible it had more to do with stylistic than with semantic considerations. Some general patterns that have been suggested for the usage of the two forms prior to the OB period are summarized below, though neither seems to hold here.

(1) Complement clauses (/ede/ or eda) vs. purpose clauses (usually /ede/)

The two main uses of present-future non-finite clauses (+ **{a}** or **{e}**) are (1) complement clauses (e.g., indirect speech, the object of **du₁₁**) or (2) purpose clauses. Attinger (1993), in his section on subordinate clauses (299–312, 3.2.9, §§198-205), organizes his discussion of the around this distinction. For complement (“*completive*”) clauses, he observes that both /eda/ and /ede/ forms occur (Attinger 1993, 302, 307). For purpose (“*finale*”) clauses, however, /ede/ is usual and /eda/ is very rare (Attinger 1993, 302, see also 311). In both types of clause, Attinger accepts the analysis of /ede/ as containing the directive marker **{e}**, while he is less sure of the analysis of /eda/. In some cases /eda/ seems to contain the locative suffix **{a}**, but there are also Sargonic examples where it is followed by the terminative suffix **{še₃}**, in which case the /a/ could be analyzed as the nominalizing suffix (Attinger 1993, 302, with n. 895).

Like Attinger, Jagersma (2010) also distinguishes between complement clauses and purpose clauses. According to his analysis, complement clauses with /eda/, often serving as the object of **du₁₁** or **zu**, are imperfective participles (i.e. non-finite verbal forms with *marû-*

base + {ed}) with the locative case maker {a} (Jagersma 2010, 667).⁶⁹⁶ In contrast to Attinger, Jagersma does not believe the nominalizing suffix {a} can occur on forms with {ed} except in the pronominal conjugation (Jagersma 2010, 671). For purpose clauses, Jagersma discusses only /-ede/, which he analyzes as an imperfective participle in the directive case. He explains the use of forms with /-ede/ in complement clauses as “a common complementation strategy... [using] a purpose clause instead of a non-finite complement clause” (Jagersma 2010, 670).

Similarly to Jagersma, Zólyomi mentions only non-finite present/future forms in the directive/non-human dative case (/ede/) in his discussion of purpose clauses, with no mention of /-eda/ forms (Zólyomi 2016, 63–64).

(2) Identification of vs. distinction between main-clause and subordinate-clause subjects

Edzard, who analyzes forms with /-ede/ as *marû* participles in the directive case and forms with /-eda/ as *marû* participles in the locative case, observes a difference in distribution based on whether the subject of the subordinate clause (the *marû* participle) is the same as the subject of the main clause (usually with a finite verb), or whether the two subjects are different (Edzard 2003, 135–136, following Edzard 1967). In forms with /-ede/, the subject of the subordinate is usually identical to the subject of the main clauses (e.g. “the merchant took silver in order to buy ...”; “An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninmah decreed that they would overturn ...”), whereas in forms with /-eda/, the subject of the subordinate clause is usually different from that of the main clause (e.g. “Ningirsu told me to build ...”) (135–136).

In contrast, Black, discussing non-finite verbal forms, states “I cannot see that $\text{BASE}^{\text{II}} + \text{ed} + \text{e}$ is different in function from $\text{BASE}^{\text{II}} + \text{ed} + \text{a}$, and one assumes that /-eda/

⁶⁹⁶ Note that /-eda/ complement clauses may also contain the genitive {ak}, especially in anticipatory genitive constructions indicating the content of an oath (Jagersma 2010, 667-668).

became /-ede/ by analogy with the -da of *ku₄-ku₄-da-mu-da becoming ku₄-ku₄-da-mu-de₃. While his explanation for the form with /-ede/ is no longer valid (he evidently understands the final NE in first- and second-person pronominal conjugation as **des**, derived from **da** [p. 79], whereas it is now known to represent **ne**), his point about the interchangeability of forms with /-ede/ and forms with /-eda/ holds.

Attinger 1993, discussing complement clauses, likewise observes that the apparent distinction discussed by Edzard is dependent on translation and not necessarily inherent in the forms themselves: “A en juger d’après mon corpus, la ‘règle’ voulant que — avant l’ép. pB! — {ed + e} est utilisé si le sujet de la principale est identique à celui de la subordonnée, {ed + a} s’il en diffère [...], ne joue qu’à condition de tourner de temps en temps la phrase par le passif — ce qui est naturellement un artifice de traduction!” (Attinger 1993, 307, §200 b 3°).

Similarly, discussing purpose clauses in /-ede/, Zólyomi explicitly states that “there is no difference between constructions in which the A[gent] of the subordinate is the same as the A[gent] [...] of the main clause, and constructions in which the A[gent] is different from the A[gent] of the main clause,” citing examples of both (Zólyomi 2016, 63).

Seg. A 6

[...] **aĝ₂-da**

I am not aware of any strong parallels that might help us to reconstruct this line. The verb may be understood as **aĝ₂** alone, as [**a₂**] **aĝ**, or as [**ki**] **aĝ₂**. Of the three, **a₂ aĝ₂** “to command” would seem the most likely as something Ninurta sets out to do.

Seg. A 7

ki ^den-lil₂-la₂

The “place of Enlil” referring generally to Enlil’s location or, more specifically, to Nippur or the Ekur, occurs in several other literary compositions (e.g., Ninisina F Seg. B 11, Ur-Ninurta A 74, Hoe and Plow 65, Pabilsaĝ’s Journey to Nippur Seg. A 22). The best parallel is in Pabilsaĝ’s Journey to Nippur, where, in contrast to our text, Nippur is the endpoint of a god’s journey rather than the starting point.:

Ex. II.2 Pabilsaĝ’s Journey to Nippur Seg. A 21–23

21 ud-ba lugal-ĝu₁₀ nibru^{ki}-še₃ na-ĝen
22 ur-saĝ ^dpa-bil₂-saĝ ki ^den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ DU-a-ne₂
23 DU-a-ne₂ e₂-be₂ i₃-si-in^{ki}-na an-ta nam-mi-ib₂-^ṛge₄?¹

Now at that time, my king went to Nippur.
As the valiant warrior Pabilsaĝ was going to the place of Enlil,
as he was going, *that* temple, in Isin, ... from above.

na-ĝen

The function of the {**na**} prefix in the main verb, here and in Seg. A 13, is not certain. See Civil (2000) on non-negative {**na**} as a marker of reported speech, “marking a statement as either belonging to traditional orally-transmitted knowledge or simply being a report of someone else’s words,” occurring especially in the opening passages and at crucial points of mythic and epic texts (Civil 2000, 37).

Seg. A 8

nam-^ḥe₂ nam-be₂ ... tar

It is unclear whether **nam-ḥe₂** is the direct object of **tar**, with **nam-be₂** functioning adverbially (cf. similar constructions with **nam-še₃** or **nam-e-eš** instead of **nam-be₂**, e.g. Šulgi Q 46, Šulgi R 1, Excerpt from a Prayer for Rim-Sin (ETCSL 2.6.9.a) 6) or whether **nam-be₂** is the grammatical object and **nam-ḥe₂** an oblique participant. In either case, the meaning is essentially clear.

Seg. A 10

ki daġal-la u₂-šim

For a possible parallel, in broken context, cf. Išme-Dagan M Version A Seg. A 12. The locale with which **u₂-šem** is most frequently associated with is the steppe (**edin**).

u₂-šem giri₁₇-zal

For other examples of **u₂-šem** “vegetation” associated with **giri₁₇-zal**, see Enlil A 121–123, EWO 349–353, and Ur-Ninurta B 8–12. These and similar passages connect **u₂-šem** to the idea of abundance (**ḥe₂-ġal₂**) and prosperity, using verbs such as **mu₂**, **si**, **šu du₇**, **du₁₀**, and **ku₇**.

On the semantic range of **giri₁₇-zal**, connected to concepts of abundance, prosperity, joy, and celebration, see Jaques 2006, 251–269 (especially 259–263). Note that Jaques takes **u₂-šem giri₁₇-zal** in this line as a genitive construction (262).

gu₂ me-er-me-re-de₃

See comment to Nuska A Seg. B 21

Seg. A 12

[x (x)] 'lu₂' 'sipa'

There is room for one or two signs before 'lu₂' (compare [ur]-saĝ in line below). Terms paired with **sipa** in the ETCSL corpus include **na-gada** (Summer and Winter 269; Šulgi A 5) and **unu₃** (Bird and Fish 9; Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 211).

Seg. A 14–23

The content of the purpose clauses in this series represents a well-known combination of *topoi* in Sumerian literature, termed a “stock-strophe” by Ferrara, the general theme of which is abundance (Ferrara 1995). Other attestations of the strophe include at least one other hymn to Ninurta (Ninurta F, a balbale to Ninurta, now edited in Al-Rawi and Black 2000, 31–39). See also Michalowski 1989, 106–107 ad 498–507.

The individual *topoi* belonging to this stock strophe that are employed in the present hymn, as far as they are preserved, include Ferrara’s items 3 (fish in the marsh), 4 (reeds in the reed-bed), and 6 (flora and fauna of the steppe). A *topos* closely related to his item 1 (flooding in the river) is that of the rushing waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. These items cover three of the four specialized subsistence zones identified in Ferrara’s treatment, associated with irrigation (Zone I, corresponding to items 1–2), with fishing, fowling, and gathering (Zone II, corresponding to items 3–4), and with pastoralism (Zone IV, corresponding to items 5–6). The zone associated with orchard/garden cultivation (Zone III, corresponding to items 7–8) does not appear to be represented in our text, although it is possible it would have appeared in the fragmentary Seg. A 22. Ferrara’s item 9 is the *topos* of long life being given in the palace, which he understands as a symbol for the urban center, associated both with the economic activities of distribution and mediation and with the economic modality of regulation, unity, and dynastic stability. In place of this *topos*, the present hymn instead has a different series of *topoi* evidently symbolizing the same

concepts, dealing with order and justice in the land and thereby alluding to the functions of the central urban institutions—ultimately the responsibility of the king (lines Seg. A 23–28) (see Ferrara 1995, 115–116).

Seg. A 14

ⁱ⁷**buranuna**^{ki-}

On the use of the **ki** determinative in ⁱ⁷**buranuna**^{ki}, see Woods 2005, 9–10.

gu₃ ĝar

For the verb **gu₃ ĝar** “to cry out, to roar” (read instead as **ka ĝar** by Reisman and ETCSL), cf. esp. Dumuzi’s Dream 6 (with syllabic spelling **ĝu₁₀ ĝar**) and, referring to storms or the storm god, Gudea Cyl. B v 5 (914), viii 1 (984), Cohen Eršemma 23.1 30, and perhaps Nergal B 2. Compare also the better attested expression with a similar meaning **gu₃ du₁₁**, which occurs occasionally with waterways (see references in Attinger 1993, 531, §458 “un cours d’eau”).

Seg. A 15

ĥu-luĥ

On the nuance of **ĥu-luĥ** (= *galātu* and *gilittu*) and the contexts in which it occurs, see Jaques 2006, 188–193. It is commonly used as an expression of fright or turmoil in laments, in hymns, and in incantations. It can be used as an adjective qualifying terms for bodies of water, such as **(a-)ab(-ba)** “sea”, **i-zi** “flood, wave”, or **a-ma₂-ru/uru₅** “deluge”, especially in images of fearsomeness, terror, and violence. Here, in contrast, the churning of the Apsu’s waters is evidently associated with abundance, perhaps in reference to annual flooding (cf. possibly EWO 301–308).

Seg. A 17

ʰi¹-li ʰta₃-ta₃-ge¹-da

“To be adorned in allure” is properly expressed with the phrasal verb **šu ta₃**, rather than **ta₃** alone. My tentative translation follows Inana D 202, where the expression **hi-li ta₃** is likewise attested (see Behrens 1998, 138 ad 202, who takes **ta₃** as being short for **šu ta₃**). Alternatively, one might consider reconstructing **[za₃]-hi-li**—a term for a type of crop that also shows up in the stock-strophe treated by Ferrara (Ferrara 1995, 97, 116)—as the subject, but **ta₃-ta₃** would be difficult to explain, and we expect the fish of the preceding line to remain the subject here.

Seg. A 18

ge uš₂

On the term **ge uš₂** “dead reed” paired with **ge henbur** “young reed,” see Attinger 2019h, note to l. 502, with previous literature.

NISAG¹? ʰniĜ₂?¹(-)NAM AK-AK-da

While the first half of this line is clear, representing one of the motifs of the abundance strophe treated by Ferrara, the second half is difficult. Reisman, followed by ETCSL, reads **nesaĝ niĜ₂-nam AK-AK-da**, and leaves everything but **nesaĝ** “first fruits” untranslated.⁶⁹⁷ The expression **niĜ₂-nam AK** is otherwise unattested, the closest parallel known to me being **niĜ₂-nam** + poss. suff. **AK** in CKU 15 13 (Michalowski 2011 iii 31–33, analytical reconstruction l. 14), which is unhelpful here.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ Falkenstein, who reads instead **x ni₃-nam mar-mar-<e>da**, likewise leaves most of the words untranslated: “..... alles”

⁶⁹⁸ **ni-ig-na-ma-an-ne AK-ka-a** : *ša qa-be-šu* DIM₂-uš “do everything of his” = “do everything he says.”

On the other hand, a phrasal verb written **NAM AK** is attested in one other text, where it is to be read **sim AK** as a variant spelling of **si-im AK** “to sniff, smell” (Gudea Cyl. A xxii 1/594; see Attinger 2005b, 247, 5.421). In our line, an interpretation along the lines of “in order to *let one smell* the ‘dead reeds’ and the young reeds [in the canebrake] ...” cannot be ruled out entirely, although it seems unlikely.⁶⁹⁹

Seg. A 19

In the series of standard abundance motifs, the commodity associated with the steppe (**an-edin**) is the plant ^{giš}**maš-gurum**. Here, though, **edin-na** is used in the general expression **niĝ₂-zi-ĝal₂ edin-na**.

Seg. A 20

ʾam^{ʾ2} gal

None of the expected terms fit the shapes of the final two signs in this line, tentatively read here as **ʾam^{ʾ2} gal**. Elsewhere, **tarah_h-maš** occurs in connection with **alim**, **lu-lim**, and **šeg₉-bar** (Keš Temple Hymn 47–48). In the wild animal section of OB Nippur Ura, it is listed alongside **lu-lim**, **udu-til**, **maš-da₃**, **amar maš-da₃**, **šeg₉**, **šeg₉-bar**, **tarah_h**, and **tarah_h-maš** (DCCLT OB Nippur Ura 3 307–314). In the conventional series of abundance motifs, the wild animals mentioned are **šeg₉** and **šeg₉-bar**, which inhabit the forest (**ter-ter**).

⁶⁹⁹ In literary texts, the verbs **si-im** and **si-im AK** are most often associated with dogs (e.g., SP 2+6 109 (ETCSL Seg. A 186), Home of the Fish 41; Ĥendursaĝa A 79, LSU 350), but also with snakes (Gudea Cyl. A xxii 1/594, Lugalbanda I 360, 370), mongooses (UHF 608) and goats and wild bulls (Lugalbanda I 305, 317). I know of only one instance where the subject is human, namely ANL 9 5 (Kleinerman 2011, 194–198, 315–318; Attinger 2019a). In Lugalbanda I, the goats and wild bulls sniff vegetation, but I am unaware of any reference in connection to reeds.

Seg. A 21

e-¹ne² ħul₂²-la¹ di-da

For **e/a-ne ħul₂** (loc.) **du₁₁** “to play joyfully,” cf. esp. Lugalbanda II 395 (Wilcke in Volk, ed. 2015 l. 393) (said of a fish), as well as Šulgi X 158 (said of lands) and Lugalzagezi 1 (RIME 1.14.20.1) ii 19–20 and 33–37 (said of lands and the city of Larsa). For further examples in different contexts, see Attinger 1993, 468–474, §§347–354.

Seg. A 23

The term **niĝ₂-ku₅** “tax” most often occurs with the verb **AK**, meaning to “to pay/deliver taxes,” occasionally with the nuance of being subject to taxation (Attinger 2005b, 243, 5.374, with n. 141). The expression **niĝ₂-ku₅ tuku** is not attested elsewhere, but a translation “to have a tax” = “to be subject to taxation” would make sense. For **niĝ₂-ku₅ AK** in similar contexts, cf. esp. Ur-Namma C 80 (abundance scene) and perhaps Nanše A (in conjunction with the verb **ba**, although there neither verb is negated).

Seg. A 24–25

Frequently attested objects of the verbs **ħa-lam** and **šū bala** include **me**, **ĝarza**, and **ĝeš-ħur**. My reconstruction follows that of Falkenstein and Reisman.

[me² ki]-¹en¹-gi-ra nu-ħa-lam-¹e¹-da

For the “*me*’s of Sumer,” cf. LSU 3 and 27, where they are said to be overturned (**šū bala**) and destroyed (**ħa-lam**), as well as Death of Gilgameš Me-turan version Seg. F 16, where they are likewise said to be destroyed (**ħa-lam**). LSU 27 also refers to the alteration (**kur₂**) of the “plans

(**ĝeš-hur**) of Sumer.” In our line, given the amount of space in the break, **me** is a more likely reconstruction than **ĝeš-hur**.

[ĝeš²-hur²] kur-kur-¹ra šu¹ nu-bala-¹e¹-da

The expression **me kur-kur-ra** is attested once, in Ninlil A 25.⁷⁰⁰ The *me*’s and *ĝarza* of the *kur* are mentioned in Inana’s Descent (throughout) and in the Death of Ur-Namma (Nippur version 84, 99), where **kur** clearly refers to the underworld. In *Angim* 11, where **me kur-ra** appears in parallel to the *me*’s of Eridu, **kur** more likely refers to a mountain or mountain region. The expressions **ĝeš-hur kur-(kur-)ra** and **ĝarza kur-(kur-)ra** are unattested. However, because there is more space before **kur-kur-ra** in Seg. A 25 than there is before **ki-en-gi-ra** in Seg. A 24, **ĝeš-hur** or **ĝarza** is most likely.

Seg. B 5–6

¹ĝiri₃¹ mu-na-ĝa₂-¹ĝa₂¹

The referent of the dative prefix in these lines is unclear, due to the lacuna, but it is presumably the same as the dative referent in Seg. B 7 (**mu-na-du₃, mu-¹na¹[x]**)—that is, probably Ninurta. I know of only five other instances of the phrasal verb **ĝiri₃ ĝar** “to set (one’s) foot” (on a path, etc.) = “to make (one’s) way” with a human participant in the dative case, where the dative is usually understood to indicate someone directed or led by the agent (that is, the agent forges the way for him or her). Compare, for example, the following examples from Gudea Cyl. A:⁷⁰¹

⁷⁰⁰ **^den-ki ^dnin-ki me kur-kur-ra-ba šu mu-ra-ni-in-du₇-uš.**

⁷⁰¹ Cf. also UHF 250 and SP 13.8 (ETCSL 13–19). Less clear is Ninisina C (Wagensonner 2008) 16a–16b, where **ĝiri₃ mu-na-ĝa₂-[ĝa₂]** is translated ĠIRI₃^{meš}-¹šū iš¹-kun.

Ex. II.3 Gudea Cyl. A xv 19–21 (405–407)

19 kur ^{ĝeš}erin-na lu₂ nu-ku₄-ku₄-da
20 gu₃-de₂-a en ^dnin-ĝir₂-su-ke₄
21 ĝir₂ mu-na-ni-ĝar

Lord Ningĝirsu (ERG.) made the way for Gudea (DAT.) in the cedar mountains that no one enters (LOC.)

Ex. II.4 Gudea Cyl. A xviii 13–16 (495–498)

13 ^dlugal-kur-dub₂ igi-še₃ mu-na-ĝen
14 ^dig-alim-ke₄ ĝir₂ mu-na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
15 ^dnin-ĝeš-zi-da diĝir-ra-ne₂
16 šu mu-da-ĝal₂-ĝal₂

After Lugalkurdub went before him (= Gudea).
Igalim (ERG.) made the way for him (DAT.).
Ninĝešzida, his (personal) deity,
took him by the hand.

In our line, the identity of the agent is unclear, but the human king is a possibility (cf. perhaps Ninisina C (Wagensonner 2008) 17a).

Seg. B 7

izim-gen₇ du₃

On the expression **izim(loc.)/izim(equ.) du₃** “to prepare festively,” see Attinger 2014, 50 ad 102 (lit. “planter dans une fête/comme pour une fête” = “préparer comme pour une fête, préparer pour les festivités (chemins, places, bâtiments)”), with previous literature. For the association with the steppe, cf. perhaps Ur-Namma C 54.

On the preparation of processional ways for festivals as attested in later periods, see the discussion in Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 65–66.

ul-la

On the use of **ul**, literally “bud, flower” or “budding, flowering, blossoming,” in connection to joyful celebration, see Jaques 2006, 43–45.

mi-¹ni-ib₂¹-tum₂-mu

If the usual understanding of this line, “He brings Ninurta into the Abzu, into Eridu, in exuberance!” is correct,⁷⁰² I cannot think of a satisfactory explanation for /b/ before the verbal base. Nevertheless, this interpretation is supported by comparable passages in Sumerian literature, where someone leads someone else into a temple or other location “in exuberance” (**ul-la**). Cf. Enki’s Journey to Nippur 25 **abzu** ^d**en-ki-ke₄** **ul-la** **bi₂-in-tum₂-me-en**, translated by Ceccarelli 2012: “Du führst *einen* in voller Pracht zu Enkis Abzu”; Šulgi P Seg. C 14 **e₂-gal maḥ-ne₂-še₃** **ul-la** **mi-ni-¹in-tum₂-mu¹** (var. **mi-¹[...]-¹tum₃¹**),⁷⁰³ translated by Klein 1981a (sec. b 14, following ms B): She [= Ninsun] [le]d him [= Šulgi] joyfully into her Egalmah. The alternative for our line would be to understand **ul-la** as a substantive and Ninurta as subject, translating “*Ninurta brings (things of) exuberance* into the Abzu, into Eridu,” but we would then expect ^d**nin-urta-ke₄** rather than ^d**nin-urta** and probably **tum₃** rather than **tum₂**.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰² Cf. Falkenstein: (the king) “brachte Ninurta im Abzu, in Eridu, in frohe Laune”; Reisman: “In joy he bears Ninurta into the Abzu, Eridu.”

⁷⁰³ Transliteration from N 1460 (BPOA 9 152), with variant from ms B.

⁷⁰⁴ On the regular use of **tum₃**, rather than **tum₂**, as the *marû* base for objects that cannot move of themselves (or for mass nouns, as opposed to countable items), at least prior to the OB period, see Sallaberger 2004, Meyer-Laurin 2010, Jagersma 2010, 366–367, and Zólyomi 2016, 92, 94; cf. Attinger 2019k, s.v. **de₆**,

Seg. B 9–10

u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-am₃ ġe₆ giri₁₇-zal-am₃

For a similar use of the copula, cf. perhaps Šulgi G 28 **u₄ šudu₃-dam ġe₆ nam-šita-am₃ kalam u₂-šal-la-am₃** “the day was (*for*) prayers, the night was (*for*) *namšita*-prayers, the land was (*for*) green pastures,” in which the first two copular clauses may be comparable to the dative expressions in Gudea Cyl. B iv 22 (907) **u₄ siškur₂-re ġe₆ šudu₃-de₃** “days for prayer-offerings, nights for prayers.”

A very near parallel to the expression in our lines occurs in Dumuzi-Inana B1 1–2, which, instead of the simple use of the enclitic copula, with predicate complements in the absolutive case, uses finite copular forms (to accommodate the modal prefix {**na**}), with predicate complements in the genitive case: (1) **u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-la na-nam ġe₆ nam-ħe₂ na-nam** (2) **iti giri₁₇-zal na-nam mu asila₃ na-nam** “The day was (a day) of abundance! The night was (a night) of prosperity! The month was (a month) of profusion! The year was (a year) of joy!” Cf. also Rim-Sin G 12 **u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-la mu giri₁₇-zal-la** “days of abundance, years of profusion.”

Seg. B 11–12

On the placement of the subject after the verb as a focus-marking device, see Attinger 1993, 155, §96 b, with examples. I understand the subject of these two lines, represented by the epithets “valiant warrior of An” and “lord of the myriad *me*’s,” to be Enki.

Seg. B 11

me u₄ til₃

The term **me u₄ til₃-la** “*me*’s of living days (i.e. the days of one’s life)” is also attested in Ibbi-Suen A 18, unfortunately in broken context. Cf. the similar **me til₃-la** “*me*’s of life” in Ibbi-Suen D Seg. A 17.

ur-saĝ an-na-ke₄

The epithet “valiant warrior of An” is only rarely attested, and it occurs most frequently in reference to “mighty copper” (**uruda niĝ₂ kala-ga**) (see Rendu Loisel 2015, 219–220). Elsewhere, aside from our line, it appears only in Šu-Suen J (2.4.4.a) 4, where Šu-Suen is referred to as **dumu ur-saĝ an-na-ke₄** “son and valiant warrior of An,” and perhaps in the opening line of *kirugu* 8 of *Elum didara* (l. b+149; CLAM p. 175, 180, 184).⁷⁰⁵

In our line, rather than accepting the signs as written, ETCSL amends to **dumu-saĝ an-na-ke₄** “the firstborn son of An,” a fairly well-attested epithet for Enki (occurring, for example, in EWO 68, 80; Išme-Dagan D Seg. B 12; Hymn to Ninurta for Išme-Dagan (ETCSL 2.5.4.29) 1; Išme-Dagan E 13). Given the infrequency with which **ur-saĝ an-na** occurs, especially as an epithet of a deity, and the fact that we would expect a familiar epithet for Enki to occur here, this suggestion is not unreasonable.

Seg. B 12

me niĝ₂ ul-e

⁷⁰⁵ Cohen 1988, 180 restores [**ur-saĝ an-na**] at the beginning of the line, but does not comment on the basis for this restoration.

The expression **me niĝ₂ ul-e** occurs also in *Angim* 191/193, in variation with **me niĝ₂ u₄ ul-e**. The nearly synonymous **me ul** is far better attested; see Farber-Flügge 1973, 163, with examples.

ki-be₂ mu-ši-¹ge₄

If the traces of the verbal base are in fact to be read **ge₄**, the cooccurrence of **ki-be₂** (dir./loc3) and {**ši**} in the verbal form is unexpected. Most likely, the scribe conflated the expressions **ki** + poss. suff. (dir./loc3) **ge₄** and **ki** + poss. suff. (term.) **ge₄**, both meaning “to restore” (see examples cited in Attinger 2019k, s.v. **ge₄**). Less likely is that the terminative prefix refers to an additional participant, presumably Ninurta.

The restoration of the *me*’s is a theme that occurs both in royal hymns and royal inscriptions, often as one of the responsibilities or accomplishments of the king (see further Farber-Flügge 1973, 152–153). For our line, compare especially Iddin-Dagan 2 (RIME 4.1.3.2) 8–12.

en me šar₂-ra

en me šar₂-ra “lord of the myriad *me*’s,” better known as the divine name of an ancestor of Enlil, is rarely attested as an epithet. Aside from the current line, it is used in Lipit-Eštar E 29 in reference to Enlil.

Seg. B 15

men

On the *men*-crown as a symbol of kingship, see the discussion in section 5.3.1.

Seg. B 16

SUĜ

The piece of royal or priestly regalia written with the sign **MUŠ₂**(**MUŠ₃-g.**), most often read **suḥ**, and frequently occurring with **keše₂**, has been discussed extensively in secondary literature (see below). There is as yet no consensus as to the precise meaning of the term (either a type of headgear or a type of pectoral) or its correct reading, and Attinger is probably right in suggesting that “derrière MUŠ₂/MUŠ₃ désignant une parure se cachent plusieurs termes de sens probabl. voisins” (Attinger 2019m, note to l. 155).

*** *Aside on SUḤ* ***

Reading

Lexical and syllabic evidence point to at least two distinct readings of **MUŠ₂** (more rarely or in older texts **MUŠ₃**) designating a type of adornment associated with kingship or priesthood: one with the reading /**muš**/, and one or more with a reading beginning with /**su**/ or /**šu**/. The following summary does not bring new evidence to the discussion, but is intended to provide an overview of the points of evidence already identified in previous literature (see especially Rubio 2010, 29–34).

In OB Nippur Ea 754–756 (MSL 14, p. 60), the three readings provided for **MUŠ₂** are:

suḥ (**su-uḥ₂**) (so ms Jn, omitted in Jm)
suku₅ (**su-ku**)
se₂₈ (**se-e**)

Each of the first two readings has been proposed for **MUŠ₂** as a type of insignia. The reading **suḥ** is also used for the verb “to remove, to select,” and the reading **suku₅** is evidently also used for a type of comb (Akk. *muštu*) or a particular hairdo(?)⁷⁰⁶ and for a kind of wooden pole.⁷⁰⁷ The

⁷⁰⁶ See Attinger 2019k, s.v. **suku₅** and Attinger 2015b, note to l. 21, with previous literature. Cf. also Volk 1989, 187 ad 80.

⁷⁰⁷ Veldhuis 1997, 177 ad 388. Note also the equation of **su-ku****MUŠ₂**/**su-uk****MUŠ₂** with *mašāḥu* in line 245a of *Erimḥuš* 5 ms A (O 171 [TCL 6 35]) (MSL 17, p. 77) and in the catchline of *Erimḥuš* 6 ms A (VAT 10262 + VAT 12965 + VAT 12973 [FB 20/21 265–266]) (MSL 17, p. 88). As observed in the DCCLT edition of TCL 6 35, “Sumerian suku₅(pole)

corresponding passage in first-millennium Aa (Aa VIII/1 165–170 [MSL 14, p. 493]) provides the following readings and Akkadian equivalents, in addition to readings used in the divine names Tišpak and Šušinak:

muš₂ (**mu-uš**) = *zi-i-mu, ma-a-tum*

suh (**su-uḥ**) = *na-sa-ḥu*

susbu₂ (**su-us-bu**) = *ra-am-ku*

None of the Akkadian equivalents in Aa seem to correspond to the usage of **MUŠ₂** as an item of adornment: the first two (**muš₂** = *zīmu, mātum*) represent **muš₂** as an alternate spelling of **muš₃**, the second (**suh** = *nasāḥu*) represents the verb **suh** “to remove, to select,” and the third (**susbu₂** = *ramku*) refers to a temple official. Likewise in MB Syllabary B, the only reading offered for **MUŠ₂** is the verb **suh** = *nasāḥu* (Syllabary B 1 20 (MSL 3, p. 97)).

Syllabic or glossed writings in literary texts provide somewhat conflicting evidence for the reading of **MUŠ₂** and **MUŠ₂-keše₂**, supporting a reading of **subi/a/u_x**, of **sukus**, or of **muš₂**. In an Old Babylonian source for Šulgi E, **MUŠ₂** is provided with the phonetic gloss **su-bu** in the expression **su-bu⁷⁰⁸ MUŠ₂ za-gin₃ keše₂-ra₂-me-en**, indicating a reading of **subi/a/u_x**.⁷⁰⁸ A second piece of Old Babylonian evidence occurs in the *eršema* of Dumuzi BM 100046 (CT 58 42) 79,⁷⁰⁹ where **MUŠ₂** is glossed either with **su-ku**⁷¹⁰ or with **su-ba**,⁷¹¹ in the expression **su-ba⁷¹¹ MUŠ₂-keše₂ ba-ni-in-AK_{na}**. This line thus supports either the reading **subi/a/u_x** or a reading **sukus**.

works with *mašāhu* = to measure, but the Akkadian context requires *mašāhu* = to flash” (n. 33, ad r. iii 9). Cf. Rubio 2010, 32, who suggests that “the interpretation of *mašāḥu* is probably secondary and predicated on the phonetic similarity between that verb and *nasāḥu*.”

⁷⁰⁸ Note that the term **MUŠ₂(-keše₂)** may well have an etymological connection to the term ^(NA)**subi(ZA.MUŠ₂)** meaning “shining” (*ellum*) or designating a type of stone (Akk. *šubū*; frequently read /*šuba*/), and this lexeme can in fact be written with **MUŠ₂** alone, read **subi_x**, along with the other variants ^(NA)**subi₂(ZA.MUŠ₃)**, ^{NA}**subi₃**, and ^{NA}**subi₄(MUŠ₃)**. However, the term **MUŠ₂** used in conjunction with **keše₂** is certainly to be understood as a separate lexeme from **subi_{1/2/3/4}** meaning “shining” or “*subi/šuba*-stone,” as it appears in different contexts and never varies with **subi** or **subi₂**.

⁷⁰⁹ Kramer 1980.

⁷¹⁰ So Alster and Geller 1990, 19 ad 42 l. 79, along with handcopy on pl. 53.

⁷¹¹ So Rubio 2010, 34 with n. 12, citing a collation by Finkel, courtesy of Civil.

In contrast, a passage in Šulgi X supports a reading of **muš₂** for **MUŠ₂** designating a type of insignia, as discussed recently in Attinger 2019m, note to l. 155. The line in question reads **lugal muš za-gin₃-na gunu₃-a dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂(-a)**, with the spelling **muš** preserved in two sources. That this is a reference to the concrete object usually written **MUŠ₂** is evident from the context, especially the use of **za-gin₃-na gunu₃-a** as modifier.⁷¹² As discussed in Klein 1981b (131–133), this composition, like many Šulgi hymns, makes frequent use of phonetic spellings. For instances of **muš** as a phonetic spelling or variant for **muš₂/muš₃** occurring different lexemes—for example, in the word **si-muš_{2/3}**, in the word **muš_{2/3}** referring to a face or an area of a temple (= *zīmu*, *mātu*), and in the phrasal verb **muš_{2/3} tum₂** “to cease”—see Attinger 2019m, note to l. 155.⁷¹³ The reading **muš₂** might also be called for in SP 3.164 (ETCSL l. 292), where Attinger suggests a play on words between the term **muš-da-kur₄** “lizard, gecko” and the expression **MUŠ₂ am₃-KEŠE₂-KEŠE₂** (2019m, note to l. 155, 2019k, s.v. **MUŠ₂ (...) keše₂-d/r**).

The Old Babylonian evidence for the reading of **MUŠ₂** in the present context is thus mixed, most points of evidence supporting a reading of **subi/a/u_x** or **suku₅**, but one compelling piece pointing instead to **muš₂**.

First millennium evidence for the reading of **MUŠ₂** designating a type of insignia, used in conjunction with **keše₂**, points to a reading that begins with /su/ (in one case explicitly **suḥ**). The clearest point of evidence occurs in *Antagal* A 208 (MSL 17, p. 188), where **MUŠ₂**, in the expression

⁷¹² So Attinger 2019m, note to l. 155. Cf., perhaps, the incipits in Catalogue L 67 (**nin-ĝu₁₀ MUŠ₂ za-gin₃ gunu₃[?]-a**) and Catalogue Y1 67 (**nin-ĝu₁₀ MUŠ₂ za-gin₃<<ZA>>-na gunu₃-a**). For other examples of **MUŠ₂** modified by **za-gin₃(-na)**, see, e.g., Ninurta B Seg. B 16, Šulgi E 10, EWO 350, Gilgameš and Ħuwawa B 29–30, Dumuzi-Inana B 32.

⁷¹³ Note especially **si-muš** for **si-muš_{2/3}** in Šulgi D 29, which uses similar spellings to Šulgi X (see Klein 1981b, 67–68).

MUŠ₂-keše₂ = *tiqu* (“embellishment, ornament, insignia”⁷¹⁴), is glossed with **su-uh** (MUŠ₂^{su-uh}keše₂).⁷¹⁵

A second point of evidence occurs in a bilingual source for the Elevation of Ištar (AO 6458 (TCL 6 51)),⁷¹⁶ where the term MUŠ₂-keše₂, corresponding to Akkadian *ti-iq-tis-iq-ni* “ornaments,” is preceded by the gloss **su-ki-iš** (Tablet III line 83). Although the most obvious interpretation, in light of *Antagal* A 208, is to see this as an indication for the reading **suḥ-keše₂** (> /su(h)kiš) (so Rubio 2010, 30–31 n. 5), one cannot rule out the possibility of **suba/i/u_x-keše₂** (> su(b)kiš) (so Civil 2008, 68) or of **suku_s-keše₂** (> su(k)kiš).

A final potential piece of evidence for the reading of MUŠ₂ in the present context occurs in *Nabnitu* 10 104 (MSL 16, p. 120), in a sequence of Sumerian terms equated with Akkadian *ṣiprātum* (possibly meaning “trim (of precious stone)” or “beads, ornaments”⁷¹⁷) (ll. 103–107). The line in question reads MUŠ₃(not MUŠ₂)^{su-ku-uš}KA-KA = *ṣi-ip-ra-a-tum* and is followed by two other terms beginning with MUŠ₃.⁷¹⁸ The entire *ṣiprātum* sequence belongs to a section evidently dealing with trim or ornamentation of precious stone, along with associated terms.⁷¹⁹ The correct

⁷¹⁴ CAD T (2006), p. 422.

⁷¹⁵ Civil suggests that the gloss **su-uh** here is “a misinterpretation, or an ancient misreading, of a misunderstood **su-ub!** and should be emended” (Civil 2008, 68 n. 137). In addition to the main source preserving the gloss (ms A = K 2055 [RA 13, 190–191]), though, a second source (D = K 4242 [RA 17, 142] + K 4584) likewise includes a gloss, preserved as **su-!x**. The traces of the second sign as they appear in the handcopy and in the CDLI photo ([P373805](#)) could represent the first Winkelhaken of **uh**, which would point against Civil’s emendation:



⁷¹⁶ Hruška 1969, Foxvog 2013. See also BLMS “Elevation of Ishtar.”

⁷¹⁷ CAD Š (1962), pp. 204–205. See also Civil 2008, 68 with n. 139 and CAD Š (1962), p. 4, *ṣabāru* B b, with discussion section, and cf. CAD Š (1962), pp. 132–133, *ṣepēru* 1. For a different interpretation, see Cohen 1975b, 32 ad 6: “All meanings of *ṣipru* listed by CAD appear to be derived from a basic concept of a twisted or braided object around the head.”

⁷¹⁸ (105) MUŠ₃ **saĝ_s**^{saĝ_s-saĝ_s}**saĝ_s** = *ṣi-ip-ra-a-tum*, (106) MUŠ₃ **de₁₀**^{de}-**de₁₀**^{de} = *ṣi-ip-ra-a-tum*

⁷¹⁹ The preceding sequence (ll. 96–102) consists of Sumerian terms equated with the singular of *ṣiprātum*, *ṣiprum* “trim, ornament,” most of which are composed of ^{NA₂}**za-gin₃** “lapis lazuli” plus a modifier.

interpretation of the expression **MUŠ₃ KA-KA**, and of the gloss, remains uncertain.⁷²⁰ If one assumes that the Neo-Assyrian scribe took **MUŠ₃** as an abbreviation for **MUŠ₂ KEŠE₂**, the gloss might potentially support any one of the readings suggested for ^{su-ki-iš}**MUŠ₂-keše₂** above—that is, (1) **suḥ-keše₂** (> /su(h)kuš/), (2) **suku_s-keše₂** (> /su(k)kuš/), or (3) **subi/a/u_x-keše₂** (> /su(b)kuš/).

In summary, while the Old Babylonian evidence supports both a reading **muš₂** (in association with lapis lazuli) and a reading **subi/a/u_x** (in association with lapis lazuli, in conjunction with **keše₂**), probably representing two separate but related lexemes, the first-millennium evidence supports only the reading **suḥ** (and perhaps a different reading also beginning with /su/).

Meaning

As observed by Rubio and others, the primary reason **SUḤ** is traditionally identified as a type of headgear is that it occurs in parallel to types of crowns as items of insignia; however, another article of apparel might be equally fitting (Rubio 2010, 29). The two types of evidence that can be brought to bear on the matter are (a) bilingual evidence and (b) contextual evidence.

The most frequently attested Akkadian equivalent for **SUḤ** or **SUḤ-keše₂** is *tiqnu* (pl. *tiqnātu*), designating a type of ornament.⁷²¹ In monolingual Akkadian texts, the term sometimes applies to ornaments placed on the neck or chest: in RINAP 4 60 40'–41' and RINAP 4 48 88–89,⁷²² for example, Esarhaddon states that he adorned the necks (*kišādu*) and breasts (*irtu*) of several deities

⁷²⁰ Civil, observing that CAD's understanding of *šiprātum* as the plural of *šiprum* is not certain and that its meaning remains unknown, refers to **MUŠ₃^{su-ku-uš}.KA.KA** = *ši-ip-ra-a-tum* only as a "possibly related term" to **MUŠ₂-KEŠ₂**, which "may have caused, or be the result of, some interference based on the reading **suku_s**, **suk**, and on the meaning of *šipru*" (Civil 2008, 68 with n. 139). Rubio, taking the gloss as applying only to **MUŠ₃** (rather than to **MUŠ₃ KA.KA**), observes that *šiprātu*, understood as the plural of *šipru* "stone bead, precious stone trim," "suggests a connection with the general meaning of **MUŠ₂-KEŠ₂** proposed by Klein and Civil [i.e. pectoral ornament or low-hanging necklace]. If one assumes that in that *Nabnitū* entry **MUŠ₃** stands for **MUŠ₂**, then **MUŠ₂-KEŠ₂** could be interpreted literally as 'stone beads (**MUŠ₃/MUŠ₂** = *šiprātu*) bound together (**kešda** = *raksātu*)'" (Rubio 2010, 30).

⁷²¹ CAD T (2006), p. 422: "embellishment, ornament, insignia."

⁷²² Cited in CAD T (2006), p. 422 as Borger Esarh. 88: 15 and Borger Esarh. 84 r. 36.

with “magnificent ornament(s)” (*ti-iq-ni ši-ru*, *ti-iq-ni* MAḪ.MEŠ) and precious jewelry (*šukuttu aqartu*). Compare also *ti-iq-ni* GU₂-*šu* “his ornaments of the neck,” listed among royal tribute or plunder in the Sargon inscriptions Fuchs 1994 “Die Annals” 308 (pp. 153, 331) and “Die Große Prunkinschrift” 132 (pp. 228–229, 349–350).⁷²³ In addition, the word *tiqnu* can apply to other types of ornamentation, used to adorn, for example, a gold crown, a divine chariot or boat, or a shrine (see examples in CAD T [2006], p. 422). Ornaments designated with the term *tiqnu* were at least in some cases constructed with gold and precious stones, as attested in RINAP 4 48 84 and in Schaudig 2001 Nabonidus 2.5 II 24 (pp. 367, 370).⁷²⁴

Sumerian SUḪ is equated with *tiqnu* in both lexical lists and bilingual texts, all dating to the first millennium. In addition to the entry in *Antagal* A 208 (MSL 17, p. 188) cited above (SUḪ^{su-ub} **keše₂** : *tiqnu*), the lexical commentary Murgud B 4 100 includes the equation in the section on stones and stone objects.

Ex. II.5 Murgud B 4 99–103 (MSL 10, p. 32–33)⁷²⁵

99	^{NA₄} mul-ug	<i>il-lu-ku</i>	[...]
100	^{NA₄} SUḪ- keše₂	<i>ti-iq-nu</i>	[...]
101	^{NA₄} niĝ₂-ta₃-ga	<i>su-du-ru</i>	[...]
102	^{NA₄} nunus	<i>e-rim-ma-tu₂</i>	[...]
103	^{NA₄} nunus gu₂	<i>ni-i-[ru]</i>	[...]

Here the term SUḪ **keše₂** appears with the determinative NA₄, thus referring to an ornament made with precious stones. In a discussion of the term immediately preceding ours, ^{NA₄}**mul-ug** : *illūku*, Civil characterizes lines 100–103 as “terms for neck decorations,” concluding that Sumerian /**mulug**/ (Akk. *illūku*) is likewise a type of ornament worn around the neck (Civil 2006, 128–129

⁷²³ Cited in CAD T (2006), p. 422 as Lie Sar. 367 and Winckler Sar. pl. 34: 132.

⁷²⁴ Cited in CAD T (2006), p. 422 as Borger Esarh. 83 r. 32 and RA 11 112 ii 24

⁷²⁵ The lines in Ura 16 corresponding to Murgud B 4 99–101 are not preserved. They are restored in MSL 10 (pp. 14, 28) as Ura 16 374–376, but see Civil 2006, 129 with n. 19 for different placement. Murgud B 4 102–103 correspond to Ura 16 190–191 (MSL 10, p. 9).

ad Lines B₂ 6'–7'). According to CAD S (1984), p. 343 (*sudduru* discussion section), both *illūku* (l. 99) and *sudduru* (l. 101) can describe both stones and garments, but neither word is well attested outside of the lexical tradition, and a more specific meaning is difficult to determine. The Sumerian term equated with *sudduru*, ^{NA}**niĝ₂-ta₃-ga** (l. 101), is likewise poorly attested, but it most likely designates a type of neck or breast ornament (Arkhipov 2017, 152–153, with previous literature). Finally, the term *erimmatu* (l. 102) refers to an egg-shaped bead (^{NA}**nunus**), in one case used in the plural to refer to a necklace of such beads (CAD E [1958], p. 294), and the rarely-attested term *nīru* (l. 103) designates a type of string, evidently used for a beaded necklace, as here (= ^{NA}**nunus gu₂** “*nunus*-beads of the neck”) (CAD N2 [1980], p. 265).

In addition to these lexical references, the equation **SUĤ (keše₂) : tiqnu** also occurs in three first-millennium bilingual compositions. The most informative is the Elevation of Ištar III 83–84,⁷²⁶ in a passage recounting Anu's investiture of Ištar.

Ex. II.6 Elevation of Ištar III 83/84

83/84 ^{su-ki-iš}**SUĤ-keše₂ maḥ-a aĝ₂-ta₃-ga na-aĝ₂-diĝir-ra u₄-gen₇ ba-ni-in-e₃**
^{ti-iq}*ti₅-iq-ni ši-ru-ti su-du-ur i-lu-ti ki-ma u₄-mu uš-te-pi-ši*

(Wearing) the grand **SUĤ-keše₂ (tiqnu)** and the **niĝ₂-ta₃-ga (sudūru)** of divinity, he (An) made her go forth/appear like the sun/day(light).

Here, as in Murgud B 4 100–101, **SUĤ-keše₂ : tiqnu** occurs in conjunction with **niĝ₂-ta₃-ga** : *sudduru/sudūru*, the latter appearing in the Emesal form **aĝ₂-ta₃-ga**. A second bilingual attestation of **SUĤ** with **keše₂**, again translated as *tiqnu*, occurs in the opening line of the second incantation of *Bīt mēseri* 2,⁷²⁷ which reads: (25) **en₂ dlugal-irra^a alan SUĤ keše₂-keše₂-re** : (26) **MIN ṣa-lam**

⁷²⁶ On these lines, see also above under “Reading.”

⁷²⁷ Meier 1941–1944.

ti-iq-na-a-ti “Incantation: Lugalirra, figure that ties on the *SUH*-ornament(s)” (Akk. “figure of the *tiquu*-ornaments”). Thirdly, in an obscure passage in the bilingual proverb collection K 4347 + K 16161 (BWL pl. 61–63),⁷²⁸ the expression *SUH AN DI bi₂-ib₂-keše₂-keše₂-re-en* is translated as *ti-¹iq-ni¹ tu-taq-qa₂-¹nu¹-[ma[?]]* (iv 10–11).⁷²⁹

As mentioned above in the discussion on readings, the first-millennium list *Nabnitu* may offer a second Akkadian equivalent for *SUH* (written *SUH₁₀[MUŠ₃]*), namely *šiprātum*, in a section evidently dealing with trim or ornamentation made of stones and/or other precious materials:

Ex. II.7 Nabnitu 9 104–106

104	<i>SUH₁₀^{su-ku-uš} KA-KA</i>	<i>ši-ip-ra-a-tum</i>
105	<i>SUH₁₀ saĝ₅^{sag₃-sag₃}-saĝ₅</i>	<i>ši-ip-ra-a-tum</i>
106	<i>SUH₁₀ de₁₀^{de}-de₁₀^{de}</i>	<i>ši-ip-ra-a-tum</i>

The term *šiprātum*, probably the plural of *šipru*, would seem to correspond to a type of ornamentation, but its precise significance here is debated (see above).

A third Akkadian equivalent perhaps to be associated with *SUH* occurs in the late first-millennium *balaĝ* preserved on VAT 2190+ (SBH 50a, aka SBH 86),⁷³⁰ where a word written *MUŠ₂* designating an architectural feature is translated with Akkadian *ṭurru* (rev. 24’–25’). Since at least two readings of the sign *MUŠ₂* can refer to parts of a temple—(1) *SUH* “*pectoral/crown*” used in reference to high parts of the temple (see below) and (2) *muš₂* as a spelling of *muš₃*, referring to an area belonging to the temple—the referent here is uncertain. AHW classifies the reference under *ṭurru* “Band, Knoten,” in the meaning “Band an Mauern, an Toren” (1397 s.v.

⁷²⁸ Lambert 1960, 239–250.

⁷²⁹ Restoration after Lambert 1960, 244. Cf. the BLMS edition by Jeremiah Peterson (BWL, pl. 61 (K 04347+) r 10’–11’): *suḥ AN DI bi₂-ib-sir₃-sir₃-re-en ti-¹iq-ni¹ tu-taq-qa₂-¹x¹-[...]*.

⁷³⁰ Listed in the SBH table of contents as No. 86 (p. x), included in the handcopies as No. 50a (pp. 92a–92b).

turru 7), while CAD T (2006) treats it as separate lexeme, designating “an architectural feature, perhaps a courtyard or enclosure” (165–166).

The only unambiguous Akkadian equivalent of **SUH(-keše₂)** is thus *tiqnu*, while the equation of **SUH₁₀** (+ modifier) with *šiprātu*, as a type of personal adornment, and the equation of **SUH** with *turru*, as an architectural feature, are more tentative. Based on the repeated association of **SUH-keše₂** with *tiqnu*, we can be certain that, at least by the Neo-Assyrian period, it was understood as a type of ornament made with precious stones and/or metals, and that its functions included being worn around the neck and/or decorating one’s chest. It is on the basis of this equivalent that the translation “pectoral” was proposed already in mid-20th c. CE scholarship. Falkenstein, for example, translates EWO 263 (cited as SEM 78 III 15) “als Zeichen der en-Priesterschaft [legte sich] der Herr das Pektorale [an],” noting that his translation of **MUŠ₃** as “Pektorale” follows the interpretation of Jacobsen.⁷³¹ He continues, though, by raising the possible objection that pectorals are not represented in Mesopotamian imagery, along with the fact that an item designated by **MUŠ₂** appears on a bird’s *head* in Nanše C Seg. E 14 (cited as HAV 22 IV 9) (Falkenstein 1949), 220 ad 11 with n. 21) (but see below for a different interpretation of this line). An interpretation of **MUŠ₂** as a type of headgear, based on contextual rather than lexicographical evidence, began to gain traction in Assyriological scholarship around the same time. Gadd, for example, discussing EWO 263–264, observes that here “muš₂ is the sign of priesthood (nam-en) and mir that of royalty (nam-lugal) which may indicate that muš₂ was the name of another form of headdress” (Gadd 1951, 33 ad 7). In the subsequent decades, the translation “headgear” or similar became the dominant one, although it was not universally accepted: for example, in a 1959 treatment of **men**, **aga**, and

⁷³¹ No reference provided. Cf. Jacobsen 1946, 13 ad Page 11, No. 1, where he translates **SUH-keše₂** as “jewel” (Ensu(h)kešdanna “*Enu* (who is) the jewel of Heaven (or ‘of Anu’)”).

muš₂/muš₃, Falkenstein seems hesitant to adopt Gadd's suggestion outright, writing that the precise meaning the term is “nicht eindeutig zu ermitteln” based on the preserved evidence (Falkenstein 1959, 96–97 ad 15–16). Also in 1959, Edzard translates **MUŠ₂/MUŠ₂** as “‘Pektorale’ (?)” citing Falkenstein 1949 (Edzard 1959, 18 n. 43), and in 1969, Hruška translates “Halsschmuck” based on the equation with *tiquu* (Hruška 1969, 507 ad 83–84). The interpretation of “headgear” was adopted by, among others, Bernhardt and Kramer 1959–1960, *passim* (“Diadem,” ll. 195, 261, 320, 348, 408); Sjöberg 1969, 73 ad 95 (“a kind of headgear,” citing Falkenstein 1959); Heimpel 1972, 287 (“part of the headgear for *en* and *lugal*,” citing Sjöberg 1969); and Cohen 1975b, 32–33 ad 6, (citing Falkenstein 1959 and Sjöberg 1969). The proposed translation “pectoral” was again brought to the fore in 1981 by Klein, who translates **SUḪ-keše₂ nam-diġir-ra** as “divine pectoral” (Klein 1981b, 73 l. 10) with the comment that “**MUŠ₂-kešda** may refer to a ‘pectoral’ [citing Edzard 1959] or to a kind of headdress [citing Falkenstein 1949 and Sjöberg 1969]” (Klein 1981b, 91).

In more recent scholarship, translators have tended to opt for either “headpiece” or “pectoral” or to mention both possibilities, with only brief reference to the reason for the choice or with a simple citation of previous scholarship. So, for example: Attinger 2019k (**MUŠ₂, MUŠ₃, muš₂, muš₃, suku₅, suku₆ or suḪ, suḪ₁₀ or sub_i, sub_i₄**: “une parure pour la tête,” “fig. pour un fromage (ga-ara₃),” “un élément architectural appartenant aux parties hautes d’un temple (‘créneaux’ v.s.)”; **MUŠ₂/3 (...)** **keše₂-d/r** “attacher le *MUŠ* (une parure pour la tête)”); Zgoll 1998 ZA 87, 189 (“**SUḪkeše-Pektorale**”); Marchesi 2006, 61 n. 283, 98 with n. 550 (**suḪ**: “‘diadem’ or the like; in some contexts **MUŠ₂**: “‘hairdo’ or ‘locks’”); Mittermayer 2009, 18 n. 81 (/suku/: “Kopfbdeckung; hohe Architekturteile eines Tempels (Zinnen oder ähnlich); aber auch Pektoral”).

A few relatively recent treatments have gone into more depth, including Steinkeller 1998, Civil 2008, 67–68 ad 057–058, and Rubio 2010, 29–34. Steinkeller 1998 identifies the referent of **SUH** as “a type of neck or head ornament,” and notes that the term’s regular usage with the verb **keše₂** “to tie, to fasten, to bind” led to the existence of “a frozen compound **suh-kešda**, literally: ‘fastened suh’ (Akk. *tiqnu*), which functions as a generic term for ‘ornament’ or ‘adornment’” (93). After providing a survey of attestations of the term **suh** (93–95), Steinkeller concludes:

“As for its specific meaning, we undoubtedly find here a type of band. Since suh is compared to a ‘crown’ (men) and ‘tiara’ (aga), and since it may have been decorated with lapis-lazuli, it certainly was an object of considerable importance and value, which was worn over the head. A translation ‘diadem’ would thus not be inappropriate” (95).

Regarding the symbolic or cultic significance of the **SUH** ornament, Steinkeller’s examples show that “the suh was an attribute of deities (both female and male), of kings, of en officials, and of nu-gig priestesses. As such, it apparently enjoyed a wide cultic application.” Nevertheless, the frequency of its use in contexts involving Inana leads Steinkeller to suggest a possible special association of the object with Inana’s cult (95).⁷³²

Civil 2008 treats the terms **SUH** and **SUH KEŠE₂** in his edition of ED Practical Vocabulary A, where a pair of entries reads: **KEŠ₂.za** : *še₃-ba-tum*, **MUŠ₃.za** : *su-bu₃-lu* (ED Practical Vocabulary A 57–58 // ED Practical Vocabulary B 13–14) (Civil 2008, 67–68 ad 057–058). Here the sign **za** represents the ED classifier for a stone object, and Civil evidently takes **MUŠ₃.za** in line 58 as a designation of the “šuba-stones” (Akk. *šubû*), usually written in OB orthography with **subi/u/a(ZA.MUŠ₂)** or **subi/u/a₂(ZA.MUŠ₃)** and best known for their association with Inana. Civil observes that, “when designating a stone, both MUŠ₃ and ZA.MUŠ₂/MUŠ₃ must be read /suba/ or

⁷³² See also Zgoll 1997a, 304–306 ad Zeile 3.

/subu/, or, alternatively, /šuba/, /šubu/,” noting that “in the late logogram ZA.MUŠ₂, or MUŠ₂.ZA, the sign ZA is simply the fossilized stone classifier za” (67; cf. 68 ad (b)).

Based on the evidence of the two ED Practical Vocabulary lines, Civil argues that the OB term MUŠ₃/MUŠ₂-KEŠ₂ used as “the name of some decorative artifact” was originally a noun + noun compound, a fact still reflected in its treatment as a nominal in late lexical lists (being equated with the Akkadian noun *tiqnu*) (67). At some point after the ED period, according to Civil, the term was re-analyzed as a noun + verb construction: “the second half of the MUŠ₃-KEŠ₂ compound was understood as a verbal participle indicating how the šuba-stones were arranged, and from this the scribes abstracted the OB finite forms of MUŠ₃-keš₂” (68).

Regarding specific meaning of this MUŠ₂.KEŠ₂, Civil observes that the translation *tiqnu* designates it as “an ornament in general,” but notes that it is made of stones, according Margud B 4 100 (see above), and that, as late as Esarhaddon, “the *tiqnu*’s decorate the necks” (citing RINAP 4 48 88–89). On the meaning of MUŠ₂/MUŠ₃ alone, he writes:

“Traditionally, it has been often assumed that MUŠ₃ must be some sort of crown, but here the word belongs clearly to the terminology of necklaces and their components, so that the proposal ‘pectoral’ (Klein 1981:91) is closer to the right interpretation than ‘diadem’ (*ETCSL*). The parallelism with *men*, and *aga*, ‘crown’ (or ‘turban’) as insignia of rank, does not necessarily mean that it is something on the head, only that it is a symbol of the titular of the en-ship, in the same way that a ‘crown’ is a symbol of kingship” (Civil 2008, 67).

In a 2010 discussion of the name Ensuhkešdana, Rubio likewise argues that the referent of SUH-keš₂ is most likely some sort of pectoral or necklace:

“The term **suḥ-keš₂** has often been understood as a kind of headgear, although a pectoral ornament or a low-hanging necklace are perhaps more likely interpretations (Klein 1981: 91; Civil 2008: 67). [...]. The connection with headgear is based on the fact that this term occurs alongside other symbols of power worn on one’s head (**men** ‘tiara,’ **aga** ‘crown’). However, **suḥ-keš₂** may have been a different piece of regalia, as there is a limit to how many things even a deity can wear on her head. In fact, this study will suggest that **suḥ-keš₂** may have consisted of stones mounted on a pectoral or necklace. Still, any specific

interpretation of its meaning beyond its symbolic function remains tentative” (Rubio 2010, 29).

Rubio’s suggestion that the ornament may have consisted of mounted stones is based primarily on Civil’s treatment of ED Practical Vocabulary A 57–58 and on the possible reading of **SUĦ** as **šubu/a/i_x** or **subu/a/i_x** “šuba-stone” in context with **keše₂**. Rubio thus considers a possible reading of the name **EnSUĦkešdana** as **en-šuba_x-kešda-an-na** or **en-suba_x-kešda-an-na**, meaning “The ruler (is) the heavenly šuba-stone pectoral” (Rubio 2010, 34).

In summary of the discussions to this point, the Sumerian contextual evidence for the meaning of **SUĦ** (**keše₂**)—either a type of headgear or a type of ornament worn around the neck or on the chest—is inconclusive, though balanced slightly in favor of the latter. The ambiguity of evidence is compounded by the fact that the sign **MUŠ₂** can also be used for the word **suku₅** referring to a type of comb or hairstyle (see above), and this is probably the correct reading in several cases where the head is involved (so, for example, in the passage of Nanše C cited by Falkenstein in support of **SUĦ** as a type of crown; see above).⁷³³ The main contextual evidence in support of “crown” or similar is simply the fact that **SUĦ** appears in parallel to terms for headgear, such as **men** or **aga**.⁷³⁴ The extended meaning of the term as applied to architecture, evidently referring to some elevated feature of a temple (Attinger 1993, 513, §§430–431, with nn. 1415–1416), would further support this interpretation.⁷³⁵

⁷³³ Nanše C Seg. E 14 (= Veldhuis 2004 D26): **sipa^{mušen} dur-dar^{mušen}-gen₇ gunu₃-a SUĦ(suku₅) saĝ-ĝa₂ mi-ni-ib₂-ĝal₂**, translated by Veldhuis: “The hoopoe is brightly colored like the durdar bird and has a crest on its head” (Veldhuis 2004, 122, emphasis added).

⁷³⁴ Note a possible association with the head in LSU 458, where **SUĦ₁₀ keše₂** appears alongside **siki-pa nam-en-na** “hair (of the head) (signifying) *en*-ship” (Rubio 2010, 29 n. 1). Cf. also **SUĦ₁₀ keše₂** alongside **si mul** “shining horns” in Nanna E 48. It is perhaps also worth noting that the wearing of a **SUĦ**-emblem is associated with the expression **saĝ il₂** “to raise the head” in Nanna E 48, Ibbi-Suen E 8, and Gilgameš and Ħuwawa B 29–30, as well as Ninurta B Seg. B 16–17, although this expression need not be taken literally.

⁷³⁵ Note especially Enlil A 80, Keš Temple Hymn 35, and Ur-Namma B 42//48, where the **SUĦ** of a temple is associated with the sky. Cf. also cheeses described metaphorically as **SUĦ₁₀ ku₃ galam du₁₁-ga** in Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 178//191 (Wilcke 2012 ll. 177//190; cf. Attinger 2017a).

The main pieces of evidence for a type of necklace or pectoral, as far as I am aware, are: (1) the fact that ^{NA}SUĤ-keše₂ : *tiquu* is listed among neck ornaments in Murgud B 4 99–103; (2) that the Akkadian equivalent, *tiquu*, can refer to a type of neck ornament in other contexts; and (3) that the evidence for SUĤ as a type of crown is equally slim. A further point in favor of MUŠ₂ as a type of neck ornament or pectoral is its possible occurrence in Ninurta G 1–10 (the incipit of which also appears in Catalogue N6 7 and the MB catalogue HS 1477 (TMH 3 53) + HS 1478 (TMH 4 53) 18), where the SUĤ₁₀ is “loosened” or “untied” (**tuĥ**) (from?) upon Ninurta’s neck.⁷³⁶ However, the sign in these lines is consistently written MUŠ₃(SUĤ₁₀) rather than MUŠ₂(SUĤ), suggesting it might be a different lexeme from MUŠ₂(-keše₂).⁷³⁷

The relationship between the ornament(s) written SUĤ (with or without keše₂) and the term /**subi/a/u**/ “šuba-stone” (*šubû*), as discussed, i.a., by Civil and by Rubio (see above), remains uncertain. The clearest point in favor of seeing a connection is the gloss **su-bu** in Šulgi E, in addition to the fact that the item SUĤ-keše₂ can involve stone decoration and that SUĤ occasionally occurs as a spelling for the *šuba*-stone. To this may tentatively be added the frequent association of the SUĤ ornament with Inana, a goddess whose association with the *šuba*-stone is well-established.

⁷³⁶ Ninurta G 1–10: (1) ‘lugal’ [gu₂-za] (2) [SUĤ₁₀-be₂ ši-tuĥ] (3) nam-[lugal-zu] (4) pa ši-[im-me] (5) ur-‘saĝ’ [‘nin-urta gu₂-za] (6) SUĤ₁₀-‘be₂’ [ši-tuĥ] (7) ur-saĝ^{dr}pa-bil’-saĝ (8) gu₂-za SUĤ₁₀-be₂ ši-tuĥ (9) ur-saĝ^{dr}nin-ĝir₂-su (10) gu₂-za SUĤ₁₀-be₂ ši-tuĥ (restoration of ll. 1–4 following Michalowski 1980, 267 ad Line 7); Catalogue N6 7: lugal’ gu₂-za SUĤ₁₀-be₂ ši-tuĥ nam-lugal’-zu; HS 1477 (TMH 3 53) + HS 1478 (TMH 4 53) 18: ‘lugal’ gu₂’-za SUĤ₁₀-‘be₂ tuĥ’.

⁷³⁷ Note especially that in Catalogue N6, the scribe writes MUŠ₂ (not MUŠ₃) in the diri-compound ZA.MUŠ₂ (ll. 9–10).

Seg. B 17

'abzu' eridu^{ki}-kam'

Collation confirms ETCSL's reading of the final sign as **'kam'** (contra Falkenstein and Reisman's restoration of **[-ga]**). The resulting form, **'abzu' eridu^{ki}-kam'**, is difficult; I understand it as a headless genitive construction followed by the enclitic copula, but **eridu^{ki}-ga-kam** is expected. Note that a comparable form, **en eridu^{ki}-ke₄** "lord of Eridu" (erg.), does occur as a variant for **en eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄** in one source for Enki's Journey to Nippur 46 (Delnero 2006, 2261, ms X4), and the form **eridu^{ki}-k** for "of Eridu" is occasionally attested in pre-OB texts: FSB 104 (e): **dumu eridu^{ki}-ke₄** "son of Eridu" (erg.); Gudea Cyl. A xx 16 (554): **dumu eridu^{ki}-ke₄** "son of Eridu" (erg.); Gudea Cyl. B xiii 3 (1110): **lugal eridu^{ki}-ke₄** "king of Eridu" (erg.); Enmetena 4 (RIME 1.9.5.4) 8: **ba^{ha}-ra-an eridu^{ki}-ka** "on/of⁷³⁸ the road of Eridu."⁷³⁹

Seg. B 19

'x dim₂[?]-ma

The preserved traces could fit the sequence **šu dim₂-ma**, but a translation "you are the fashioner[?] of kingship" would be tentative at best, given that the phrasal verb **šu dim₂** is almost unknown in Sumerian literary texts (see Ceccarelli 2016, 148–149 ad a 21), that the form **šu dim₂-(dim₂-)ma** is otherwise attested only in a passive sense,⁷⁴⁰ and that **šu dim₂** is usually used for concrete, rather than abstract, acts of creation.

⁷³⁸ Analyzed by ETCSRI as **Eridug.ak.ak**; cf. RIME 1, p. 204 "on the road (to) Eridu."

⁷³⁹ Note differently the forms **isib maḥ eridu^{ki}-ka-ke₄** "grand *isib*-priest of Eridu" (erg.) in Gudea Cyl. B iv 4 (889) and **anše eridu^{ki}-ka** "donkey of Eridu" (abs.) in Gudea Cyl. B ix 18 (1027), where /k/ seems to represent *Auslaut* of Eridu (properly /g/).

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. Enki and Ninmaḥ 21, 81, 93–94, 101 (Ceccarelli 2016 ll. a 21, b 48, b 62–63, b 71): **šu dim₂-(dim₂-)ma** "fashioned by hand."

Seg. B 20

'enim' šudu₃-da-be₂-em

For **enim šudu₃-da(-k)** as an epithet, cf. TH 184. Sjöberg proposes to interpret the epithet as **enim šudu₃-da(-ke₄ ġeš tuku)** “he who listens to prayer” (Sjöberg 1969, 89 ad 184).

Seg. C 1

ki 'en' zi'⁷⁴¹-da-še₃'

The reading of these signs is difficult. Following Falkenstein’s initial reading of **ke-en-ge-k[i]'-[ur]i'**, Reisman corrected to **ki-en-ge-ra*-ke₄***, and ETCSL then corrected to **ki-en-gi-da-ke₄**. My own collations confirm that the fourth sign is indeed **da**. However, the remaining signs in ETCSL’s transliteration, aside from **ki**, are less clear to me. Against reading **ki-en-gi-da-ke₄** is that the form is nonsensical, both in its combining {**da**} with {**ak**} and in the presence of the final {**e**} (expected is **ki-en-gi-ra**, assuming an anticipatory genitive with **bad₃ gal-be₂**). There is enough uncertainty in the signs themselves that I am hesitant to adopt an ungrammatical reading, although my own tentative reading of **ki 'en' zi'⁷⁴¹-da-še₃'** also makes little obvious sense in context (lit. “for the place of the true lord”?). As seen in Fig. II.2: (1) the reading **en** is not one-hundred percent certain, although it is likely;⁷⁴¹ (2) the sign read **gi** looks different from how this scribe writes **GI** elsewhere on the tablet, although **gi** is not excluded;⁷⁴² (3) the final sign looks too narrow to be **ke₄** (see Figure II.2).

⁷⁴¹ There appears to be an extra vertical wedge in the beginning part of the sign.

⁷⁴² In all other instances of **GI**, the sign ends in a lower upward-pointing oblique wedge and several smaller, downward-pointing oblique wedges or *Winkelhaken*, whereas here, the sign appears to end in just higher and lower *Winkelhaken*, closer to **ZI**.



Figure II.2 CBS 13938 iii 2': *ki ʽenʷ ziʷ¹-da-še₃ʷ*. Photo: taken by A. Glenn, courtesy of the UM

bad₃ gal

The epithet “great wall” (of a person or location), said of a deity, is well attested in Sumerian literature; see the numerous examples in PSD B (1984), p. 42, bad₃ A 3. Elsewhere, Ninurta is described as the “great wall” of his city, Nippur (Šulgi T 11, Ninurta G 29 // [32, 34, 36]), and of Šu-Suen (Šu-Suen D 27 // 28).

Seg. C 3

ʽnam-ur-saĝ-zu-še₃ nir im¹-te-e-ĝal₂

The same construction, an abstract noun in the terminative case followed by the form **nir im-te-(e)-ĝal₂**, occurs also in Enlil and Sud 16 (**nam-zil₂-zil₂ a₂-še₃ nir im-te-ĝal₂** : [*a-na du*]-ʽmuq¹-qiz-ki ki-i tak-la-ʽku¹) and Enlil A 134 (**nam-diĝir-zu-še₃ nir im-te-ĝal₂**). For the possible translations “you have trust in yourself” and “one has trust in you,” see Attinger 2015c note to l. 134. On **nir ĝal₂** with the prefix **-te-**, representing either ablative {**ta**} or comitative {**da**}, see also Gragg 1973, 46, Attinger 1993, 250 n. 645, Balke 2006, 112.

Seg. C 4

en eš-bar zi

I follow Falkenstein in taking **en eš-bar zi** as a *bahuvrihi*-type construction. Potentially also possible is “true lord-of-decisions” (**en eš-bar(-k) zi**), if one were to understand **en eš-bar** as a “modifying genitive” construction,⁷⁴³ or “true ‘lord-decisions,’” but the occurrence of **eš-bar zi** “true decisions” outside of the epithet would point against this. Ninurta bears the similar title **en eš-bar** “lord (who makes) decisions” in Samsu-iluna E 31 and, similarly, is described as **en eš-bar an ki šu-na gal₂** “Lord who has the decisions of heaven and earth in his hand” in Ur-Ninurta A 57. Cf. also **en eš-bar galam diġir-re-e-ne** in Išme-Dagan X 1.

Seg. C 5, 7

nam tar-ra

Although the form **nam tar-ra** is usually used in a passive sense (“whose fate was decided”), here, based on context, I understand it as active, with Ninurta as the subject (“who decides fates”). Cf., e.g., **diġir nam tar-ra umun₇-na-ne-ne** “the seven gods who decide fates” in Enlil and Ninlil 57.

Seg. C 10

{nam[?]} nam tar-ra-zu-še₃

If my reading of the erased sign is correct, the scribe would seem to have originally written a causal construction of the type **nam ... {ak} + {še₃}** “because of ...,” then to have erased the first **nam** sign (perhaps so as to avoid awkward-sounding repetition?).⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴³ See Zólyomi 2016, 27–28.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. perhaps the use of the terminative case with causal meaning (“because of, thanks to”) attached to **nam**-compounds in *Angim* 7, 8, and 50/49 and the scribes’ apparent confusion in 30–31 (see Attinger and Glenn 2017, note to l. 30).

Seg. C 12–13

ḥe₂-il₂ x-zu [x (x)]

In Seg. C 12, Falkenstein and Reisman both read **ḥe₂-gur₃-ru-zu-[de₃]**, while ETCSL reads **ḥe₂-gur₃-ru-zu-[gen₇]**. In Seg. C 13, all three read **ḥe₂-il₂-en**. These forms, however, are highly unlikely for several reasons. First, the expression **saĝ guru₃(il₂)^{ru}**, rather than **saĝ il₂**, is otherwise unattested, as far as I am aware. Secondly, the form **ḥe₂-guru₃(il₂)^{ru}-zu-[x]** makes little grammatical sense.⁷⁴⁵ Thirdly, the verbal form should be identical in both lines, since at least the beginnings of the lines appear to represent a type of ornamental repetition (cf. the repetition in Seg. B 9–10, where **lugal** and **abzu** are likewise replaced by **^dnin-urta** and **eridu^{ki}**; so also probably Seg. B 5–6, Seg. C 16–17). Fourthly, the sign read **ru** in Seg. C 12 is by no means certain,⁷⁴⁶ and, in light of the first three points, there is no reason to force this reading (see Figure II.3). Instead, it is possible to take the verbal form in both lines as simply **ḥe₂-il₂**.

This interpretation means the ends of the lines must represent distinct clauses. In Seg. C 12, at least one sign is missing from the end of the line, and quite possibly more (if the text continued onto the tablet’s edge): **x-zu [x (x)]**. I assume the clause begins either with a second-person genitival construction (“your ... [is? ...]”) or, less likely, an epithet with **zu** “to know” as a component (“one who knows ... [....]”).

⁷⁴⁵ Falkenstein and Reisman evidently understand a form similar to the second-person pronominal conjugation (with the old reading **-zu-de₃**), translating respectively: “(C12) Herr, [wenn] du im Abzu das Haupt stolz erhebst, (C13) Ninurta, mögest du in Eridu das Haupt stolz erheben” and “(C12) Oh king, [when] you raise your head in the Abzu, (C13) Oh Ninurta, may you raise your head in Eridu.” ETCSL’s analysis of the verb is unclear in its translation, which is explicitly uncertain: “O king, just as (?) you raise your head in the abzu, so, Ninurta, may you raise your head in Eridug!”

⁷⁴⁶ It requires re-collation, but from my photos it appears closer to **GUR** or similar.



Figure II.3 CBS 13938 iii 16'–17' **he₂-il₂** Photo: taken by A. Glenn, courtesy of the University Museum

In Seg. C 13, no signs are necessarily missing from the end of the line, but if the text after **he₂-il₂** represents a distinct clause, we must restore one or more signs on the right edge. The sign previously read **en** could indeed be '**en**', representing an epithet of Ninurta ('**en**' [x (x)] “lord [...]”).⁷⁴⁷

Seg. C 15

'mi'-ni-in-'i-i-ne'

I have no explanation for /n/ before the verbal base (expected is {e} for second-person singular direct object).

For a similar construction to our line, in which the verb **i-i** occurs in conjunction with an abstract noun in the locative (loc1) case, cf. Šulgi O Seg. A 51–52 (// Seg. A 87–88, 140–141, Seg. D 7–8).

⁷⁴⁷ Alternatively, it might potentially be read **x(aš? bar?)-'zu'**, parallel to **x-zu** in the preceding line (though **x** would certainly represent a different sign) (**x**-'**zu**' [x (x)] “your ... [is? ...]”). Re-collation is required.

Seg. C 19

PIRIĜ

The sign **PIRIĜ** is clearly written directly above **nam**, underneath **e₂** of the preceding line. It is unclear to me where in the line it belongs (or even to which line it belongs), but the most likely position is prior to **nam-~~he~~₂** (following ETCSL). A reading **piriĝ** is likely, based on the appearance of **piriĝ** “lion” alongside **u~~š~~um(gal)** “dragon” in other Sumerian compositions,⁷⁴⁸ but **ne₃** “force” is also possible.

Seg. C 22

ĝeš mi-ni-ib-ur₃-¹ur₃-re¹ KALAM mu-¹ni¹-ib-ge-en-ne

For **ĝeš ur₃** “to strip the trees, to harrow” as an act of violence and/or demonstration of might, cf. *Lugale* 39–40.⁷⁴⁹ The referent of the locative/loc1 prefix **{ni}** in this verbal form and the next is not clear; one possibility is that it refers to the location presumably missing before the verb **dul** in the preceding line. Note that for the verbal form in the second half of the line (**mu-¹ni¹-ib-ge-en-ne**), Zólyomi alternatively suggests that the **{ni}** prefix “may reflect the D-stem of the corresponding Akkadian verb” (Zólyomi 2000, 351 no. (63).

Security for the land of Sumer and/or its people is elsewhere associated with the destruction of other, enemy lands in Šulgi A 91, 99 and Ur-Ninurta E 23. Based on this, **ĝeš ur₃** is most likely a reference to Ninurta’s destroying or levelling enemy lands in the name of peace and safety in Sumer.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf., e.g.: Gudea Cyl. B iv 20 (905); Nanna M 8, 12; Iddin-Dagan D 49; Ur-Namma H Seg. B 5 (?).

⁷⁴⁹ Replaced in the bilingual version with **ur₄-ur₄** : *arāru* (Gtn) “to become agitated.” Cf. also the violent characterization of a harrow (**ĝeš-gana₂-ur₃**) in Inana and Ebiḫ 76 and 169.

Seg. C 23

niĝ₂-gur₁₁

niĝ₂-gur₁₁ often refers to goods or treasures that are taken as plunder after the defeat of an enemy: e.g., Šulgi D 350, 380, LU 275–279, EWO 246.

Seg. C 28

u₃-ma du₁₁

The phrasal verb **u₃-ma du₁₁** is unattested other than here (see Attinger 1993, 734). The expected verb is **gub**.

Seg. D 3–7

Fifty *me*'s

Ninurta/Ninĝirsu is also associated with the fifty *me*'s in Gudea Cyl. A x 6–14 (253–261), where they are similarly associated with lustration or “hand-washing” rites (**š_u-lu_h**) and the setting up of offering tables (**ĝeš^{es}-bansur il₂**) in his temple, and in Išme-Dagan O Seg. A 2, where Ninurta is said to “perfect” them (**š_u du₇**). Note also the name of Ninĝirsu's temple, **e₂-ninnu**, possibly a reference to the fifty *me*'s housed there (so, e.g., Suter 2000, 112, Volk 2012, 116 ad **e₂-ninnu**).

Seg. D 4

e₂-igi-š_u-galam

On Ninurta's shrine **e₂-igi-š_u-galam**, located in Nippur, see George 1993, 102 no. 495, 105 no. 524.

Seg. D 5

[...] **kiĝ₂-sig**

Falkenstein's reconstruction of **[unu₂] kiĝ₂-sig**, adopted by Reisman and ETCSL, is possible, but the fact that the terms **unu₂** and **kiĝ₂-sig** otherwise never occur in this sequence might point against it (cf., in contrast, the well-attested expression **kiĝ₂-sig unu₂ gal** “evening meals (*of*) the great dining hall,” on which see the commentary to Nuska A Seg. A 34). The similar phrase **unu₂ kiĝ₂-nim** is attested once, in Šulgi V 25.

Seg. D 6

nu-mu-ni-in-¹pa₃¹-de₃

The reason for /n/ before the verbal base, rather than /b/, is unclear to me. Cf. **¹mi¹-ni-in-¹i-i-ne¹** in Seg. C 15, where /e/ is expected.

Seg. D 7

me šAR₂ nu-mi-ni-ib₂-sud⁻-sud⁻

For the verb **sud** with **me** as direct object, meaning “to remove” or “to alienate,” cf. LSU 28.

Seg. D 10

[nam]-¹lugal¹-zu ¹GU₃[?]¹-be₂

My restoration of the fourth sign as **¹KA¹** follows ETCSL. I tentatively read **gu₃** “voice,” parallel to **za-pa-aĝ₂** “noise” in the next line. ETCSL's **enim**, translating “the commands of your kingship,” is equally possible. I know of no parallels for either interpretation.

Seg. D 13–14

bi₂-la₂, bi₂-dul

For **la₂** and **dul** in parallel to one another, in connection to a shadow (**ġissu**) covering the land, cf. EWO 6–7 and *Lugale* 14–15.

Seg. D 17–18

a₂ (...) aġ₂, nam tar

The phrasal verbs **a₂ (...) aġ₂** and **nam (...) tar** likewise occur parallel to one another in Rim-Sin I 6 (RIME 4.2.14.6) 2–3.

Seg. D 19

[ġeš^šgu-za] 'nam'-lugal-la

Aside from the more likely reconstruction of **[gu-za]**, another possibility is to reconstruct **[ki-tuš] 'nam'-lugal-la** “the abode of kingship,” i.e. “the royal residence.” Compare, for example, Samsu-iluna C 1–6, where both the royal residence and the base of the throne are made firm (**ge-n**).⁷⁵⁰

Seg. D 20

U₄ DU₆ LA₂

I tentatively understand **u₄ du₆-la₂** as a variant of the poorly understood phrase **u₄ du₆-ul-la/li₂**, on which see Peterson 2010, 599–600 ad 12’, with previous literature. This interpretation was

⁷⁵⁰ On **ki-tuš nam-lugal-la**, cf. also Išme-Dagan B 59 and Šulgi B 377–378, where it is evident that it refers to the king’s palace.

adopted already by Hall 1985, 862 ad 10' and 11' and evidently also by ETCSL (glossing **du₆-la₂-še₃** as **ul** “distant time” in the transliteration, but leaving the phrase untranslated in the translation). Peterson tentatively suggests that **u₄ du₆-ul-la** might represent a reinterpretation or “secondary etymology” of **u₄ ul(-li₂-a/-la)** “distant days,” in which it is understood to contain the verb **du₆-ul** “to store, gather.”⁷⁵¹ Following this, we might speculatively translate “That you place the *just* [...(scepter/staff?)] of eternity (lit. ‘stored up days’) in his hands.” In support of this would be the occurrence of **ġidru u₄ du₆-ul-la** “scepter of eternity” in Ibbi-Suen A 11, as well as the occurrence of **ġidru u₄ ul-li₂-a** “scepter of distant days” in Šulgi P Seg. C 42 (Klein 1981a sec. b 42).

šu-na

The referent of the possessive suffix is not specified, at least in the preserved portion of the text. It is possible that he or she was introduced in one of the lacunae at the beginning of Seg. D 17 or 18, or at the beginning of the present line in a topicalized position. Contextually, the most likely figure to be handed some object by Ninurta is the king; it is unlikely that the greater god, Enlil, would be invested with some item by Ninurta.

Catchlines/incipits

For the inclusion of more than one apparent incipit at the end of a tablet, see Peterson 2015, 48–49, with previous literature. Peterson, discussing the list of three incipits at the end of the tablet bearing the *adab* version of Nergal C, suggests that the list “refers to texts that the scribe would

⁷⁵¹ On **du₆-ul**, see further the commentary to Nuska A Seg. B 39 (Appendix II.5.4).

subsequently write or perhaps texts that were intended to be used in conjunction with the current text” (48–49).

I have not been able to identify the composition to which the first incipit belongs. The second likely belongs to Ninšubur A (Zólyomi 2005), which begins '**nin nuġun zi**' **kalam-ma sukkal an-na**. If this identification is correct, it is significant that the only preserved source for Ninšubur A includes an erased subscript that might have originally identified it as a *širgida* (see section 1.3.1.2).

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APPENDIX II.4 NINURTA J (4.27.10)

II.4.1 Editions and Translations

No editions or translations are currently published.

II.4.2 Sources

N₁: HS 1443 (TMH 4 49) + HS 1586 (TMH 4 88) (both Wilcke Koll. p. 75) rev. i' 1'–5'.

CDLI: [P345689](#) (no photo)

Central fragment of a ruled multi-column collective tablet, reverse only. The preserved text includes (1) the last four lines of a *širgida*, followed by a subscript, and (2) the beginning and a middle portion of Ninurta K, aka Ninurta's Journey to Eridu II (Wagensonner 2005, 105–128).

II.4.3 Text

1' ʾe¹-ʾne¹ [...]

He [...]

2' ʾaia¹ ʾu⁶gu⁶ [...]

[His] natural father [...]

3' ʾeš³¹-e ʾnibru⁷¹⁷⁵² [...]

[...] the shrine Nippur⁷ [...]

4' za³-mim du¹¹-ga ʾna⁷¹-[de⁵⁷ ʾnin-urta DN za³-mim (?)]

(*For*⁷) the praise spoken of⁷ advi[sor⁷ Ninurta, praise be to ... (?)]

5' ser³-gid²-da ʾd¹[nin-urta-kam]

It is a *širgida* of [Ninurta].

⁷⁵² ʾEN¹. [...].

II.4.4 Commentary

Line 3'

On **eš₃-e** “shrine,” used especially as an epithet for a city, see Sjöberg 1960, 62 ad 12, with further references in Attinger 2019k, s.v. **eš₃-e**.⁷⁵³

Line 4'

za₃ mim du₁₁-ga

To my knowledge, the only other examples of **za₃-mim du₁₁-ga** in the closing lines of a composition occur in some variation of the expression: **za₃-mim du₁₁-ga DN₁ (gen.) DN₂ za₃-mim** “(For) the praise spoken of DN₁, praise (be to) DN₂!”, as attested in the following passages: Nuska B (*širgida* to Nuska) Seg. B 22–24; Enlil and Ninlil 153; Ningublaga A (*ululumama* to Ningublaga)⁷⁵⁴ 51a–51b; probably Nanna J (*ululumama* to Nanna) 32;⁷⁵⁵ and, with considerable variation, Song of the Hoe 108–109.⁷⁵⁶ In one of these passages,⁷⁵⁷ a terminative marker is added to the first divine name, supporting the translation “For the praise spoken of”

⁷⁵³ The lines cited by Sjöberg are: SRT 15, 48 = Šulgi Q 48; AS 12 16, 4 = LU 4; RIU (= UET 1) 140, 20 = Rim-Sin I 18 (RIME 4.2.14.18) 20; SLTN 157, 3 (unidentified text).

⁷⁵⁴ Edited in Peterson 2011, 317–331.

⁷⁵⁵ Nanna J 32, preserved in AO 5395 (TCL 15 30) rev. 16, was read in Sjöberg’s edition as: **za₃-mi₂-du₁₁-ga šul** **‘suen-n[a(?)]** **‘a¹-a ‘nanna-[kam(?)]** (Sjöberg 1960, 71). From the CDLI photo ([P345374](#)) a restoration of [za₃]-‘mim’ in place of [kam(?)] looks possible, but the line requires collation. Cf. already Wilcke’s suggestion that this line is to be restored according to the doxology in Nuska B (Wilcke 1976a, 247 n. 70).

⁷⁵⁶ Song of the Hoe 108–109 is the most deviant example and may not in fact belong to this group: **ēš^{al}-e za₃-mim du₁₁-ga ‘nisaba za₃-mim**. In contrast to the normal pattern, the object of praise—the hoe—precedes **za₃-mim du₁₁-ga** and is marked with the directive/non-human dative rather than the genitive (in all Nippur sources; varying with Ø in non-Nippur sources) (see Attinger 1993, 759 ex. 472).

⁷⁵⁷ Enlil and Ninlil 153.

An alternative reconstruction of our line was proposed by Michalowski 2017, 224, namely to read simply **za₃-mim du₁₁-ga** ^{d1}[**nin-urta**]. The spacing of the line, however, would point against this, as would the fact that the sign read **DIĜIR** would have to be emended.⁷⁵⁸

ʿnaʿ1-[de_sʿ]

The reconstruction of **na-de_s** “advisor” is extremely tentative, based primarily on the fact that the preserved traces appear to match **ʿnaʿ1**. As a divine epithet, **na-de_s** most often applies to Nuska, but it is occasionally attested with other gods, including Ninurta (see Sallaberger 2005, 241–242, with n. 27).

⁷⁵⁸ Based on the other source for Ninurta K, N 1363 + UM 29-16-785, this column has a significant amount of space missing from the ends of the lines (e.g., at least five signs missing from the end of line 7’). For lines without much text, the scribe tends to space out the signs at the beginning of the line accordingly (cf., e.g., lines 9’ and 10’).

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APPENDIX II.5 NUSKA A (4.29.1)

II.5.1 Editions and Translations⁷⁵⁹

Partial edition (Seg. A 1–28, 43–53; Seg. B 1–17, 33–56): Pp. 108–143 in van Dijk, J. J. A. 1960. *Sumerische Götterlieder: II. Teil*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960/1. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Partial transliteration/translation: No. 4.29.1 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>)

II.5.2 Sources

X₁: AO 27934 + Kenrick 1 (JCS 4, 138–139)

CDLI: [P274564](#) (with photos)

Nearly complete, ruled 2-column tablet. The join between the piece in the DePaul University Library Special Collections and Archives (Kenrick 1), published in Goetze 1950, and the unpublished fragment in the Louvre (AO 27934) was identified in the 1980s, as described in the Finding Aid for the Charles L. Souvay Cuneiform Tablets Collection (Bencur 2014):

In 1985 the seminary was contacted by Dr. Benjamin Foster, who was interested in obtaining photographs of Kenrick tablet no. 1 (K1) for researchers at the Louvre. A 1950 Goetze publication on the collection contained a line drawing of K1, which led the Louvre scholars to suspect that K1 might be a “join” with a fragment in their collection. A year later the Louvre confirmed that the two pieces fit.

Despite this, the Louvre piece has never been published in handcopy nor in transliteration/translation.

II.5.3 Text

Segment A

A1

⁷⁵⁹ Throughout Appendix II.5, “van Dijk” refers to van Dijk’s edition unless otherwise stated.

X₁ i 1⁷⁶⁰ [...]

A2

X₁ i 2 [...]

A3

X₁ i 3 [...] ʽxʽ

A4

X₁ i 4 ʽxʽ [...] - ʽenʽ⁷⁶¹

A5

X₁ i 5 me-ʽlimʽ⁴ ʽguruʽ³ ʽruʽ¹ ʽxʽ [...] ʽxʽ⁷⁶¹
Laden with awesome radiance, [...],

A6

X₁ i 6 ka-mud-ĝal₂ ʽxʽ [x x x].TUG₂⁷⁶² / ĝeš³ rab₃ [diĝir-re-e]-ne
counselor [...], neckstock [of the god]s,

A7

X₁ i 7 an ki niĝ₂-daĝal-ba umum AK ʽnaʽ¹-ʽdeʽ⁵ ʽe₂ʽ¹-ʽkurʽ¹-ʽraʽ¹
who gives instruction throughout⁷⁶³ the vastness of heaven and earth, the advisor of
the Ekur,

A8

X₁ i 8 ^dnuška kur gal ^den-lil₂-ʽleʽ¹ / me-ne₂-še₃ mu-un-pa₃-ʽde₃ʽ¹-ʽenʽ¹
Nuska, great mountain Enlil chose you for his *me*'s.

A9

X₁ i 9 zi su₃-ud ĝal₂ en ^dnu-ʽnamʽ¹-ʽnirʽ¹-ʽreʽ¹ ʽmuʽ⁷⁶¹-ʽx x xʽ¹
Long life has lord Nunamnir [...]

A10

X₁ i 10 an ki-a pa e₃ ša-ʽmuʽ¹-ʽriʽ¹-in-ʽAKʽ¹ / en ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂-me-en
He made you appear gloriously in heaven and earth; you are his beloved lord!

⁷⁶⁰ The number of lines missing at the beginning of col. i is clear from the Louvre piece. The new line numbering adds 2 to ETCSL's numbers (i 3 = ETCSL Seg. A 1) and 3 to van Dijk's numbers (i 4 = van Dijk i 1) .

⁷⁶¹ Possibly -ʽlaʽ⁷⁶¹.

⁷⁶² Or -še₃.

⁷⁶³ Lit. "in."

A11

X₁ i 11 e₂-kur eš₃-maḥ me nam-nun-na šu-zu-še₃ im-mi-si
In the Ekur, the Ešmaḥ,⁷⁶⁴ he placed the me's of princehood in your hands!

A12

X₁ i 12 me ku₃ me maḥ me galam-galam-ma me aia kur gal-la
Over the pure me's, the supreme me's, the most complex me's, the me's of the father, the great mountain,

A13

X₁ i 13 ʾkiĝgal¹ ʾnuška zi-de₃-eš bi₂-in-GUB-en
oh assembly leader, Nuska, he rightly appointed you!

A14

X₁ i 14 uz-ʾga¹ ku₃ šu-luḥ sikil dadag-ga šita ku₃ ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
To have purified the pure uzga and the pristine lustration rites, to continually perform the pure šita-rites,

A15

X₁ i 15 me nam-^den-lil₂-la₂ šu du₇-du₇ me gal šu mu-mu₂-mu₂
to perfectly complete the me's of Enlilship, to continually care for the great me's,

A16

X₁ i 16 ʾnuška en nun-e pa₃-da zi-de₃-eš bi₂-in-GUB-en
oh Nuska, lord chosen by the prince, he rightly appointed you!

A17

X₁ i 17 ĝeš-ḥur an ki-a si sa₂-sa₂-ʾe¹ an ki daĝal¹-be₂-še₃
To set in order all the designs in heaven and earth, throughout the vastness of heaven and earth,

A18

X₁ i 18 eš-bar gal-gal-la ĝiri₃ ĝa₂-ĝa₂ ĝarza du₇-du₇
to control⁷⁶⁵ all the great decisions, to perfectly complete all the (divine) rites,

A19

⁷⁶⁴ Or: “the grand shrine.”

⁷⁶⁵ Lit. “to set the foot upon.”

X₁ i 19 ^dnuška en zi ^den-lil₂-la₂ / kur gal-e ma-ra-an-šum₂
oh Nuska, true lord of Enlil, the great mountain gave to you!

A20

X₁ i 20 sugal₇ a₂-nun-ĝal₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂ ĝidru ku₃ šu du₇
Most powerful vizier of Enlil, who *perfectly wields* the pure scepter,

A21

X₁ i 21 za₃-dib IGI.DU diĝir-re-e-ne an ki peš-a
supreme one, foremost of the gods, who has broadened heaven and earth,

A22

X₁ i 22 sugal₇ zi en enim-ma gal-gal-la dumu nir-ĝal₂ ^dutu
true vizier, lord of the great ..., noble son of Utu,

A23

X₁ i 23 gaba daĝal nun-e a₂ maḥ šum₂-ma me nam-gal šu du₇
broad-chested, given enormous strength by the prince, who perfectly completes the
me's of greatness,

A24

X₁ i 24 sagi zabar ku₃ dadag-ga en me ^{ĝeš}bansur-ra
cup-bearer who has made the shining⁷⁶⁶ bronze (vessels) gleam, lord of the *me*'s (of)
the table,

A25

X₁ i 25 ^ʾme¹-^ʾlim⁴¹ gal-la susbu₂^{bu} šita abzu kisal-e saĝ nam-TUḥ-^ʾu₃¹
*you of*⁷⁶⁷ great awesome radiance, *susbu*-priest, *šita*-priest of the Abzu, *you anoint*
the courtyard.

A26

X₁ i 26 [x x (x)] ^ʾgal¹ du₆⁻ ku₃-^ʾga¹ šu sa₂-sa₂ i₃ saĝ gara₂ saĝ ^ʾAK¹
... *the great* [... *on*] the pure mound, preparing first-rate fat and first-rate cream,

A27

⁷⁶⁶ Or: "pure."

⁷⁶⁷ Lit: "one of."

X₁ i 27 [x x (x)] ʽxʼ(-)šID KA(-)enim-ma GUG⁷⁶⁸ SE₂₅⁷⁶⁹/ ʽšitaʼ ku₃ du₇-du₇-du₇
reciting [...], cooling the, continually carrying out the pure šita-rites to perfection,

A28

X₁ i 28 [x x (x)] ʽdadagʼ⁷⁷⁰ ʽdu₁₀ʼ bar-bar-re ʽniĝdabaʼ/ si sa₂-e
purifying² the [...], hurrying, arranging the food offerings,

A29

X₁ ii 1/A29 [(x)] ʽxʼ asila₃ di za-pa-aĝ₂ ĝa₂-ʽĝa₂ʼ
[...] letting there be joyful cries, raising a tumult,

A30

X₁ ii 2 [na₄?] bur gal su₈-su₈-ge
setting up the great [stone?] bowls,

A31

X₁ ii 3 ĝeš¹bansur ku₃ an ^den-lil₂-la₂-kam?
for the pure tables of An and Enlil

A32

X₁ ii 4 INDA₃ kum₂ INDA₃ te-en-e šu(-)kam-ma sa₂ di-de₃
providing hot food and cold food ... —

A33

X₁ ii 5 ši-im-ma-ab-du₇-un ki ĝeš¹bansur-ra-ka
to (all these things) you are perfectly suited, in the place of dining!⁷⁷¹

A34

X₁ ii 6 kiĝ₂-sig unu₇ gal-ba saĝ¹-ku₃ mu-e-ni-ĝal₂
At the evening meals of its great dining-hall,⁷⁷² you have shown yourself noble!

A35

⁷⁶⁸ Clearly written ZA.GUL. **kir**₁₃ instead of **gul** is paleographically not out of the question, since **kir**₁₃ can be written almost identically to **gul** (see aBZL p. 134 ad 342, citing Uruk Lament IV 29 N), but seems unlikely.

⁷⁶⁹ MUŠ₃ over erasure?

⁷⁷⁰ Either ʽdadagʼ (ʽUDʼ,UD) or ʽku₃ʼ-babbar is possible.

⁷⁷¹ Lit. “place of the table.”

⁷⁷² **ki** ĝeš¹**bansur-ra-ka kiĝ₂-sig unu₇ gal-ba** literally either (1) “In the {evening meals of the great dining hall} of the place of the table” (anticipatory genitive) or (2) “in the place of the table, in its {evening meals of the great dining hall}.”

X₁ ii 7 gun₂-ne-saĝ-ĝa₂-ka ša-ba-pa₃-⁷⁷³de₃¹-⁷⁷³en¹
You *were chosen* for the sacristy.

A36

X₁ ii 8 eš-da ku₃-ga za₃-mim mi-ni-in-du₁₁
(After) *praise has been spoken* for the shining⁷⁷⁴ ešda-vessels,

A37

X₁ ii 9 en gal zabar ku₃-ga šu-zu mu-un-ne
you, oh great lord, take the shining⁷⁷⁵ bronze (vessels) in your hands.⁷⁷⁶

A38

X₁ ii 10 ^dnuška abzu ki ku₃-ga šu-luĝ^{1?} ĝar-ĝar-ra-ba
Oh Nuska, in the Abzu, that pure place where lustrations have been performed,

A39

X₁ ii 11 ¹kur¹ gal ^den-lil₂-le u₂ mu-u₈-di-ni-ib-su₃-su₃
great mountain Enlil dines with you,

A40

X₁ ii 12 ¹nin¹ an ki ama gal ^dnin-lil₂-¹le¹ / du₁₀-be₂ mu-un-na₈-na₈
and the lady of heaven and earth, great mother Ninlil, drinks pleasantly.

A41

X₁ ii 13 ¹e₂¹ ni₂ tub₂-bu KURUN₂ du₁₀ ga SIG₇-a ^{ĝeš}bansur zi-ga[?] ¹x (x)¹⁷⁷⁷
[In[?]] the restful house, (*where*) sweet *kurun-beer*⁷⁷⁸ and *sour* milk ... the *raised*[?]
table,

A42

X₁ ii 14 ^dutu¹-da gub saĝ-us₂ ĝa₂-la nu-dag-¹ge¹
oh you who stand by Utu,⁷⁷⁹ unceasing supporter,

A43

⁷⁷³ Partially overwritten by **-am₃** on the reverse (B27 = iii 27).

⁷⁷⁴ Or: “pure” or “precious-metal.”

⁷⁷⁵ Or: “pure.”

⁷⁷⁶ Literally “put your hands on the pure bronze vessels.”

⁷⁷⁷ It is not clear which of the traces on the right edge belong to the end of A41 = ii 13 (after zi-ga) and which to the end of B20 = iii 20 on the reverse (after **si₁₂-ga**).

⁷⁷⁸ Or: **TIN du₁₀** “sweet alcoholic drink.”

⁷⁷⁹ Lit. “one who stands by Utu”

X₁ ii 15 e₂-¹kur¹-¹ra¹-ke₄-ne-še₃ SILIM ša-ba-ab-šum₂-¹mu¹-¹un[?]¹
*for the ones of the Ekur, you[?] give well-being.*⁷⁸⁰

A44

X₁ ii 16 me ¹gal¹-¹gal¹-la šu um-me-¹ti¹
Since you received all the great me's,

A45

X₁ ii 17 ¹e₂¹-[kur]-¹ra¹ ġeš-ħur kal-la-be₂ si um-¹mi¹-[sa₂]-¹sa₂[?]¹⁷⁸¹
since you set in order all the precious designs of the Ekur,

A46

X₁ ii 18 e₂ [x] ĠAR eš₃ nun-e mu₂-a e₂ du₁₀ ġar-¹ra¹(-)¹x¹
in⁷⁸² the house, the shrine erected⁷⁸³ by the prince, the well-founded house,

A47

X₁ ii 19 me ¹gal¹ [nam[?]]-ħe₂ me nu-pa₃-¹de₃¹-dam
*the great me's of [abun]dance[?], being unfathomable me's,*⁷⁸⁴

A48

X₁ ii 20 ^dnuška¹ [ne₃[?]]-¹ne₂¹-da nir-ġal₂ šu si ša-ra-ni-¹sa₂[?]¹-¹sa₂¹
are properly handled for you, oh Nuska, you who trust in your own [strength[?]].^{785 786}

A49

X₁ ii 21 e₂-kur-¹re₂¹ [x x] ¹d^{en}[?]¹-¹lil₂[?]¹-¹la₂[?]¹ ¹x x¹ mu-e-da-an-til₃
At[?] the Ekur, [the ...] of Enlil[?], [...] dwells with you.

A50

X₁ ii 22 ^dnuška¹ [...]-sa₂-sa₂-de₃-eš
Oh Nuska, [...] ...

A51

⁷⁸⁰ **silim** “well-being”? **sa₂** “counsel”? **di** “judgment”?

⁷⁸¹ Lower part of the sign overwritten by **-du₇** on reverse (B17 = iii 17).

⁷⁸² Cf. locative {**ni**} in the verb in A48.

⁷⁸³ Literally “grown.”

⁷⁸⁴ Lit. “they are *me*’s that cannot be revealed.”

⁷⁸⁵ Lit. “one who trusts in his own [strength[?]].”

⁷⁸⁶ Also possible for Seg. A 47–48 “the great *me*’s of [abun]dance[?] are unfathomable *me*’s! Oh Nuska, you who trust in your own [strength[?]], hands are stretched out to you (in prayer/blessing).”

X₁ ii 23 DIGIR ʽur⁷⁸⁷-[saĝ[?] x x x para₁₀⁷⁸⁸]-ge₄ si-a-me-ʽen¹
God, val[iant warrior[?] ...], you are the one who occupies [the throne-dais[?]]!

A52

X₁ ii 24 igi-ʽgal₂¹ [...] ʽx¹ ʽx¹
Wise one, [...]

A53

X₁ ii 25 ʽx¹ [...]
 [...]

(About 7 lines missing from the end of column ii.)

Segment B

B1

X₁ iii 1 DIGIR [...] / [...]
 ...

B2

X₁ iii 2 eš₃ ʽx¹ [...]
 [...] the shrine [...]

B3

X₁ iii 3 ʽki⁻¹-ʽur₃¹ ʽki¹ ʽgal¹ ʽx¹ [...]
 [...] the Kiur, the great place, [...]

B4

X₁ iii 4 en idim gal-ʽan¹-[zu ...]
 Honored lord, expert, [...]

B5

X₁ iii 5 dʽnu¹-ʽnam¹-nir-ʽre[?]¹ [...]
 Nunamnir [...]

B6

⁷⁸⁷ Equally possible is an ʽuraš (IB)¹, following van Dijk.

⁷⁸⁸ Probably para₁₀; also possible is za₃.

X₁ iii 6 ub-ʿšu¹-ʿunken¹-ʿna¹ ʿIM²1(-)[...]
[...] the Ubšuunkena [...]

B7

X₁ iii 7 ʿdiġir¹ ʿgal¹-ʿgal¹ ʿan¹ ʿki¹(-)[..]
The great gods of heaven and earth [...]

B8

X₁ iii 8 ʿx x x (x)¹ ʿki¹ ʿden¹-[lil²?...]
[...] Enlil² [...]

B9

X₁ iii 9 pa⁴-ʿses⁷⁸⁹ ʿx x AN x¹ [x (x)] ʿAN¹ [...]
Foremost [...]

B10

X₁ iii 10 UD ʿIM¹ ʿx¹ [x x x x] ʿx x¹ [x] ʿx x x¹
... [...]

B11

X₁ iii 11 ʿur¹-ʿsaġ¹ ʿĠIDRU¹ [šum²?-ma²] ʿden¹-lil²-la² / za-ʿa¹-ʿda¹ [x x]-ʿda¹-ʿan¹-gub
hero [given?] *a scepter by* Enlil, he stands with you

B12

X₁ iii 12 ʿmeš³?¹ ʿka¹-ʿsilim¹-ʿma²? ʿ(x)⁷⁹⁰1 [d²nu²]-ʿnam²?¹-ʿnir²?¹-ʿra²?¹-me-en
You are the *glorious*? young man? of (...) [Nu]namnir? !

B13

X₁ iii 13 ʿIM¹ ʿx x x¹ [x x x] galam-ʿma¹-ke⁴
... of the skillful ...

B14

X₁ iii 14 [x x] ʿx¹ ʿIGI²?¹ ʿx¹ [x] ʿx¹ SU₃.SU₃
...

B15

⁷⁸⁹ **ses** is paleographically uncertain but fits the traces.

⁷⁹⁰ Either traces or surface damage.

X₁ iii 15 ʽmu¹ ʽmi¹-ʽri¹-ʽin¹-pa³? [x x]-ʽx¹-le mu IM ʽx x⁷⁹¹
He called[?] you by name [...] ...

B16

X₁ iii 16 e²-ʽzu¹ ʽx¹ ʽDU⁷? ʽx¹ [x] nam-nun-na
Your temple[?] [...] of princehood,

B17

X₁ iii 17 me ʽgal¹ ʽx¹ [x (x)] ʽme²? an ʽki²? [x] ʽx¹ ʽdu⁷-ʽdu⁷?⁷⁹²
the great *me*'s ... the *me*'s ...

B18

X₁ iii 18 ʽx¹ [x] ʽx¹-ʽba⁷⁹³-gen⁷? ʽx¹ [x (x)] NE ʽgal²? [(x)]
...

B19

X₁ iii 19 ʽAN¹ [x] me-ne²?⁷⁹⁴ ʽx¹ [x x x] ʽx x¹ [x]-ʽre¹
...

B20

X₁ iii 20 ʽgešdana⁷⁹⁵ ku³ ʽx¹ [ʽd²] ʽsa²-ʽdar³?-nun²?-na / ʽnin¹ ʽx¹ [x]-ʽla¹ si¹²-ʽga²? ʽ(x x)⁷⁹⁶
[...] pure wife[?], Sadarnuna[?], the beautiful [...] lady,

B21

X₁ iii 21 ʽtu⁹? tuba[?] ku³ gu² me-er-me-ʽre¹-de³ du⁷ gu-ʽDU⁷? bar-ra
(wearing) the pure/shining *tuba*-garment[?], *fit to prosper*, ...,

B22

X₁ iii 22 ʽnin²? me ku³-ga para¹⁰-ga tum²-ma me para¹⁰-ga[?] gur-gur[?]
lady[?] of the pure *me*'s, suited for the throne-dais, who *restores* the *me*'s of the throne-dais,

B23

⁷⁹¹ Possibly ʽelam^{ki}?

⁷⁹² This sign partially overwrites -sa²? from the obverse (A45 = ii 17).

⁷⁹³ Either **ba** or **zu**.

⁷⁹⁴ Either **NI** or **IR**.

⁷⁹⁵ MU[NUS?.U]S²?.DAM.

⁷⁹⁶ It is not clear which of the traces on the right edge belong to the end of A41 = ii 13 (after **zi-ga**) and which to the end of B20 = iii 20 on the reverse (after **si¹²-ga**).

X₁ iii 23 ʃa₃¹-la₂-su₃⁻ nin ġalga sud⁻ e₂-gal-ra tum₂-ma
the compassionate one, lady with far-reaching counsel, suited *for* the palace,

B24

X₁ iii 24 ʃpa₂⁷⁹⁷ ʃku₃¹ za-gin₃-ba ša-mu-un-da-an-ti₃
resides *with* ... on that shining, bright⁷⁹⁷ throne-dais[?].

B25

X₁ iii 25 ^dnuška¹ an-ne₂ mim du₁₁-ga nam ši-me-da-ab-tar-re
Oh Nuska, one treated favorably by An, she decides fates with you.

B26

X₁ iii 26 ʃnam¹ tar-ra-zu niġ₂ nu-kur₂-ru-ʃdam¹
The fate that you have decided cannot be changed!⁷⁹⁸

B27

X₁ iii 27 ʃen¹ du₁₁-ga-zu kur gal ^den-lil₂-gen₇ niġ₂ saġ-ʃba¹ DU-am₃
Oh lord, that which you have spoken, like (the utterance of) great mountain Enlil, is
*foremost!*⁷⁹⁹

B28

X₁ iii 28 ʃsipa⁸⁰⁰ ^den-lil₂-la₂ uġ₃-ta kiġ₂-ġa₂ šu du₁₁-ʃga¹ an-na
To the shepherd *of* Enlil, *sought out from among the people*,⁸⁰¹ the creation of An,

B29

X₁ iii 29 ʃx⁸⁰² TAR mu du₁₀-ga še₂₁-a uġ₃ šar₂-ra pa₃-da
... , named with a good name, chosen from among the myriad people,

B30

X₁ iii 30 [x] ʃx¹ ʃku₃¹ e₂-kur-ʃta¹ šu-mu-na-da-ab-šum₂-mu
you, *oh pure* [...], give (*gifts*) from the Ekur!

B31

⁷⁹⁷ Or: “pure.”

⁷⁹⁸ Lit. “is something that cannot be changed.”

⁷⁹⁹ Lit. “is something that *goes at their head*.”

⁸⁰⁰ [P]A[?].LU

⁸⁰¹ Or “The shepherd whom Enlil *sought out from among the people*”? This would form a better pair with the second half of the line, but would assume an incorrectly formulated Mes-anne-pada construction (^den-lil₂-la₂ for ^den-lil₂-le). Also in favor of this is the fact that “shepherd of Enlil” is not otherwise attested.

⁸⁰² ʃnam¹ is possible. di (for di-ku₃) would be paleographically difficult.

X₁ iii 31 [x x x] ʔx x x x x¹ še I₃⁸⁰³

...

B32

X₁ iii 32 [...] -e

...

B33

X₁ iv 1 [ḡeš-tu⁹] ʔḡeštu¹ daḡal niḡ₂-ʔnam¹-ʔma¹ buru₃-da igi ḡal₂ ki-šar₂-ra
oh (one who has) broad wisdom, having penetrated into everything, wise throughout the universe—

B34

X₁ iv 2 [ḡeš] ʔal¹ ḡeš ʔapin¹ gana₂ ʔzi¹-ʔde₃-ʔeš¹ ʔka¹ ʔtuḥ¹-ʔu₃¹ / ab-sin₂ še-gu-nu
the hoe and the plow that rightly open up the fields; the furrows; the fine grain;

B35

X₁ iv 3 ʔkuru₁₃¹-du₆ kuru₁₃-maš₂-a a₂ SU₃-[x] / GU₂ IM(.)SI(/-)A⁸⁰⁴ ʔra¹-ʔx¹ [x]
causing the mountainous grain-stacks and small grain-stacks to spread far and wide, ...;

B36

X₁ iv 4 ʔmu¹ ʔḡe₂¹-ḡal₂-la giri₁₇ zal-ʔla¹ [x]-ʔx¹ / nam-ḡe₂ til₃ u₄ ʔsud¹-ʔda¹
*years of abundance; [...] in profusion; prosperity; and a life of many days,*⁸⁰⁵

B37

X₁ iv 5 ʔ^{d1}nuška eš₃-maḡ-ta ša-mu-na-da-ab-ʔšum₂¹-ʔmu¹
you, oh Nuska, give to him from the Ešmaḡ!

B38

X₁ iv 6 ʔninta¹ kala-ga a₂ nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂ ʔme₃¹-ʔše₃¹ ʔsaḡ¹ ḡa₂-ḡa₂
A mighty man, (having) heroic arms, advancing to battle,

B39

⁸⁰³ or **-še-er**.

⁸⁰⁴ Expected is ... **gur**, but **IM SI A** is clearly written.

⁸⁰⁵ Lit. “distant days.”

X₁ iv 7 UĜ₃ du₆-ul-du₆-ul-e ʽNE.RUʽ-ʽeʽ izi ʽšum₂ʽ-ʽmuʽ / ħulu ga-an⁸⁰⁶-ʽziʽ-ʽirʽ ʽmasʽ-ʽmasʽ
gathering all the the people, setting fire to the enemy, consuming the evil *with* flame,

B40

X₁ iv 8 kur gu₂ du₃-a-ba ġiri₃ saga₁₁ di kur nu-še-ʽgaʽ
trampling their hostile land, the disobedient land—

B41

X₁ iv 9 gud a₂ gur-ra udu zulumġi niġdaba ʽgalʽ[?]-ʽgalʽ[?]-ʽdaʽ[?]
with gnarled-*legged*⁸⁰⁷ bulls, long-haired sheep, great[?] food offerings,

B42

X₁ iv 10 ʽnuška en an-ne₂ ʽkiʽ ʽaġ₂ʽ / ša-mu-ʽraʽ-ʽda-anʽ-ʽku₄ʽ-ʽku₄ʽ
he enters before for you, oh Nuska, lord beloved by An!

B43

X₁ iv 11 me-ʽzuʽ kur-kur-ra IZIM⁸⁰⁸-ba šu ʽziʽ ʽšaʽ-ʽba-an⁸⁰⁹-ʽġa₂ʽ-ʽġa₂ʽ
He rightly carries out your rituals (*me*) in the *festivals* of all the lands.

B44

X₁ iv 12 ġarza nam-maġ gal-gal-zu ʽniġ₂ʽ ʽšaʽ-ʽbaʽ-ʽabʽ¹/gu-ul-ʽguʽ-ʽulʽ-ʽu₃ʽ[?]
For your (divine) rites of exceeding greatness *he* provides abundantly.

B45

X₁ iv 13 ʽnuška en gal dumu an-na me-teš₂ ʽġe₂ʽ-ʽiʽ-[i]
May you, oh Nuska, the great lord, the son of An, be praised!

B46

X₁ iv 14 ʽšitaʽ ku₃ nam-nun-na gal si₁₂-ga eš-bar-re ʽkiġ₂ʽ⁸¹⁰
*Oh pure šita-priest, most beautiful*⁸¹¹ in princehood, who seeks *after* decisions,

B47

X₁ iv 15 an ki-še₃ maġ ʽudug e₂-kur-ra e₂-kur-re ʽġe₂ʽ-ʽduʽ₇
exalted throughout heaven and earth, *udug* of the Ekur, ornament befitting the Ekur,

⁸⁰⁶ “Modern” DINGIR.

⁸⁰⁷ Or: gnarled-horned.

⁸⁰⁸ Paleographically EZEN or ŠIR is better than KEŠDA.

⁸⁰⁹ “Modern” DINGIR.

⁸¹⁰ What looks like a vertical wedge at the end of the line is probably just damage.

⁸¹¹ Literally “green, verdant.”

B48

X₁ iv 16 di gal ku₅-ru ka-aš bar an ki-a en sa₂ gal pa₃-da
who renders great judgments, who makes decisions in heaven and earth, lord who
offers great counsel,⁸¹²

B49

X₁ iv 17 ʾa₂¹ ʾsa¹-ʾpar₄¹ NE.RU-du-še₃ la₂-a / zi-ʾdu¹ [x x]-ʾx⁸¹³¹
arm stretched out as a net⁸¹⁴ against the the evildoer, who [...] the upright,

B50

X₁ iv 18 [(x)] ʾx¹ me huš gal me ʾhuš¹ gal ʾguru₃^{1ru}
[...] laden with all the great, fearsome *me* 's,

B51

X₁ iv 19 ki-a ni₂ me-lim₄ uru₁₇^{ru} maḥ-gen₇ dul-la
who has covered the earth in fear and awesome radiance like a great *whirlwind*,

B52

X₁ iv 20 nam-maḥ gal-gal an-ne₂ za₃-ʾmim¹
praised by An (for your) exceeding greatness,⁸¹⁵

B53

X₁ iv 21 mu mi-ri-in-du₁₁ aia ʾugu₆-na
*he has declared your name!*⁸¹⁶ *Oh one* of his father who engendered him,

B54

X₁ iv 22 en <me[?]> galam-galam-ma dur₂ ki ḡar-ra
lord who established his seat *among the most complex <me's>*,

B55

X₁ iv 23 me UL huš⁸¹⁷ su₃-ud-da ḡiri₃⁸¹⁸ gub-ba
who has set his foot upon the *eternal, fearsome, distant me's*,

⁸¹² Lit. “finds” or “reveals” great counsel.

⁸¹³ Looks too empty for **sa₂** as proposed by van Dijk.

⁸¹⁴ Lit. “arm, net stretched out ...” Or: “Arm that has stretched out a net ...”

⁸¹⁵ Or: “(having) exceeding greatness, *praised by An*”

⁸¹⁶ Lit. “he has spoken a name *concerning you*”?

⁸¹⁷ **alim** also possible but **huš** better.

⁸¹⁸ Cf. **ḡiri₃** in B40 = iv 8.

B56

X1 iv 24 kiġgal ^dnuška za₃ mim-zu du₁₀-^ṛga¹-^ṛam₃¹
assembly-leader Nuska, your praise is sweet!

Subscript

^ṛser₃¹-gid₂-^ṛda¹ [^dnuška-kam]
[It is] a *širgida* [of Nuska].

II.5.3 Commentary

Seg. A 6

^{ġeš}**rab₃** [**diġir-re-e**]-ne

With the final sign now provided by the Louvre fragment, the reading ^{ġeš}**rab₃** [**diġir-re-e**]-ne “neckstock of the gods” is relatively certain.⁸¹⁹ Note that the same epithet is likewise applied to Ninurta and paired with the epithet “advisor (**na des**) of the Ekur” in Bur-Suen A 8–9.

Seg. A 11

e₂-kur eš₃ maḥ

The lack of a case marker on **e₂-kur eš₃ maḥ** is unexpected (cf. van Dijk’s reading **maḥa**, translating “Im Ekur, im höchsten Haus”). The simplest explanation is to assume a case of topicalization, understanding a locative or directive meaning—“in/at the Ekur, the Ešmaḥ.” For ETCSL’s anticipatory genitive “the princely divine powers of the E-kur, the august shrine,” one would expect **me nam-nun-na-be₂**.

⁸¹⁹ van Dijk, who reads **e₂ lugal-[ka ...]** based on the context, already observed that the initial signs look more like ^{ġeš}**rab₃** (115 ad 3).

On **eš₃-maḥ** as the name of a shrine in the Ekur associated with Nuska and Sadarnuna, sometimes also used as a by-name for the Ekur itself, see George 1993, 85 ad 284. Here one can hesitate whether to treat **eš₃(-)-maḥ** as a proper name (Ešmaḥ) or simply an epithet (“grand shrine”). I slightly favor the former, based on the sequence **e₂-kur** // **eš₃-maḥ** in the parallel lines Seg. B 30 and 37, where one would not expect a proper name to precede a general epithet.

Seg. A 12–16

There are two essential difficulties in analyzing Seg. A 12–16: first, how to understand the sequence **š_u mu-mu₂-mu₂** in A15 (finite or non-finite form), and, second, how to read the verb **bi₂-in-GUB-en** in A13 and A16.

In A15, I follow van Dijk in taking **mu-mu₂-mu₂** as an auditory error for **mu₂-mu₂-mu₂**. This preserves the parallelism between Seg. A 12–13 and 14–16, allowing **mu-mu₂-mu₂** to belong to the list of oblique objects of **bi₂-in-GUB-en**. Taking **mu-mu₂-mu₂** as a finite verb would ruin the parallel structure and leave the verb in A16 more difficult to explain.

If this analysis is correct, the section comprises two parallel sentences in Seg. A 12–13 and 14–16. The main verb in each reads **bi₂-in-GUB-en**, representing a transitive *ḥamtu* form with Enlil as subject and Nuska as direct object. My translation assumes that **bi₂-** in the verbal form refers to a non-human participant or participants in the directive/loc3 case, namely the series of NPs that begins each of the two sentences (**me ku₃ ... kur gal-la** in the first sentence, **uz-ga ... mu-mu₂-mu₂** in the second). The fact that these sequences of NPs are not marked for case might be explained either as topicalization or as an error (cf. van Dijk’s **kur gal-la<-ke₄>** in A12).

The most likely reading of **DU** in this context is **gub** “he appointed you over (+ dir.).” Also conceivable is **tum₂** “he made you suitable for (+ dir.).” In either case, the spelling ...**DU-en**, rather than ...**gub-be₂-en** or **tum₂-me-en/-mu-un**, is unexpected, but not unattested. For the spelling ...**gub-en**₍₃₎, cf. Ewe and Wheat 112 ms A and Šulgi P B2. For ...**tum₂-en/un**, cf. ELA 223 mss An and Mn,⁸²⁰ Lugalbanda II 101 ms A, SP 8 66 (= Alster 1997 Sec. B 33) ms C, and SEpM 7 22 mss N67 and N76.

Seg. A 14

uz-ga

On the term *uzga*, which refers either to a cultic area or to a type of priest or official associated with this area, see in particular Steinkeller 1992, 60 ad iv 15 and Michalowski 1989, 104–105 ad 447, with previous literature.

uz-ga ku₃ šu-luḥ sikil dadag-ga

The most likely analysis of the first half of the line is to take **dadag-ga** as an infinitive “to have purified,” with both **uz-ga ku₃** “pure *uzga*(-area)” and **šu-luḥ sikil** “pristine lustration rites” as the direct objects. The *ḥamṭu* form **dadag-ga** seems out of place in the series of otherwise *marû* infinitives (**ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ĝa₂**, **šu du₇-du₇**, **šu mu-mu₂-mu₂**), but the only alternatives I can think of require taking **uz-ga ku₃** as an epithet for Nuska, which seems unlikely.⁸²¹

⁸²⁰ See also the comment in Mittermayer 2009, 250–251 ad 223.

⁸²¹ A vocative is not expected at this point in the sentence, and no deity is otherwise identified as an *uzga*-priest.

(1) **uz-ga ku₃** “*Oh pure uzga-priest*:⁸²² to perform the pristine, pure lustration rites and the pure *šita*-rites, (... Enlil *appointed* you)”

(2) **uz-ga ku₃ šu-luḥ sikil dadag-ga** “*Oh pure uzga-priest* who has purified the pristine lustration rites: to perform the pure *šita*-rites, (... Enlil *appointed* you)” (cf. **šu-luḥ dadag-ga** “who has purified the lustration rites” in Asarluḥi A 35 and Nanna A 45)

(3) **uz-ga ku₃ šu-luḥ sikil dadag-ga** “*Oh pure uzga-priest* of the pristine, pure lustration rites: to perform the pure *šita*-rites, (...Enlil *appointed* you)” (cf. probably LSU 447 **uz-ga ku₃ šu-luḥ dadag-ga**).

Seg. A 15

me gal šu mu-mu₂-mu₂

On the form **šu mu-mu₂-mu₂**, see the comment to Seg. A 12–16. The lack of a case marker on **me gal** must be an error, perhaps influenced by **šu du₇** (+ abs.) earlier in the line. The expected case marker is **-e** (i.e. non-human dative; cf. Nanna F 37–38).

A possible parallel to the second half of the line occurs in the semantically similar Enlil A 108 **šita ku₃ me ku₃-ga šu mu-un-na-mu₂-mu₂**, which likewise occurs in the context of Nuska’s duties vis à vis Enlil. This line is traditionally understood as something like “He (Nuska) prays to him (Enlil) during the pure *šita*-rites and pure rituals (*me*);”⁸²³ an alternative analysis, suggested in Attinger 2015c, is an impersonal construction, “pendant qu’*on* lui (à Enlil) adresse des prières dans des *cérémonies cultuelles* et des rituels sacrés.” Despite their overlapping vocabulary, the two lines

⁸²² Or: “pure (one) of the *uzga*.”

⁸²³ Cf. Falkenstein 1959 (line 107); Reisman 1969; Karahashi 2000, 164; ETC SL.

differ in terms of syntax, which complicates the instinct to draw a parallel between them. In the Enlil A line, **me ku₃-ga** occurs in the locative case (**šita ku₃ me ku₃-ga** in all sources), whereas in our line, **me gal** is not marked for case and seems to function as the semantic object of **šu mu₂**. If we were to insist on a connection between the two lines, we would first have to assume that Nuska is the subject in both, and then either that the Enlil A line construes the object of **šu mu₂** in the locative instead of the usual directive: “he (Nuska) *cares for* the pure *šita*-rites and the pure *me*’s for him” or, less likely, that the scribe erroneously omitted a locative case marker in the Nuska A line, intending something like “to pray during the great rituals (*me*).”

Seg. A 17

The position of **an ki daġal'-be₂-še₃** at the end of the line is unexpected. I tentatively understand it as belonging with the first half of the line. Compare the similarly unusual word order in Seg. B 40 and Seg. A 33. The alternative is to understand it with the following line (so van Dijk Seg. A 14–15 “Die Unformen von Himmel und Erde in rechter Ordnung zu halten, in die Weite von Himmel (und) Erde den großen Entscheidungen den Weg zu bahnen” and Lämmerhirt 2010, 628 ex. C 195 “Die Pläne in Himmel und Erde in Ordnung zu bringen, zum weiten Himmel und zur weiten Erde die großen Entscheidungen gelangen zu lassen”).

Seg. A 18

ġiri₃ ġar

ġiri₃ ġar usually refers to the action of setting of one’s foot on a path or forging a path, but here the image of setting one’s foot on something as a sign of control over it better suits the context. For a similar usage, cf. Inana D 54 and Ur-Ninurta E 9, although neither is an exact parallel.⁸²⁴

ġarza du₇

In this context, one would expect **šu du₇** (= *šuklulu*) “to carry out perfectly, to perfectly complete (+ abs.)” rather than **du₇** (= *asāmu*) “to be perfect(ly suited to) (+ dir.).” While the former occurs frequently with various types of rites, cultic plans, etc. (**me**, **ġeš-hur**, **šu-luh**, **šita**, **ġarza**), the latter is almost never attested with words in this semantic range. I thus tentatively follow Van Dijk’s translation “die Kultordnungen vollkommen zu machen,” along with his observation on line A27 (p. 125 ad i 24) that this text occasionally uses **du₇** where **šu du₇** = *šuklulu* “vollkommen machen” is expected. See further my comment to A27 below.

Seg. A 20

ġidru ku₃ šu du₇

ġidru as the object of **šu du₇** “to perfectly complete; to equip” is unexpected. One solution is to assume a phonetic spelling for **šu du₈** “to hold in one’s hand” (so, e.g., Samet 2014, 121 ad 351). Compare, however, the possible parallel in Inana and Ebiḥ 2 ^{a2}**an-kara₂ ku₃ šu du₇**, where the reading **du₇** is secure. There Attinger proposes the *ad hoc* translation “*manier parfaitement*” (1998, 182 ad 2).

⁸²⁴ Inana D 54 **ġarza-zu ġiri₃ ba-ġa₂-ġa₂: ġarza** (with directive/dative instead of locative); Ur-Ninurta E 9 **me šar₂-ra ġiri₃-ne₂ nam-mi-in-ġar** (with possessive suffix on **ġiri₃**).

Seg. A 21

an ki peš-a

To what exactly Nuska's "broadening heaven and earth" refers is not clear to me. I do not know of any parallels, except perhaps **'ki'¹ peš-a** in Inana D 42, where the context and meaning are obscure. The verb **peš** also occurs with geographical terms as object in *Lugale* 235, where Ninurta is likened to a storm doing this action to the rebel land (**ki-bala**) and to the foreign land (**kur**), "like flour" (**zi₃-gen₇**),⁸²⁵ but it is not clear whether this is to be understood in the same way as **an ki peš** in our line. Seminara understands in *Lugale* the image of a storm flattening (*spianare*) (literally spreading out, *distendere*) the mountain like water poured onto a pile of flour (2001, 108, 281).⁸²⁶ An alternative suggestion is to see in *Lugale* the more obscure verb **peš-peš/peš₁₁-peš₁₁** "to tremble," for which see Mittermayer 2009, 302 ad 545f. with previous literature.⁸²⁷ In any case, in our line, a reference to Nuska's frightening or flattening heaven and earth would be unexpected, and I understand instead the usual meaning of **peš**.

Seg. A 22

The expression **en enim-ma gal-gal-la** is usually translated "lord of the great words," but the **-ma** is problematic. Three possible explanations present themselves:

- (1) The scribe erroneously added **-ma** (read **en enim<<-ma>> gal-gal-la**)

⁸²⁵ Replaced in the post-OB version with the more familiar expression **zi₃-gen₇ mas-mas** : *kīma qēme qamû* "to grind like flour."

⁸²⁶ The translations given by van Dijk (1983a) and ETCSL instead follow the later version. This line is left untranslated by Heimpel and Salgues (Volk, ed. 2015, 46).

⁸²⁷ In favor of this suggestion is the fact that a storm also causes the mountains to tremble in ELA 542–546. Against it, however, are the fact that the verb **peš-peš/peš₁₁-peš₁₁** is otherwise always reduplicated and that the analogy with flour would be make little sense.

- (2) The scribe erroneously omitted a sign prior to **enim** (e.g. **en** <ENIM>-**enim-ma gal-gal-la**)
- (3) **enim-ma** functions as a lexeme, probably a headless genitive construction (read **en enim-ma gal-gal-la** without emendation)⁸²⁸

Possibly in support of the third option is Šulgi B 205 (Castellino 1972 l. 206') where the sequence **enim-ma gal-gal-la** (ms Q)⁸²⁹ likewise occurs, as a variant to [ENIM?]-**'enim'-ma gal-gal** (ms V)⁸³⁰ and **ENIM-enim** < > (3N-T 575 = IM 58563).⁸³¹ The remainder of the line is unfortunately obscure (as is the parallel in Diatribe A 50⁸³²).

Another point in favor of the third option is that an apparent a lexeme (or lexemes) **enim-ma** appears occasionally in other texts, perhaps even once associated with the office of vizier (**sugal**) (*Širgida* to Sud 17, see below).

The clearest instances of **enim-ma** as a lexeme are CKU 4 10 (Michalowski 2011 l. 11) and CKU 8 28, where, from the context, it must somehow refer to the orders or messages of the king.⁸³³ Two other attestations link a possible lexeme **enim-ma** to prayers (**šudu**) or petitions (**a-ra-zu**):

Ex. II.8 Bau A Seg. D 2

D2⁸³⁴ **munus zi giri₁₇-zal (/KA A? 'x') il₂-il₂-i šudu₃ enim-ma zi-zi-i**

⁸²⁸ So seemingly van Dijk, who connects **enim-ma** to Akkadian *inimmū* “word” and to **KA-enim-ma**, translating “Herr der großen Worte” (160, 132 ad 19).

⁸²⁹ Castellino Q = Haayer Au (CBS 7070 + CBS 2240 [both StSem 42 fg. 12f] + N 3678 [StSem 42 fg. 11]; [P259288](#)).

⁸³⁰ Castellino V = Haayer Av (Ni 2498 [SRT 10]). According to the copy there is room for one sign before **'enim'**.

⁸³¹ Unpublished. Included in Haayer’s unpublished score as ms Aw.

⁸³² Line numbering follows the citation in Civil 1985, 76 ad 26. Line 50 = HS 1606 (TMH 3 42) + Ni 9497 (ISET 1 p. 123, pl. 65) viii 8'.

⁸³³ Michalowski translates “command” (2011, 306) and “orders” (2011, 335), without comment; Attinger suggests “(ton) (quelque chose) d’un ordre” = “*le moindre de (tes) ordres*” (Attinger 2019b, ll. 9–11 with note; 2019c, ll. 26–29 with note).

⁸³⁴ Line numbering follows ETCSL (D2 = Ni 4369 2'//MS 3329 14). Based on MS 3329, the hymn probably begins with “Segment B” (UET 6/1 72 obv.; MS 3329 obv. 1–13), followed immediately by “Segment D” (Ni 4369 [ISET 1 pl. 15, p. 73]; MS 3329 obv. 13–25, rev.). If “Segment C” (UET 6/1 72 rev.) belongs to the same composition, it probably comes next in the sequence (and MS 3329 must be understood as an extract tablet). If “Segment A” (CBS 10986 [photo JCS 26, 174–175]) belongs to the same composition, its position is not clear.

Ex. II.9 Širgida to Sud 17

17 'sugal¹-zu 'nin-ġidru-ke⁴-eš' a-ra-zu enim'-ma-še³ ša-ra-ab-DU

In these passages, if **enim-ma** is to be understood as a lexeme rather than **enim** (gen.) modifying the preceding word, we might propose something like “*command*” or “*message*,” on analogy with the CKU passages. This remains, however, very speculative. Lacking further evidence, I prefer to leave **enim-ma** untranslated.

Seg. A 23

The referent of **nun** “prince” is most likely Enlil—based not only on context (cf. Seg. A 16) but also the fact the he is the usual giver of “enormous strength” in Sumerian literature (see examples in PSD A2 [1994], pp. 11–12, a₂ A 6.1.3 a₂-maġ—sum).

Seg. A 24

en me ġeš**bansur-ra**

The lack of a second genitive marker on **en me** ġeš**bansur-ra** “lord of the *me*’s of the table” appears to be an error (expected is ġeš**bansur-ra-ka** or ġeš**bansur-ka**).

The title “lord of the *me*’s of the table” is otherwise unattested, but **en** ġeš**bansur(-ra)** “lord of the table” appears also in Death of Gilgameš “Another version from Nibru” 19 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2000 N3 19 [p. 23]), Šulpae A 51, and Kultlied über Damu (Römer 1992, 636–680) A 227, where it applies to Šulpae, and in *Eršema* 163.1 38, describing Ninurta.

Grammatical analysis

My translation assumes that **me-lim₄ gal-la** is an epithet of Nuska (so also so ETCSL i 23 “you of great terrifying splendour!”; van Dijk i 22 “du, der großen Schr[eckens]glanz’ (besitzt).”) It is also possible to understand it as a locative adjunct “in great awesome radiance,” but the fact that it is followed by two vocative expressions suggests that it is also vocative.

As already remarked by Focke (1998: 219 n. 118), the occurrence of non-negative **na-** in a *marû* verbal form is unusual, but I cannot think of a better analysis of the form **nam-TUḥ-u₃**. The grammatical analysis in PSD A2 (1994), p. 190 (abzu 1.7.12), “roving(?) in the courtyard,” is not clear to me (on the lexical analysis, see below).

saĝ TUḥ

The expression **kisal-e saĝ TUḥ**,⁸³⁵ conventionally translated “to sprinkle the courtyard,” also occurs in several Ur III documents,⁸³⁶ where it refers to a ritual act associated with Šara’s cultic boat-journey during the *nesaĝ*-festival at Umma (Sallaberger 1993, 241, 243 no. bb).⁸³⁷ Each of the three attestations records the delivery of one sheep for the rite.

The conventional translation of **saĝ TUḥ** as “to sprinkle, to anoint” derives primarily from the verb’s occurrence in two difficult passages of Gudea Cyl. A:

⁸³⁵ On the reading of TUḥ see below.

⁸³⁶ SAT 2 1001 (YBC 11237; [P144201](#)) rev. i 19; Nisaba 11 41 (BM 104777; [P208732](#)) obv. ii 2 (**kisal** read by editors as **e₂**); and SNAT 409 (BM 106129; [P130169](#)) rev. i 23 (**kisal**¹ written **e₂**, according to edition; no image available). Because two of the three manuscripts write **kisal** instead of **e₂**, I would emend **e₂** to **kisal**¹ in the third.

⁸³⁷ Sallaberger reads **e₂** rather than **kisal**: **e₂-e du₈-a** “den Temple (mit Essenzen) besprengt.” See previous note.

Ex. II.10 Gudea Cyl. A xviii 19–22 (501–504)

(19) KA.AL šeg₁₂-be₂ **saĝ im-mi-TUĦ** (20) la₃ i₃-nun i₃-ĥe-nun-na al im-ma-ni-ta₃ (21)
bulug_x(ŠEM×UĤ₃) ŠEM×PI ġeš ĥi-a (22) aĥ-še₃ im-mi-AK

Ex. II.11 Gudea Cyl. A xix 6–7 (516–517)

(6) ŠEM×PI ĥa-šu-ur₂ bulug_x(ŠEM×UĤ₃)-a (7) **saĝ im<-ma>-ni-TUĦ**

Various translations have been offered for **saĝ TUĦ** in these lines, the general consensus seeming to have settled on something like “to sprinkle, anoint, spread (with a substance).”⁸³⁸ This understanding fits particularly well with the second passage, where the substances with which the object is sprinkled appear in the locative case (ŠEM×PI **ĥa-šu-ur₂ bulug_x-a**). For the same understanding applied to the Nuska A line, see, for example, van Dijk 1960, 133 ad 22 “etwa ‘besprengen’”; Focke 1998, 219 with n. 118 “mit dem Besten (besonderen Essenzen o.ä.) bestreichen bzw. besprengen”; ETCSL “sprinkle”; Polonsky 2002, 653–654 n. 1830 “sprinkle.” The same understanding is also adopted in treatments of the Ur III documents: Sallaberger 1993, 243 **saĝ du₈-a** = “(mit Essenzen) besprengt”; Balke 2006, 184 with n. 782 (...) **-e saĝ du₈-a** = “als beim (...) (Essenzen) versprengt worden sind,” “als (...) (mit Essenzen) besprengt worden ist.”

Alternative suggestions for **saĝ TUĦ** in the Gudea passages have included: “to decorate the top” (Lambert and Tournay 1948, 417 “il orna le dessus”); “to prepare” (Averbeck 1987, 652–654); and a few translations that treat the expression differently in the two passages: Edzard 1997, 80,

⁸³⁸ For examples of this interpretation, see: Falkenstein in Falkenstein and von Soden 1953, 155–156 “... bestrich er”; Steinkeller 1984, 40 **saĝ du₈/duĥ** = “to anoint the head/top part”; Jacobsen 1987, 411 “he drenched the top layer”; Heimpel *apud* Azarpay et al. 1987, 206 “he sprinkled ...”//“he applied to the surface ...” (but see Heimpel’s translation in Volk, ed. 2015, 137, where he leaves the verb untranslated); Römer 2010, 58 “... besprengte er” // “mit ... bestrich er ihn (= den Ton).”

81 “he uncovered the top part”⁸³⁹ // “He spread on it ...”; ETCSL “He prepared ...” // “He anointed it.”

The only translation of the Nuska A line known to me that does not adopt the translation “to sprinkle, anoint,” derived from the Gudea lines, is PSD A2 (1994), p. 190 (abzu 1.7.12), which translates “the ... of the *abzu*, roving(?) in the courtyard.” This suggestion is presumably based on the equation of **saĝ DU₈-DU₈** with *murtappidu* in the first-millennium lexical list “Berlin Vocabulary” (ZA 9 162 iii 15). Although this translation might fit in the context of Nuska A, it would make little sense in the Gudea passage, for which reason I follow the conventional understanding “to anoint.”

Outside of the passages just cited, the only other definitive examples of a verb **saĝ TU_Ĥ** that I know of occur at Ebla, and they are of little help in interpreting the literary references.⁸⁴⁰ **saĝ TU_Ĥ** is equated with a verb *gu₂-ra-zu-um*//*gu₂-ri₂-šu* in Ebla Vocabulary 241 and a related bilingual exercise (see MEE 4), but the meaning of the Semitic term is unclear.⁸⁴¹ A logogram **SAĜ.TU_Ĥ** also occurs in a letter from Ebla published by in SEb 1 (Fronzaroli 1979: 3–16), but this appears to be unrelated.

Reading of TU_Ĥ

Since none of the known meanings of the verbs **tu_Ĥ** or **du₈** yield a clear etymological explanation for **saĝ TU_Ĥ**, we are almost entirely dependent on orthographic evidence for the correct

⁸³⁹ Cf. Edzard 1987, 17 “He set up so that (the inscribed side) was upwards (?)”

⁸⁴⁰ Further potential examples include: Ibbi-Suen 2 i 25–26 (written **saĝ tu_Ĥ-ĥa** but possibly to be emended to **ka tu_Ĥ-ĥa**; see below); Eanatum 1 (RIME 1.9.3.1, aka Stele of the Vultures) xvi 43–45 and parallel lines (**saĝ-ba DU₈**; see below); Gudea Statue E (RIME 3/1.1.7.StE) ix 1–5 (written **saĝ DU₈** but possibly to be emended to **du₁₁-gaba**); Copper and Silver B5 (reading of signs uncertain).

⁸⁴¹ For a discussion of previous suggestions and discussions, see Sjöberg 2004, 260.

reading. A possible attestation of **saĝ TUḥ** in Ibbi-Suen 2 (RIME 3/2 1.5.2) 25 **ki dub-šen-e saĝ tuḥ-ḥu-ba** would confirm the reading **tuḥ**; however, an emendation to **ka' tuḥ** “mouth-opening,” as suggested by Steinkeller 1984, 40 and adopted in subsequent literature, is also possible.⁸⁴² One point in favor of reading **saĝ tuḥ** in this passage is the fact that the syntax would be identical to that in the Nuska A line and the Ur III documents (and possibly the Gudea Cylinder A passages), with a cultic locus/object in the directive case and **saĝ** in the absolutive case.⁸⁴³ If the reading **saĝ** is maintained, I would tentatively read:

Ex. II.12 Ibbi-Suen 2 25–26

25 ki dub-šen-e saĝ tuḥ-ḥu-ba
26 [mu]š nu-tum₂-mu-de₃

So that its (the *šagan*-vessel's) *anointing the place (of)* the treasure box⁸⁴⁴ will not cease,

Summary of **saĝ TUḥ**

To summarize, from the scattered evidence, we know that **saĝ TUḥ** refers to a cultic action that could be performed on ritually significant loci or objects, especially the temple courtyard, and that

⁸⁴² So, e.g., Sallaberger 1993, 192 with n. 914; RIME 3/2 p. 370; ETCSRI. Note that Steinkeller views **saĝ tuḥ** and **ka' tuḥ** as “equally likely” and keeps **saĝ tuḥ** as his primary reading. Sallaberger adopts **ka' tuḥ** as the primary reading, with the remark: “Saĝ duš-ḥu-ba, ‘Haupt salben’ mit Steinkeller, a.O. auch möglich?” (1993, 192 n. 914).

⁸⁴³ A second potential piece of evidence for the reading of **saĝ TUḥ** that would instead point to **duš** seems to me excluded: Steinkeller (1984, 40) sees connections among the verb **saĝ TUḥ**, the expression **saĝ-ba duš** in Eanatum 1 (RIME 1.9.3.1, Stele of the Vultures) xvi 45//xviii 4//xix 12//xxi 16 //rev. i 35, and the expression **saĝ-ba (...) duš** in Lugalbanda II 59—reading **-duš-duš** in Lugalbanda II as a phonetic spelling of **-duš-duš**. Since, however, all three sources for the Lugalbanda line write **duš** and not **duš** (Wilcke 1969, 96 mss A, AA, FFF), a phonetic spelling is unlikely. Even if this were not the case, the differing syntax in Eanatum 1 (**saĝ-ba** instead of **saĝ**) makes this a less likely point of comparison than Ibbi-Suen 2 25.

⁸⁴⁴ The lack of a genitive marker on **ki dub-šen** “place of the treasure box” admittedly makes this interpretation difficult, but no less so than the usual interpretation: “(the vase) which, at the ‘treasure-box’, does not cease to anoint (the worshippers’) heads (lit.: its head anointing)” (Steinkeller 1984, 40); “which (...) (performs) without end the ‘mouth-opening’ ritual at the place of the (secret) treasure-chest” (RIME 3/2 p. 371); “so that the mouth-opening ritual (carried out) with it at the place of the treasure chest (...) may never cease” (ETCSRI).

it could involve fragrant substances that would be suitable for sprinkling or anointment. For this reason, the most likely translation is “to anoint,” although it remains uncertain. The reading of **TUḪ** is likewise uncertain, but one potential piece of evidence, if applicable, would point to **tuḫ**.

Seg. A 26–33

My translation assumes that the series of non-finite verbal forms in lines Seg. A 26–32 are all in the directive case, marked only on the final component (**di-de₃** in A32), and that together they serve as the indirect object of the main verb in Seg. A 33 (**ši-im-ma-ab-du₇-un**). Alternatively, one could also understand the forms prior to ii 4 as participles modifying Nuska.

Seg. A 26

i₃ saĝ gara₂ saĝ 'AK'

For this use of **AK** see the examples cited in PSD A3 (1998) under ak 3.2 “to make ready, to prepare” (p. 73).

šu sa₂-sa₂

The sequence **šu DI DI** is graphically ambiguous but probably represents **šu sa₂-sa₂** lit. “to make the hand reach,” with the more precise meaning dependent on context; less likely is **šu sa₂ di** “to take hold of, seize.”⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴⁵ Differently, van Dijk (ad i 23) understands **šu sa₂ sa₂** to represent **šu si sa₂** “mit den Händen kräftig in etwas hineingreifen.” He cites the lexical equivalent **šu DI-DI** = *šit-ru-[šu]* in *Erimḫuš* I: 6, which corresponds to the Bohgozkoy version KBo I 44:6 **šu-si-sa₂** = *ši-it-ru-šu*, as well as Iddin-Dagan A 210 (Attinger 2014 l. 209), where **šu sa₂ sa₂** occurs as a variant for **šu si sa₂** (**šu si ba-an-sa₂** // **šu sa₂ ba-an-sa₂**). Römer 1965, 198 ad 208f. follows van Dijk, translating “im Duku emsig mit den Händen zu arbeiten.”

For the various contexts in which **šu sa₂** occurs, see the Peterson 2011, 327 ad 10 with n. 22, with previous literature—especially Volk 1995, 176 ad 99//147//269 (“die Hand erreichen lassen”; with eyes as object “mit der Hand zurechtmachen” [= “mit der Hand schützen”?]; = *šitrušu* “(sich) festhalten”). See also the comment to line 33 in Attinger 2019e on the distinction between (1) **šu sa₂**, (2) **šu** + poss. suff. **sa₂**, (3) **šu sa₂ du₁₁**, and (4) **šu** + poss. suff. **sa₂ du₁₁**.

Aside from Nuska A Seg. A 26, **šu sa₂** is attested in four different contexts in Sumerian literature:

(1) Referring to a confrontational action: Nintur A 23//[27]/31//35, meaning something like “to rival” (+ com.).⁸⁴⁶

(2) Referring to an action done to the eyes, in response to a dust storm: one source for Inana and Šukaletuda 99 // 147 // [269].⁸⁴⁷ Volk proposes something like “mit der Hand zurechtmachen” = “mit der Hand schützen”(?) (1995, 176 ad 99//147//269).

(3) Obscure: Ningublaga A⁸⁴⁸ 10 **sug daġal-la d^hnanna-kam za₃ šu mu-ni-ib₂-sa₂-sa₂-e**, referring to an action of a god, preceded by reference to drinking from a canal and followed by eating from a reedbed.

(4) Referring to the actions of a demon (post-OB): *Udughul* 6 7 **gal_s-la₂ šu ħulu sa₂-a : gal-lu ša₂ lem-niš i-re-eġ-ħu-u₂**.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁶ Wilcke 1976a, 235, 237 “die mit (...) gewetteifert hat(?)”.

⁸⁴⁷ Note that each preserved attestation of the verb in these parallel passages is written with different signs. Dn: 99 **šu sa₂-sa₂-da-ne₂** (sa₂-sa₂ over erasures?); 147 **šu TUKU.TUKU-da-ġu₁₀**; Gu₁: 99 **šu sa-sa-da-ne₂**; MS 4508 99 **šu SIK₂[?].SIK₂[?]-da-ne₂**.

⁸⁴⁸ Peterson 2011, 317–331 (no. 283).

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. perhaps CAD R (1999), pp. 253–254, *rehû* 3 “to pour over, to overcome,” especially of diseases and sleep.

A fifth meaning is attested in economic documents, where **šu sa₂-sa₂** means “to repair, restore,” equivalent to Akkadian *kuššuru* “to repair”, *takšīru* “repairs” (Neumann 1993, 78 with n. 390; Stol 2012, 53 ad e with n. 70, with previous literature).

In contrast to **šu sa₂**, the expression **šu-sa₂ di/du₁₁** more consistently means something like “to take hold of, take up, seize”—either with objects (Inana and Ebiḥ 4 as a variant to **šu-ta₃ du₁₁**; Inana B 5), or with a place (Inana and An D58–D59 (Van Dijk 1998 ll. 161–162)). The related construction **šu-sa₂-be₂** with **du₁₁** in Enlil and Ninlil 33 probably also refers to the action of seizing—perhaps, as suggested by Attinger (2019 “Enlil et Ninlil”), something like “to be treated in a ‘seizing’ manner” = “to lock up.”

Since “to seize, to take up” seems unlikely in Nuska A Seg. A 26, I prefer to read **šu sa₂-sa₂**, but which nuance of the verb applies in this context is unclear.

Seg. A 27

The signs read **KA-enim-ma GUG SE₂₅** (**KA KA MA ZA GUL MUŠ₃ DI**) are all clearly legible, but their meaning is obscure.

KA-enim-ma

On **KA-enim-ma** and its various uses, see especially Mittermayer 2009, 273–274 ad 419 (“festgelegte Wortlaut,” with numerous derived meanings) and Molina 2014, 404–405 ad rev. Seg. A 41.

Because **ka-enim-ma** in the meaning “incantation formula” has a /k/-*Auslaut*,⁸⁵⁰ the translation “with incantation formulas”⁸⁵¹ must assume an omitted **-ka**. Without better understanding the context, I am hesitant to choose one of the various usages of **KA(-)enim-ma** over the others.

gug

The significance of **gug** is also unclear, since none of its attested or hypothesized meanings seems suited to the context. The usual meanings of **gug** in OB literature are (1) “tooth”⁸⁵² and (2) “cornelian” (with or without ^{na}, usually referring to the stone itself, but sometimes to the color). OB Nippur Diri (MSL 15, p. 20) offers the further equivalents *[el]lu[m]*, *[ebb]um*, and *n[a]mru*[?] (246–248), presumably all derived from the primary meaning “cornelian” and associated with the luster of the stone, as well as *kakkum* “sealed” and *kanākum* “to seal” (250–251), referring to the use of this stone as a material for cylinder seals.

Later lexical traditions also associate **gug** with different types of moles or skin blemishes, including *ḫalû* (black mole⁸⁵³), *umṣatu* (mole, wart⁸⁵⁴), *pendû* (red mole, blemish; also a semiprecious red stone⁸⁵⁵), and *katarru* (mole, mark⁸⁵⁶).⁸⁵⁷ It is this meaning that Van Dijk adopts in his translation of the Nuska A line, reading “das Geschwür zu ‘kühlen’” (i 24). This would fit

⁸⁵⁰ See, e.g., Lugalbanda I 447 **ka-enim-ma-ka-ne₂** and perhaps Lugalbanda I 435 **ka-enim-ma-ke₂**[?]. Cf. also Akkadian *kainimakku*.

⁸⁵¹ Van Dijk “mit Beschwörungsformeln das Geschwür zu ‘kühlen,’” ETCSL “to cool the with incantation formulae.”

⁸⁵² See Peterson 2007, 372–374 ad 53//93 and 530–533 for a discussion of this term.

⁸⁵³ CAD H (1956), p. 53, *ḫalû* A.

⁸⁵⁴ CAD U/W (2010), p. 135, *umṣatu* A.

⁸⁵⁵ CAD P (2005), p. 323, *pendû*.

⁸⁵⁶ CAD K (1971), p. 303, *katarru*.

⁸⁵⁷ *Erimḫuš* III 14–17 **gug** = *ḫa-lu-u₂*, **su-gug** = *um-ša-tum*, **gug** = *pe-en-du-u₂*, **su-gug** = *ka-tar-ru* (MSL 17, p. 47); *Lānu* D 14ff **[gug]** = *ḫa-lu-u₂*, *um-ša-tum*, *pi-in-du*, *[kit-tab]-ru* (CAD P [2005], p. 323, *pendû*); SB List of Diseases i 25 **gug-su-gug** = *pi-in-du-u₂* (MSL 9, p. 92). The skin blemish *pendû* is also occasionally written logographically with GUG.

well with the idea of incantations (**KA-enim-ma**), but is unexpected in connection with Nuska and in the broader context of the passage, which otherwise seems to deal with Nuska's role in preparing divine feasts.

Another meaning of **gug** hinted at in the late tradition is a type of offering, attested in the NB loanword *guqqû* “monthly offering,” written logographically with GUG.⁸⁵⁸ Further evidence for **gug** “offering” occurs in the NA lexical list Idu I 106, which adds *niqû* “offering” to the usual list of lexical equivalents.⁸⁵⁹ While a meaning like “offering” would fit well in the general context of the Nuska A passage (compare **i₃ saĝ gara₂ saĝ** in the preceding line, **niĝdaba** in the following line), the fact that the evidence is restricted entirely to the first millennium makes it unlikely, and it would make little sense in relation to **KA-enim-ma** and **se₂₅**.

Finally, one might propose to understand **gug** a phonetic spelling of **gug₂** “cake” (attested in one source for Lugalbanda I 295), but this, too, would be difficult with **KA-enim-ma** and **se₂₅** and is orthographically unlikely.

se₂₅

The verb **se₂₅** “to cool, refresh” is otherwise unattested with GUG as object. Van Dijk proposes “das Geschwür zu ‘kühlen’,” which would make sense in a medical context, but seems out of place in the context of banquet preparations. The orthographically possible **MUŠ₃ di** is unlikely, since no value of **MUŠ₃** is attested as the object of **du₁₁**.

⁸⁵⁸ This lexeme is well-attested in NB documents but nowhere else in the Akkadian corpus. See CAD G (1956), pp. 135–136.

⁸⁵⁹ Cited in CAD N2 (1980), p. 252, *niqû*; DCCLT edition by Jeremiah Peterson, composition number Q000257, CT 11 41 i' 16'. Cf. also Cavigneaux 1982, 236 n. 22, where the author suggests the logical progression **gug** = “offering” (*guqqû*) = **sizkur** = “prayer” to explain an NB commentary's reinterpretation of **gug** “cornelian” as “prayer.”

šita du₇

As remarked already in the comment to Seg. A 18, the use of **du₇** instead of **šu du₇** with a term for a type of ritual or prayer (here **šita**) is unexpected. A possible parallel occurs in uncertain context in the fragment to Iddin-Dagan D published in Peterson 2011, 186 (UM 29-13-704 + N 7435 [BPOA 9 165]) **šita teš₂-be₂ du₇-du₇-du₇**, but the only other examples of **šita** with **du₇** known to me use **du₇** in the sense of “to be perfect(ly suited to)” and construe **šita** as the oblique (or terminative) object.⁸⁶⁰ Because **du₇-du₇-du₇** should refer instead to an action in the context of the Nuska A passage, and **šita ku₃** represents an absolutive direct object (unless we assume an error), I follow van Dijk in understanding something like “to carry out perfectly” (van Dijk “vollkommen zu machen”).

Seg. A 28

du₁₀ bar

My translation of **du₁₀ bar** follows previous commentators in assuming the expression is nearly synonymous with the better-attested **du₁₀ bad^r** “(to separate/open the knees =) to run, move quickly.”⁸⁶¹ Van Dijk (i 25) compares the relationship of these two verbs to that of **igi bar** (“das Auge aufspalten”) and its near synonym **igi bad^r** (“das Auge öffnen”), glossing **du₁₀ bar** as “die Knie öffnen, schnell gehen” and translating in context “einsig herumzugehen” (1960: 135–136 ad 25). Krecher (1993) likewise sees a connection between **du₁₀ bar** and **du₁₀ bad^r**, suggesting that

⁸⁶⁰ Enlil A 59 **šita ku₃-ge(//-ga) du₇-me-eš** “they are perfectly suited to the pure *šita*-rites,” but note the variant **šita ku₃ im²-mi²-du₇²-[...]**; Rim-Sin E 20 **šita-še₃ ba-ab-du₇-a** “which is perfectly suited for the *šita*-rites.”

⁸⁶¹ For other attestations of **du₁₀ bar**, see Šu-Suen D 32//35, Šu-Suen F 45–46, and Nanna L 10. Compare perhaps **du₁₀ šu bar** “(to release the knees =) to run” in Išme-Dagan S/RIME 4.1.4.8 19, Šulgi B 108, Šulgi E 214.

the former may be a late representation of the latter (107–109, esp. 109 n. 3). For similar assessments of **du₁₀ bar**, see PSD B (1984), p. 113, bar E 7 du₁₀—bar “to move quickly” and Sjöberg 1973b, 35 ad 10 “to release one’s knee(s)” (= “*rushing fast*” in Šu-Suen D 10).

Seg. A 29

For **za-pa-aĝ₂** referring to the bustling sound of a temple or the joyful tumult associated with divine feasting and offerings, cf. esp. Nippur Lament 32, 194, LSU 314, Ur-Namma A 79–80.

Seg. A 32

sa₂ du₁₁

For **sa₂ du₁₁** in the meaning (“to make arrive” =) “to deliver, provide,” from which comes the well-known noun **sa₂-du₁₁** “regular offerings,” see Attinger 1993, 641, §706 “faire parvenir qqc. dans/à; délivrer à” (with examples *passim* in pp. 643–648, §709). For our line, compare especially Lugalbanda II 21 (referring to a cupbearer providing beer); Eanatum 11 (RIME 1.9.3.11)⁸⁶² Side 1 v 4, 7 10 (referring to the king delivering [offerings]); Curse of Agade 12, 27, and Enlil A 88–91 (referring to goods being delivered into storehouses), among others.

šu(-)kam-ma

I do not know what means in this context. There is a Sumerian word **šu-kam-ma**, attested only lexically and as a logogram for *erištum* “desire, request,” which, in a few of the lexical references, does modify food products (**inda₃ šu-kam-ma**,⁸⁶³ **tu₇ šu-kam-ma**⁸⁶⁴), where DCCLT proposes the

⁸⁶² RIME 1.9.3.11 = Steible 1982 Eannatum 62.

⁸⁶³ OB Nippur Ura 6 67 (MSL 11, p. 120); VAT 1562 rev. v 6 (MSL 11, p. 162).

⁸⁶⁴ OB Nippur Ura 6 35 (MSL 11, p. 114).

translations “*bread for (daily) need*,” “*soup for (daily) need*.” Although such a meaning might fit well in the context of our line, I am hesitant to adopt it for the following reasons: (1) the nuance “for daily need, as required” is not certain or agreed upon; *erištu* is more commonly understood either as “desire (esp. desire for a child),” from which “*expectancy, pregnancy*” or as “pregnant woman” or “midwife” (see below); (2) the word is nowhere attested outside of lexical lists and Akkadian contexts, and (3) it is not clear how it would fit into the syntax of the line, unless it were understood as adverbial; it cannot modify **inda₃ kum₂ inda₃ te-en**, since it follows the case-marker **-e**.

****Aside on šu-kam-ma = erištu****

The Sumerian term **šu-kam-ma** = *erištu* is relatively well-attested in the lexical lists and is occasionally used as a logogram in OB administrative documents and peripheral Akkadian texts, but it is unattested in Sumerian contexts. There is some disagreement as to whether this *erištu* represents:

(1) *erištu* = “desire, request,” (so e.g. DCCLT **šu-kam-ma** : *ša erišti* “of desire, desirable, *for (daily) need*,” Sallaberger 1996, 107 ^{du}**sagan niĝ₂ šu-kam-ma** “Ölflasche ‘der Begierde’ [=Anspielung auf Parfümflasche];” AHW p. 242a *erištu(m)* II 3a “Verlangen, Bedarf” in the sense of “Wunsch nach dem Kind”),⁸⁶⁵

(2) an OB literary word meaning “the wise one” (feminine of *eršu* “wise”), referring to a midwife (so Moran 1988, 25 ad 3, following Stol 1983),⁸⁶⁶ or

⁸⁶⁵ Moran (1979, 247–248, 1988) likewise sees “desire, request” as one meaning of **šu-kam-ma** = *erištum*, but only as a reinterpretation of the original meaning. See below.

⁸⁶⁶ See Stol 2000, 171, who discusses the term *erištu* “wise woman,” but, in a departure from his 1983 treatment, rejects its association with **šu-kam-ma** = *erištu*.

(3) a little-known term *erištu* meaning “expecting (mother), pregnant woman,” derived from *erēšu* “to desire” (so Stol 2000, 171–172 with n. 7).

Old Babylonian Evidence

In the OB lexical evidence **šu-kam-ma** can designate a type of basket (^gbešeĝ **šu-kam-ma** OB Nippur Ura 2 61 [MSL 7, p. 186 55c]); a type of clothing (**tu**₉ **niĝ**₂ **šu-kam-ma** OB Sippar Ura 4 38 [MSL 10, p. 144]); types of soup and bread (**tu**₇ **šu-kam-ma** OB Nippur Ura 6 [MSL 11, p. 114 35], **inda**₃ **šu-kam-ma** OB Nippur Ura 6 [MSL 11, p. 120 67], VAT 1562 rev. v 6 [MSL 11 p. 162]); and a type of person ([**lu**₂-š]**u-kam-ma** = *ša er-še-tim* OB Lu Rec. A 308 [MSL 12, p. 167], **lu**₂ **šu-kam-ma** BM 54728+ obv. ii' 20 [DCCLT edition; immediately following **lu**₂ **niĝ**₂-**al-di**]). The basket ^gbešeĝ **šu-kam-ma** is also mentioned in several OB Akkadian administrative lists and dowries, written logographically ^gPISAG ŠU.KAM.MA (YOS 13 91 16; TCL 1 199 13; RSM 15 9; OLA 21 72 5') or syllabically ^gPISAG *e-ri-iš-tim* (CT 45 75 rev. 16; TEBA 35 11). For this basket, Birot 1969 suggests the meaning “la corbeille ‘de nécessité?,” from *erēšum* “to desire” (76 ad 11). DCCLT translates “reed basket for (childbirth) supplies,” following the nuance of *erištu* proposed by von Soden and others (on which see below). For the other items attested in OB lexical lists, DCCLT translates “*for (daily) need*” (of soup, bread) or “of desire (**lu**₂ **šu-kam-ma** “one of desire”). It is interesting to note that in the administrative lists and dowries, the basket ^gPISAG ŠU.KAM.MA consistently occurs in close proximity to the basket type ^gPISAG ŠU.I (with the exception of TEBA 35), and that a term modified with **šu-i** similarly precedes **šu-kam-ma** within a few lines in OB Nippur Ura 6 MSL 11, p. 120 65 and 67 (**inda**₃ **šu-i**, **inda**₃ **šu-kam-ma**) and in the Ugarit forerunner to Ura 20–22 Rec. A ii 28'–29' (MSL 11, p. 45) (**iri** **šu-i** **ki** = *gal-la-b[i]*, **iri**

šu-kam-ma ki = *i-ri-iš-ti*). In light of the association between midwives and barbers or shavers observed by Stol 2000, 172 with n. 11, this may point in favor of the interpretation of **šu-kam-ma** as “midwife” (see below).

Middle Babylonian Akkadian Evidence

By the Middle Babylonian period, **šu-kam₂-ma** : *erištu* is clearly understood as “desire, request,” at least in peripheral Akkadian sources (see Moran 1979, 247–248; 1988).⁸⁶⁷ However, as Moran observes, this does not necessarily reflect the original meaning of the term, but only the understanding of the peripheral Akkadian scribes. For the original meaning, Moran follows Stol (1983, 85) in understanding **šu-kam-ma** as *erištu* “midwife”; the meaning *erištu/mērištu* “desire, request” would thus have been a later or peripheral development.

First Millennium Lexical Evidence

In post-OB lexical lists, in addition to some of the items discussed above, which continue to be attested lexically,⁸⁶⁸ we encounter a few additional items modified with the term **šu-kam-ma**. These include: ^{dug}**sagan niĝ₂ šu-kam-ma** = *ša erišti* (referring to a type of vessel),⁸⁶⁹ and ^{kuš}**suḥub (niĝ₂) šu-kam-ma** = *ša₂ erišti* (referring to a type of footwear).⁸⁷⁰ Importantly, in some cases

⁸⁶⁷ The main evidence for this is that (1) ŠU.KAM.MI occurs as logogram in a formulaic expression in an Amarna letter, where *erištu/mērištu* is required (see Moran 1979), and (2) **šu-kam₂-ma** is equated with *mērištu* (= *mērištu*) “desire, request” in Emar lexical lists (see Moran 1988).

⁸⁶⁸ For example: ^{gē}**bešeĝ niĝ₂ šu-kam-ma** [= *ša erišti*] Ura 9 W 22729/4 [SpTU 2 51] obv. ii 16; **inda₃ šu-ka[m-ma]** Ura 23 vi fragment k 1' (MSL 11, p. 76).

⁸⁶⁹ Ura 10 108 (MSL 7, p. 82). Sumerian attested already in MB Alalah Forerunner MSL 7, p. 116 ii 3 ^{dug}**du₁₀-gan šu-kam₂-ma**.

⁸⁷⁰ Ura 11 182 (MSL 7, p. 131; W 22758/4 [SpTU 2 52] r ii 4'). Sumerian attested already in Emar Msk 74105a o iii 21' ^{kuš}**suḥub šu-'kam'-[ma]**.

where a term was earlier modified by (**niĝ₂**) **šu-kam-ma**, it is replaced in first millennium lists with **niĝ₂** **"ugu₆-gam-ma** and/or **bar-ra** (**si-il-la₂**) = *erištu/arištu*. Thus, the item in the Old Babylonian entry **tu₉** **niĝ₂** **šu-kam-ma** (OB Sippar Ura 4) seemingly corresponds to the items in the first-millennium entries **tu₉** **bar-ra**, **tu₉** **bar-ra** **si-il-la₂**, **tu₉** **niĝ₂**-**"ugu₆-gam-ma** = *šubāt er[išti]* (Ura 19 242–244 [MSL 10, p. 134]) and **tu₉** **MU^{mu-ud-ra}BU**, **tu₉** **bar-ra** **si-il-la₂**, **tu₉** **niĝ₂** **"ugu₆-gam-ma** = *šubāt arišti* (*Nabnitū* 4 226–228 [MSL 16, p. 85]); cf. also [**"niĝ₂-dara₂**] **bar-ra** = *kannu ša arišti* (Ura 19 136 [MSL 10, p. 136]). Similarly, the item attested at MB Emar **kuš^e-sir₂** **šu-kam-ma** (MB Emar Ura 11 [MVF IV/75 2502 ii 22' (ASJ 9, p. 279) ii 110]; Emar Msk 74247 o iii 1) corresponds to first-millennium **kuš^e-sir₂** **niĝ₂** **"ugu₆-gam-ma** = *ša arišti* (Ura 11 127 [MSL 7, p. 129]).

Conclusions

Presumably because of the apparent equivalence between **niĝ₂** **"ugu₆-gam-ma** and (**niĝ₂**) **šu-kam-ma**, translators have seen a connection to childbirth (**"ugu₆**) in **šu-kam-ma** = *erištu*.⁸⁷¹ Von Soden in AHW p. 242a *erištu(m)* II 3a understands the lexical references as examples of *erištu* “desire” used in the sense of a woman’s “Wunsch nach dem Kind.” He translates *ša arišti* accordingly as (a vessel) “für *erištu*-Zustand,” (shoes) “für *erištu*,” etc. DCCLT presumably understands something similar with **g^e-bešeĝ** **šu-kam-ma** “reed basket for (childbirth) supplies.” Moran 1988, 25 ad 3, following Stol 1983, 84–85, understands *erištu* as a term for “midwife,” later reinterpreted by peripheral Akkadian scribes as “desire.” Stol 2000, 172, in a slight revision of his

⁸⁷¹ Note, though, that **"ugu₆** in **niĝ₂** **"ugu₆-gam-ma** is not universally understood as “to bear, give birth.” Peterson, for example, translates “that of the bent forehead” in the DCCLT edition of CT 12, pl. 34-35, K 00197 obv. i 44 and “that which bows the top of the head” in the DCCLT editions of K 02039 + K 1432 and RA 017, 181 (Sm 1670).

earlier proposal, identifies the items described as **šu-kam-ma** = *ša erišti* as the shoes, clothes, etc. of a pregnant woman. In contrast, Sallaberger (1996, 107) and DCCLT (in all entries aside from ⁸⁷⁰**bešeĝ šu-kam-ma**) make no reference to pregnancy or midwifery, instead translating “Begierde” (Sallaberger) or “of desire; desirable; *for (daily) need*” (DCCLT).

In light of all this, the precise nuance of **šu-kam-ma** = *erištu* in the Old Babylonian period remains obscure. The connection to child-birth or midwifery seems tentative—basing itself primarily on somewhat ambiguous, first-millennium evidence—but may be supported by the loose association between **šu-kam-ma** and **šu-i** observed above.

Seg. A 33

ši-im-ma-ab-du₇-un

For the form **ši-im-ma-ab-du₇-un**, compare the series of clauses ending in **ba-ab-du₇-u₃** in Šulgi X 56ff, and see discussion of /b/ in passive forms in Attinger n.d., 28 (§2.4), with previous literature.⁸⁷² Following Attinger’s suggestion, one would analyze ...{b}+du₇+{en} as a *hamtu* transitive form with an indefinite (non-human) agent, representing passive meaning “(one) has made you perfectly suited to” = “you have been made perfectly suited to.” Following Zólyomi, one would analyze ...{b}+du₇+{en} as an intransitive (passive) form with a second-person subject and /b/ representing the oblique object (“Locative 3” in Zólyomi’s more recently adopted terminology).⁸⁷³

⁸⁷² In particular Attinger 1993, 196–197, §128 and Zólyomi 1993, 51–79 (esp. 61, nos. iii–v in his summarized response to Wilcke’s treatment of the passive).

⁸⁷³ See Zólyomi 2016, 153–157, esp. ex. 430, with previous literature on p. 157.

ki bansur-ra

For **ki bansur-ra** (“place of the table” =) “place of dining” as an epithet for a temple building, compare Gudea Cylinders A x 27–29/274–276 **e₂-ba-gara₂ ki bansur-ra-ĝu₁₀ / diĝir gal-gal lagaš^{ki}-a-ke₄-ne / gu₂ ma-si-si-ne** “At the Ebagara, my place of dining, the great gods of Lagaš gather to me” (for Ebagara, see George 1993, 69 ad 96).

Seg. A 34

kiĝ₂-sig unu₇ gal

The term **kiĝ₂-sig unu₂/unu₆/unu₇ gal** “evening-meals of the great dining-hall” occurs in numerous literary compositions, where it appears to be a fixed expression (a distinct case marker never appears on **kiĝ₂-sig**; the case is consistently marked after **/unu/ gal**). The grammatical analysis of the expression presents some difficulties. It does not appear to be a genitive construction **kiĝ₂-sig + /unu/ gal** (gen.), since it has no /k/-*Auslaut*.⁸⁷⁴ The remaining possibilities are:

- (1) A coordinated noun pair, “evening-meals and great dining-hall(s).”
- (2) A noun-noun compound with **kiĝ₂-sig** as the head noun and **/unu/ gal** as the modifying noun (“great-dining-hall-evening-meals” =) “evening meals of the great dining-hall.”
- (3) Grammatically possible but highly unlikely is **kiĝ₂-sig /unu/ (gen.) gal** “great evening-meals-of-the-dining-hall.” The position of the adjective **gal** after the genitive modifier **/unu/**

⁸⁷⁴ See, e.g., Šulgi Y 30 **kiĝ₂-sig unu₂ gal-la-ne₂** and Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 266 **kiĝ₂-sig unu₂ gal-la** (locative case).

would follow the rules of a modifying genitive construction,⁸⁷⁵ but against this are the fact that /unu/ **gal** “great dining-hall” is a standard expression, whereas **gal** modifying **kiġ₂-sig** is never attested, and that **kiġ₂-sig** /unu/ alone, without **gal**, is never attested.

saġ₂-ku₃ ġal₂

The expression **saġ₂-ku₃/gu₂ ġal₂**, almost always used adjectivally meaning “proud, noble,”⁸⁷⁶ is also attested as a finite verb in Iddin-Dagan A 216 (Attinger 2014 l. 214). The form there is almost identical to the form in our line, the only difference being that it is in the third person instead of the second. Compare:

Iddin-Dagan A 214: **para₁₀ ... (loc.) saġ₂-gu₂ mu-ni(-in)-ġal₂**⁸⁷⁷ (mu+ni+n+ġal₂+Ø)

Nuska A A34: **kiġ₂-sig ... (loc.) saġ₂-ku₃ mu-e-ni-ġal₂** (mu+ni+e+ġal₂+Ø)

For the Iddin-Dagan A line, Attinger 2014, 71 proposes the meaning “*être auguste, noble, se montrer plein de noblesse*,” which is followed in my translation. Compare the similar relationship in meaning between the adjectival **nir-ġal₂** “noble, confident, trustworthy” and the verbal phrase **nir ġal₂** “to have confidence, to be trustworthy, to inspire trust.”

The use of *ḥamṭu* in our line can either be understood as perfective/resultative (“you have shown yourself noble”), or as a reflection of the fact that the verb **ġal₂** is frequently constructed as *ḥamṭu* even when used transitively in present/future or precative contexts (on which see comment to line 159 in Attinger and Glenn 2017). This property of **ġal₂** may be connected to its

⁸⁷⁵ On this construction see most recently Zólyomi 2016, 27–28 along with Jagersma 2010, 126–127 (“word-like phrases”).

⁸⁷⁶ Black 2000, 18; Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 166 ad 42–43; Wiggermann 1988, 226 n. 3 with previous literature.

⁸⁷⁷ So A, H, probably C; // **saġ mu-ni-in-ġal₂** (B).

fundamentally stative meaning, despite the fact that it is used fientively/dynamically in many of the instances cited.^{878 879}

Seg. A 35

^{ḡeš}**gun₂-ne-saḡ-ḡa₂**

On (^{ḡeš})**gun₂-ne-saḡ-ḡa₂**, see most recently Owen 2013 (“sacristy; large chest/cupboard or, by extension, a room in which the chest/cupboard was kept”), with previous literature on p. 31. Based on the contents of the (^{ḡeš})**gun₂-ne-saḡ-ḡa₂** recorded in inventory documents, Owen describes it as a place used to store “elaborate vessels and valuables used in rituals that included food, beer, and wine, to be served in drinking cups and pouring vessels,” as well as other luxury items that would have been used to decorate ceremonial spaces or to dress cult statues (2013, 31).

On the tentative reading **gun₂-** over **gu₂-** see Attinger 2002, 131 n. 23.

ša-ba-pa₃-‘de₃’-‘en’¹

The meaning of **pa₃** in this context eludes me. For the tentative suggestion “*to be chosen for* (+ loc.),” cf. *Lugale* 539 (Van Dijk 1983a l. 542) and Ibbi-Suen C 15//20. Also possible is something like “*you choose/reveal (the things) of/in the sacristy.*”

⁸⁷⁸ On the neutralization of the distinction between *ḥamṭu* and *marû* for verbs with stative meanings, see Krecher 1995, 143, Jagersma 2010, 373–375, 562, and Zólyomi 2016, 81, 175, who argue that such verbs are not just incompatible with the suffix /ed/, but that they appear exclusively in *ḥamṭu* forms.

⁸⁷⁹ Note that this property of **ḡal₂** may also explain the *ḥamṭu* form in Iddin-Dagan A 214, although there it could also be explained as reflecting a change in speaker and tense (cf. Attinger 2014, 58).

Seg. A 36

eš-da

The *ešda*-vessel, a type of vessel associated with **ne-saĝ** “libation” in Nanše A 47–48, was presumably one of the items stored in **gun₂-ne-saĝ-ĝa₂**, although it does not occur in the catalogue of objects found in the **gun₂-ne-saĝ-ĝa₂** in Owen 2013, 32–40.

za₃-mim mi-ni-in-du₁₁

As written, the verbal form **mi-ni-in-du₁₁** can only be third-person human singular *hamtu* with a locative adjunct. Since there is no obvious third person participant, I assume we are dealing with an impersonal subject (“one”) with a passive meaning. From the context, something like “you are praised for the pure *ešda*-vessels!” would make the most sense, but for that we would expect Nuska to be referred to in the prefix chain—either with **-ra-** (cf. Šulgi P C 21) or with **-ri₂-** (cf. Ninisina A 29).⁸⁸⁰ Instead, we seem to have the more general exclamation “praise has been spoken for the pure *ešda*-vessels!” Also conceivable is to understand **eš-da** and **ku₃-ga** as separate NPs, translating “the *ešda*-vessels were adorned with (loc.) silver/precious metal,” but this would make less sense in the context.

Seg. A 38

For **ki ku₃-ga šu-luḥ¹? ĝar-ĝar-ra** “pure place where lustrations have been performed,” cf. especially Iddin-Dagan A 195 (Attinger 2014 l. 193) **šu-luḥ ĝar-ĝar-ra-še₃(//-ba)** “into the (//in

⁸⁸⁰ See Attinger 1993, 760 ex. 477 and 475.

that) (place) where lustrations have been performed,”⁸⁸¹ and Curse of Agade 256 **ki uz-ga šu-luḫ-ḫa ḡar-ra-zu** “your *ki-uzga*, where lustrations have been performed.”

Seg. A 41

KURUN₂ du₁₀

For **KURUN₂(DIN) du₁₀** “sweet *kurun*-beer,” cf. Rulers of Lagaš 34 **kurun(KAŠ.DIN) du₁₀**, in broken context.

ga SIG₇-a

On the term **ga SIG₇-a**, probably a variant of **ga ŠE-a**, see Englund 1995, 418–422, with previous literature. Based on Ur III documents recording the conversion of this product into dairy oil (**i₃-nun**) and cheese (**ga-ara₃/UD-g**), Stol proposed the identification of **ga SIG₇/ŠE-a** as “sour milk,” which Englund adopts (see Stol 1993, 100–101; 1993–1997, 193 ad §5). Because the fat content calculated from the conversion documents is higher than one would expect for normal soured milk, Englund also mentions the possibility that **ga SIG₇/ŠE-a** refers to “the top half of fresh milk kept in containers over-night, into which the cream had separated”—with the caveat that the understanding of **SIG₇-a** as referring to the yellow color of creamy milk does not stand, since we are clearly dealing with a different lexeme than **si₁₂(SIG₇)-g** “to be yellow” (**SIG₇** in **ga SIG₇/ŠE-a** having no /g/-*Auslaut*; according to Englund’s understanding, it is probably pronounced /še/) (419 n. 76).

⁸⁸¹ Translation following Attinger 2014, 38 and 57 ad 193–195 with previous literature.

In addition to its frequent occurrence in Ur III documents, **ga SIG₇-a** occurs in the literary corpus in: Dumuzi and Enkimdu 48 (**ga SIG₇-a**), Rim-Sin E 17 (**ga SIG₇-a**),⁸⁸² the proverb MS 3344 (CUSAS 2 pp. 61–62) (**ga SIG₇-a**), and Gudea Cyl. B iii 18/ 876 (**ga ŠE-a**). In these texts, it appears as a finished (liquid) product, served to deities alongside various other food and drink, and is of fine quality. See especially Dumuzi and Enkimdu 48, where the farmer’s first-rate beer, **kaš saĝ** is countered by the shepherd’s **ga SIG₇-a**.

Seg. A 50

šu si sa₂

For **šu si sa₂**, literally (“to make the hand straight” =) “to extend the hand,” see especially: Sjöberg 1969, 51–52 ad 8 (= *šutēšuru*, translated in context “put in order” [p. 51], “kept in good repair” [p. 17]); Sefati 1998, 307 ad 1–4 (= *šutēšuru*, “to organize, arrange,” including in the context of organizing and purifying a shrine); Lämmerhirt 2010, 204 (various meanings, including referring to “ein Gebetsgestus” or “die richtigen Handlungen” and meaning “die Hand ausstrecken” = “segnen” [+ dir. in both examples cited]); Attinger 2014, 73 (“tendre la main avec qqc. [com.]” = “*mettre qqc. à disposition*”).

In our line, it is not clear whether the *me*’s mentioned in the previous line represent the semantic object of **šu si sa₂** (“the great *me*’s (...) are properly handled/arranged for you”),⁸⁸³ or whether the form stands on its own (“hands are stretched out to you (*in prayer/blessing*)”).

⁸⁸² Read **gara₂ sa₇-a** in Brisch 2007, 212, but in the CDLI photo, the first sign looks indistinguishable from **ga** in line 8 ([P346189](#) = UET 6/1 104 [U 07751]).

⁸⁸³ For **me** (+dat.) as the object of **šu si sa₂**, cf. Gudea Cyl. A xx 22 (560) **me-e šu si im-ma-sa₂**: Römer 2010, 59: (the *en*-priests and *la-gal*-priests) “brachten die ‘göttliche Kraft’ in Ordnung;” Heimpel in Volk, ed. 2015, 139: “Die Riten wurden ausgeführt;” Farber-Flügge 1973, 145: **šu si sa₂ ≈ si sa₂**; here meaning “daß [Baba] die **me** in Ordnung gebracht habe.”

Seg. B 12

meš₃? ka-silim-ma?

For the tentative reading **meš₃? ka-silim-ma?** “*glorious?* young man?” cf. **dumu ka-silim-ma** (Gungunum B B12 [Sjöberg 1973b line ii 12’]; *Lugale* 151) and **nar ka-silim-ma** (Išme-Dagan A+V C11); for **ka-silim**, see Sjöberg 1973b, 30–31 ad 4 B ii 12’.

Seg. B 21

tu₉? tuba? ku₃ gu₂ me-re-me-re-de₃ du₇

I take **gu₂ me-re-me-re-de₃** “to thrive, prosper; *to be in full health, to reach one’s full potential/power*” (see below) as the directive object of **du₇** “to be perfect(ly suited to), fit for” based on the parallels in Ludiġira to His Mother 51 ms E⁸⁸⁴ **ga-ra-[an ħe₂]-me-da gu₂ me-er-me-re-de₃ du₇** “a purple fruit-cluster, fit to prosper” (describing the mother)⁸⁸⁵ and probably Šulgi C Seg. B 92⁸⁸⁶ **‘gu₂’ MAR-me-re-de₃ du₇** “fit to prosper” (describing Šulgi).

For the term **gu₂ me-re-me(-er)-re**, equated in lexical lists and bilinguals with Akkadian *ḥanābu* “to grow abundantly, to be radiant,”⁸⁸⁷ “üppig sprießen,”⁸⁸⁸ in the G, Gtn, Dtn, and Š stems,⁸⁸⁹ see Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 67 ad 83 and Hall 1985, 658–659. As observed originally by Klein 1981b, 90 ad 3, this expression is probably to be connected to the expression

⁸⁸⁴ Ni 2759 (Belleten 40, btw. pp. 416 and 417).

⁸⁸⁵ The main text reads: **ga-ra-an ħe-me-da-a (/ħe₂-me-du) gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re-da** “She is a purple fruit-cluster, prospering” (mss B and D).

⁸⁸⁶ CBS 14080+ v 16’–17’.

⁸⁸⁷ CAD H (1956), p. 75.

⁸⁸⁸ AHW p. 319.

⁸⁸⁹ See the lexical and bilingual sections under *ḥanābu* in CAD H (1956), pp. 75–75, to which can be added the late Old Babylonian example in Veldhuis 1998, 202 line ii 11. For Gtn, see variants to Ura 2 286 in MSL 5, p. 72.

gu₂ MAR(-MAR) (on which connection, see below).⁸⁹⁰ For the latter, Attinger recently proposed a meaning along the lines of “*être au mieux/sommet de sa forme, être en pleine santé, accomplir des prouesses; (faire) prospérer, fructifier*,” covering a range of subjects to which the verb can apply (e.g. people, plants, boats) (Attinger 2019n, note to lines 15f.). For further discussion of **gu₂ MAR(.MAR)**, see Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 200–201 ad 16, Klein 1990, 124 ad 60, Attinger 1993, 525, §452.

In our line, it is not certain whether ^{tu}?**tuba**’ should be understood together with **gu₂ me-er-me-re-de₃ du₇**, as the thing that reaches its full power/potential, or whether it should be understood as a separate epithet, “(having/wearing) the pure/shining *tuba*-garment (*bahuvrihi* construction?), with **gu₂ (...) du₇** referring to the goddess.

****Aside on the Distribution of gu₂ MAR(.MAR) and gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re****

The relationship between the forms **gu₂ MAR(.MAR)** and **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** is not entirely clear. Their distribution in the Old Babylonian evidence is nearly complementary, with the former usually occurring in finite forms and the latter exclusively occurring in non-finite forms.

⁸⁹⁰ I assume that, at least in the OB period, **gu₂ MAR(.MAR)** and **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** represent the same lexeme. This is suggested not only by their apparent similarity in meaning and their occasional occurrence in similar contexts (referring to grain or other vegetation: **gu₂ MAR.MAR** in SP 7.96 [ETCSL C53]; **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** in Lugalbanda I 41 and Ludiġira to His Mother 51; referring to a person/deity, with a second person/deity in the comitative case: **gu₂ MAR.MAR** in Ur-Namma G 9, Ur-Namma B 16, Ur-Ninurta D 19; **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** in TH 83), but also by the fact that they generally occur in complementary distribution (**gu₂ MAR(-MAR)** in finite forms, **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** in non-finite forms, with two exceptions), and by the existence of what seems to be a mixed spelling **gu₂ MAR-me-re** in Šulgi C B92.

(1) **gu₂ MAR(.MAR)**⁸⁹¹ occurs almost exclusively in finite verbal forms, especially in two stock images:

(a) referring to the prospering of the land/people or a king, where in all three examples the form is *marû*, not reduplicated, with a comitative prefix referring to the ruler under whom the land/people will prosper (Ur-Namma G 9; Ur-Namma B 16) or to the goddess with whom the king will prosper (Ur-Ninurta D 19), and associated with joy and abundance (**nam-he₂, asila₃, hi-li**);

(b) referring to the action of a boat, paired with **a₂ sud**, where the form, when known, is *marû*, and the base is reduplicated in all three examples (*Lugale* 676–677; Šulgi R 59–60; EWO 109–110).

gu₂ MAR is further attested in a *marû* finite form with “free” reduplication in SP 7 C53 (Alster 1997 7.96), where it is said of grain (**še sur-ra**). The only instance of **gu₂ MAR** in a non-finite form is in Šulgi D 3, where **gu₂ MAR.MAR-e** occurs as the object of **di-d**, said of calves.

(2) In contrast, **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** in the OB period occurs exclusively in non-finite verbal forms,⁸⁹² where the final /e/ represents the *marû* suffix {ed}.⁸⁹³ In addition to the Ludiġira to His Mother line cited above, where this expression refers to a cluster of fruit as a metaphor for a woman, **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** is also attested in reference to: a person, in TH 83 (with comitative; cf. examples cited above under (1a)) and Gungunum B Seg. B 5 (Sjöberg 1973b line ii 5); a type

⁸⁹¹ Not to be confused with **ġu₂ mar** in Emesal contexts, representing **gu₂ ġar** “to assemble” or “to submit.”

⁸⁹² One finite example is attested in the first millennium text Elevation of Ištar (Hruška 1969, Foxvog 2013) III 67–78 **gu₂ he₂-en-me-er-me-re** : *li-ih-nu-ub* “may (your splendor) flourish.”

⁸⁹³ Cf. also the variant form **gu₂ me-er-me-er** (so H₂; A₂, E₂: **-re**) in OB Nippur Nigga 443 (MSL 13, p. 108 line 443 = DCCLT line 442).

of wheat (**gu₂-nida**), in Lugalbanda I 41; probably fragrant plants (**u₂-šem**), in Ninurta B Seg. A 10; and possibly a young tree (**ġeš² gibil**), in Hymn to Nanna/Suen UET 6/3 610⁸⁹⁴ 3'.⁸⁹⁵

(3) Finally, what appears to be a mixed spelling '**gu₂' MAR-me-re-de₃ du₇** occurs in Šulgi C Seg. B 92 (cited above), referring to Šulgi.

Conclusions

To summarize the OB evidence: (1) the compound verb **gu₂ MAR/me-er-me(-er)-re** is known only in *marû* forms;⁸⁹⁶ (2) in finite forms the base is always written with **MAR** or **MAR.MAR**; (3) in non-finite forms, the base is written **me-er-me(-er)-re(-d)**, with two exceptions: **MAR.MAR-e** in Šulgi D 3 and **MAR-me-re-d** in Šulgi C.

Since both exceptional forms occur in Šulgi hymns, one might tentatively understand them as conservative spellings. This would leave us with the OB orthography: **gu₂ MAR** for *marû* finite verbs (reduplicated **MAR.MAR** in all contexts except with boats); **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re-d** for *marû* non-finite verbs (always reduplicated and with the suffix {**ed**}); and *hamtu* forms unknown. The question of how these conventions would have come about, and what the original relationship between **gu₂ MAR(.MAR)** and **gu₂ me-er-me(-er)-re** might have been—quite possibly two separate lexemes—is not clear.

⁸⁹⁴ Peterson 2016, 158–162.

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. also Samsu-iluna A 6 (van Dijk 2000, 125) and UET 6/3 535 (Peterson 2016, 156–157) 3, where the context and/or restoration are not certain.

⁸⁹⁶ Possible exceptions: tense not certain in *Lugale* 676; **gu₂ me-er-me-er** in one source for OB Nippur Nigga 443 (see n. 893).

bar-ra

If the reading of ^{tu}**tuba** at the beginning of the line is correct, it is tempting to see in **bar-ra** a reference to the goddess's body (lit. "exterior"), but this is syntactically difficult. Expected would be **bar-ra** followed by **dul** or another verb.

Seg. B 23

nin ġalga sud⁻

Sadarnuna is similarly described as the "true lady of far-reaching counsel" in Sadarnuna A 3.

e₂-gal-ra

I assume that **e₂-gal-ra** is a mistake for **e₂-gal-la**. The alternatives would be to take it as a personification of the palace or to take **e₂-gal** as a headless genitive referring to "the one of the palace."

Seg. B 24

The subject of the intransitive verbal form **ša-mu-un-da-an-til₃** is presumably the goddess, since she is the only third-person figure who has been named. The referent of the comitative is less clear. Possible analyses include: (1) **{n+da}** is a mistake for **{e+da}** "with you (Nuska)" (this would be the most logical in terms of meaning, but against it is the fact that the scribe wrote a correctly formulated second-person comitative form in the next line, **ši-me-da-...**); (2) the comitative is used here in the abilitative sense, and the **{n}** refers back to the subject: "she is able to reside;" (3) Nuska is the subject and the scribe mistakenly omitted the final **{en}** in the verb

(“you¹ reside with her”) (in which case the unmarked epithets of the goddess in the preceding lines would have to be understood as topicalized); (4) {**n**} refers to a third participant who was named in the illegible text in Seg. B 18–19, or to Enlil, named in Seg. B 11 (against this is the fact that we would expect the goddess to share the throne-dais with Nuska, but cf. perhaps Rim-Sin B 34).

Seg. B 27

saĝ-ba DU

For **saĝ-ba DU** (“going at their head” =) “preeminent, foremost” (Akk. *ina mahri illak*⁸⁹⁷) see: Falkenstein 1960, 143 **saĝ-ba ĝen** “an dessen Spitze gehend;” Walker and Kramer 1982, 83 **saĝ-ba-DU** “went at the head” = “is primary” (?); Klein 1990, 126 ad 70 “goes at their head.” As already remarked by most commentators, this expression recalls the similar **saĝ-be₂-še₃ e₃** “to be foremost, take precedence.” The forms **DU-am₃** (Nuska A Seg. B 27, Šulgi R 70, Išme-Dagan H 24), **DU-a-ne₂** (Lugalbanda I 35, 37), and **DU-a** (Ninĝišzida A 28) suggest that **DU** should be read **du**.

The most frequent usage of this expression is in contexts similar our line, modifying, for example: a spoken word, **du₁₁-ga** (Rim-Sin 1 CUSAS 17 53, Išme-Dagan H 24, Letter from Ku₃-Nanna to Ninšubur [ETCSL 3.3.39] A5); a word, **enim** (Šulgi Y 6); an utterance, **ka-ta e₃-a-ne₂** (Enlil A 169) (?); or a decided fate, **nam-tar-ra** (Šulgi R 70).

⁸⁹⁷ Elevation of Ištar (Foxvog 2013) III 4: *saĝ-ba du : ina mah-ri il-lak*.

Seg. B 28–30

The occurrence of **šu du₁₁-ga an-na** “creation of An” (Seg. B 28) strongly suggests that this is a reference to the king, although he is not explicitly named. **šu du₁₁-ga** DN is very well-attested as a royal epithet in OB literary texts and in royal inscriptions,⁸⁹⁸ whereas it occurs only once in reference to a deity.⁸⁹⁹

The expression **uĝ₃ šar₂-ra pa₃-da** “chosen from among the myriad people” (Seg. B 29) further supports this interpretation. Compare especially the following passage from an adab to Ninurta, which partially mirrors the structure of our lines:

Ex. II.13 Ur-Ninurta C 37–39

37 sul si sa₂ **uĝ₃ daĝal-la pa₃-[da šu?]** du₁₁-ga kur-gal-la
38 ^dur-^dnin-urta [...] la-la gu₃ zi de₂-a-zu
39 igi x [...] -ke₄ DU [...] mu]-un-ne-šum₂

To the just youth, **chosen from among the widespread people**, [crea]tion[?] of the great mountain,
Ur-Ninurta, [...] abundance, the one to whom you (Ninurta) spoke favorably,
you (Ninurta) gave

For further examples of **uĝ₃ šar₂** (loc.) **pa₃**, all in reference to a king being chosen from among the people, see Šu-ilišu A 57, Ur-Ninurta A 10, and Ur-Namma B 3–5 (?).

Since the referent of Seg. B 28–29 is almost certainly the Mesopotamian king, we should probably understand the verb **šu(/ša)-mu-na-da-ab-šum₂-mu** in Seg. B 30 // Seg. B 37 as a

⁸⁹⁸ Ur-Namma C 111; Šu-Suen hymn ETCSL 2.4.4.a 9; Enlil-bani A 4; Šulgi V 4; CBS 15134+ (NABU 2011 no. 9, pp. 10–13) 6' // 14'; Eanatum 1 (RIME 1.9.3.1, Stele of the Vultures) v 2–3; Enlil-bani 1001 (RIME 4.1.10.1001) i 11; Samsu-iluna 3 (RIME 4.3.7.3) 26; Samsu-iluna 7 (RIME 4.3.7.6) 6''–7''; Rim-Sin I CUSAS 17 51 12. Perhaps also Ur-Ninurta C 37 [**šu?**] **du₁₁-ga kur-gal-la**. See also the discussion in Sjöberg 1972a, 97–98, but note, as already observed by Attinger (1993, 699 n. 2035), that **šu du₁₁-ga** does not designate a parent-child relationship as suggested by Sjöberg.

⁸⁹⁹ Inana I 31.

second-person form “you (Nuska) give to him (the king).” This is in contrast to previous translations of Seg. B 37, which, lacking the evidence from col. iii (preserved on the Louvre piece), have usually analyzed as “he (Enlil) gives to him (Nuska).”⁹⁰⁰

Seg. B 28

I know of no exact parallels to **uĝ₃-ta kiĝ₂-ĝa₂**.⁹⁰¹ My translation understands **kiĝ₂-ĝa₂** “sought out” as a participle modifying **sipa**, containing the idea that the right candidate for the position has been looked for and found. For this nuance of **kiĝ₂-ĝa₂** cf. perhaps Išme-Dagan I 34. The use of the ablative to express the idea of being selected “from among the people” is otherwise unattested with **kiĝ₂**, but occurs with the semantically similar verbs **igi sag₅** (Šulgi V 15⁹⁰²), **suĥ** (Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 199,⁹⁰³ ELA 566⁹⁰⁴), and **šu** + poss. suff. **dab₅** (Gudea Statue B [RIME 3/1.1.7.StB] iii 10–11, Urukagina 1⁹⁰⁵ viii 5–6⁹⁰⁶); cf. also the partially illegible form in VAT 8515 104–105 (VS 17 41, cited in Lämmerhirt 2012, 14).⁹⁰⁷ For discussion of this theme, see Wilcke 2002, 68–69.

⁹⁰⁰ An exception to this is PSD A2 (1994), p. 149, ab-sin₂ 2.2, which already understood Seg. B 34–35 as “(Nuska gave him) the hoe and plow to ..., and the furrow and the late grain.”

⁹⁰¹ On the surface, Edubba’a C 4 **um-mi-a lu₂-ta kiĝ₂-ĝa₂-am₃** appears to be similar, but the meaning there is obscure, and the apparent similarity may be coincidental; note that **kiĝ₂** appears frequently in the Edubba’a literature meaning “task” or “work.” The entire line (**um-mi-a lu₂-ta kiĝ₂-ĝa₂-am₃ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ ĝeš bi₂-in-ĝar**) is translated by Volk: “Der Meister wies **pro Mann die Arbeitsleistung** (und die entsprechenden) Anweisungen zu” (Volk, ed. 2015, 110). Cf. ETCSL: “The teacher assigned a task to me -- **it was man’s work**.”

⁹⁰² **uĝ₃-ta igi sag₅-ga**

⁹⁰³ **uĝ₃-ta suĥ-a**

⁹⁰⁴ **lu₂ lu₂-ta suĥ-a**

⁹⁰⁵ RIME 1.9.9.1; Cooper 1986 La 9.1; Steible 1982 Ukg. 4–5.

⁹⁰⁶ **ša₃ lu₂ 36000-ta šu-ne₂ ...-dab₅...**

⁹⁰⁷ **ša₃ uĝ₃ šar₃** + poss. suff. (loc.) **x(dib[?])**.

Seg. B 29

The lack of a dative case marker at the end of the king's epithets (attached to **pa₃-da**) can be explained as topicalization.

Seg. B 30

This line is at least partially parallel to Seg. B 37 **^{1d}nuška eš₃-maḥ-ta ša-mu-na-da-ab-šum₂¹-mu¹**. If the structure of the two lines is completely parallel, the first few signs of our line ([x] **^{1x}ku₃¹**) should represent an epithet for Nuska. This would, however, leave us with no explicit direct object for the verb **šum₂**. Two possible explanations present themselves: (1) the object of **šum₂** is not explicit and it should be translated as something like “you give (*gifts*)”; (2) the lines are only partially parallel, and Seg. B 30 begins with an object given to the king rather than a divine epithet.

Seg. B 33

It is not certain whether the non-finite verbs in this line should be understood as participles modifying Nuska (in the vocative) or as objects of **šum₂**. Although similar gifts of wisdom are frequently bestowed on the king, the giver is almost always Enki (e.g. Iddin-Dagan B 14–16,⁹⁰⁸ Sin-iddinam E (Sin-iddinam and Iškur; RIME 4.2.9.15) 41–42,⁹⁰⁹ Abi-sare 1 (RIME 4.2.6.1) ii 1'–3', among numerous others).

⁹⁰⁸ **šum₂** in line 16 collated by Zólyomi 2002, 82; cf. also the lentil PTS 49 ([P459285](#)).

⁹⁰⁹ ETCSL/RIME lines 41–42 = Wagensonner 2011 lines iii 3–4.

niĝ₂-nam-ma buru₃

For **niĝ₂-nam** with **buru₃** in similar contexts, cf. Išme-Dagan 6 (RIME 4.1.4.6) vi 5'–6' and Asarluhi A 16–17, where, unlike our line, **niĝ₂-nam** is in the absolutive case.

Seg. B 34

gana₂ zi-de₃-eš ka tuḥ-u₃ is probably be connected to the well-known term **gana₂ zi** “true field,” referring to a cultivated field ready to bear crops (see recently Lämmerhirt 2010, 61–62). For **ka tuḥ** referring to agricultural activity, cf. also EWO 320 (referring to opening the furrows).

Seg. B 35

a₂ su₃-[...]

For the tentative translation of **a₂ sud** as “to reach far and wide, spread far and wide,” cf. Šu-Suen 1 (RIME 3/2.1.4.1) ii 4–5 **ḥur-saĝ gal-gal a₂-sud-ra₂-be₂** “its [the enemy land’s] great, far-reaching mountain ranges” (translation Civil 1967, 29); Šulgi B 53 // 78 // 115 // 151 **kala-ga-ĝa₂ mu-be₂ a₂ bi₂-su₃-ud** “the fame of my might has spread far and wide;” perhaps *Lugale* 349–350 **gu-ru-um na₄ kur-ra mi-ni-in-AK / duggu diri-ga-gen₇ a₂ bi₂-in-su₃-su₃-ud** “Er machte einen Leichenhaufen aus Stein im Fremdland, ließ ihn in die Weite reichen wie eine ziehende Wolke” (translation Heimpel and Salgues in Volk, ed. 2015, 50). See also Karahashi 2000, 77–78 (“to spread”); Seminara 2001, 297 ad 350 (“espandersi”).

GU₂ IM(.)SI(. / -)A

After **gu₂** one expects **gur**, for **gu₂ gur** “to heap up,” attested frequently with **kuru₁₃-du₆** **kuru₁₃-maš₍₂₎**, but the signs are clearly **IM SI A**. Van Dijk reads **gu₂ im-si-a** and assumes that this verb serves essentially the same function as **gu₂ gur**, defining **gu₂ si-a** as “vollsein bis über den Rand” and translating “die angehäuft bis zum Rande voll sind.” Against this reading are the fact that, as van Dijk acknowledges, a finite verbal form is unexpected, and that the usual meaning of **gu₂ si** is not “to be full,” but rather “to assemble,” said of humans or deities.⁹¹⁰

On the other hand, I do not have a better explanation for **GU₂ IM SI A**. A reading of **GU₂** as **gun₂** “tribute” might conceivably fit the context, as another symbol of prosperity given to the king, but it does not seem very likely. **DUGGU (IM.SI.A)** “cloud” also seems unlikely; although the action **a₂ sud** is likened to the movement of a cloud in the *Lugale* line cited above, its occurrence here, without **-gen₇**, is unexpected.

Seg. B 36

The items mentioned in this line are typical gifts given to the king by a deity. Years of abundance or profusion (**mu ħe₂-ġal₂-la**, **mu giri₁₇ zal-la**) occur frequently in hymns and in royal inscriptions, given to the king as a blessing or good fate; compare especially the passage in Išme-Dagan Q B17–B24, where Nuska is asked to grant the king “years of profusion” alongside a good life and a good reign. The expression **til₃ u₄ sud-da/ra₂** “long life” (literally “life of distant days”) likewise occurs frequently in similar contexts.⁹¹¹

⁹¹⁰ van Dijk cites *Udughul* 5 137 as evidence for **gu₂ si** “to be full,” but this reference is late.

⁹¹¹ *Lugale* 144; Šu-Suen D 12–14; Sin-iddinam 15 (RIME 4.2.9.15) 43–45 (= iii 5–7); Warad-Sin 1001 (RIME 4.2.13.1001) 34–36; Hammurabi 1 (RIME 4.3.6.1) 25–36; cf. also the seemingly synonymous **nam-til₂ u₄-sud-da/ra₂**, also attested frequently.

Seg. B 37

ša-mu-na-da-ab-¹šum₂¹-¹mu¹

For the understanding of this verb as a second-person form, addressing Nuska, with the king as recipient, see the comment to Seg. B 28–30. Further support for this interpretation are the fact that there is no dative case marker on ^d**nuška** (understood here as vocative) and the fact that the objects of **šum₂**, at least in the preceding line (**mu he₂-ga₂-la**, etc.) are typical of blessings bestowed upon a king.

eš₃(-)maḥ****

For **eš₃(-)**maḥ**** referring either to the Ekur itself or to a shrine within the Ekur, see the comment to Seg. A 11.

Seg. B 38–40

The text begins a new thought in these lines, and it is less clear who the subject is. The sequence of epithets in Seg. B 38–40 could conceivably apply to either a human ruler or a god.

The first, **ninta kala-ga** “mighty man” is of course ubiquitous in royal inscriptions as a royal title and would seem to point towards a human king. The second descriptor, **a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ga₂** “(having) heroic arms” is ambiguous. Although the majority of examples of **a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ga₂** given in PSD A2 (1994), p. 88 under meaning 2 (“ref[erring] to the martial prowess, the heroic strength of deities and kings”) refer to the heroic strength of a divine figure, these references come disproportionately from a single text—*Angim*—and refer almost exclusively to a single god—Ninurta. Almost all other instances cited in the PSD article refer to the heroic strength of a king.

The third descriptor, **me₃-še₃ saĝ ĝa₂-ĝa₂** “advancing to battle,” along with the militaristic actions described in lines Seg. B 39–40, is too general to support one interpretation over the other.

With this evidence in mind, I prefer to see the king in these lines—with the additional reason that it provides an explicit subject for the verb in Seg. B 42—although the text itself is ambiguous.

Seg. B 39

UĜ₃ du₆-ul-du₆-ul-e

On the verb **du₆-ul** = *puḥḥuru* “to gather; to store up,” see especially Civil 1994, 92 ad 82–83, as well as Michalowski 1989, 98 ad 333 and Peterson 2010, 599–600 ad rev. 12’ with n. 21, with previous literature. Although the best-known examples occur in the context of gathering or storing agricultural produce (LSU 334, OB Nippur Lu-azlag 195 [MSL 12, p. 157], perhaps Farmer’s Instructions 82–83), it is also attested with a variety of other objects, often in difficult context.

In the current line, the idea is most likely the gathering together of the dispersed people. For this interpretation, cf. the similar usage of *puḥḥuru* in CAD P (2005), p. 30, *paḥāru* 6c.⁹¹² In other cases where **du₆-ul** has a group of people as object, the meaning is rather negative (Šu-ilišu A 62) or ambiguous (*Lugale* 15)—but cf. perhaps FI 82–83, where **šid-be₂** with **du₆-ul** may refer to the gathering of a group of workers “in sufficient number” (Civil 1994, 92).

ga-an-’zi’-’ir’ ’ma₅’-’ma₅’

⁹¹² The idea of gathering up the scattered people is usually expressed in Sumerian instead with **gu₂ ĝar** (Inana C 160, Nippur Lament 208), **ki-be₂(-še₃) ge₄** (Inana C 160, Nippur Lament 214), or **ki-tuš-be₂/ba ge** (Nippur Lament 206, Šu-ilišu 2 [RIME 4.1.2.2] ii 6, Nur-Adad 6 [RIME 4.2.8.6] 13).

For the verb **ma_s-ma_s** referring to the action of fire, cf. *Angim* 151 (Cooper 1978 l. 152), Ninġišzida A 24, and the late bilingual incantation CT 17 29 1 (all cited in Cooper 1978, 131 ad 152; see there for a full discussion).⁹¹³ In our line we seem to be missing a case marker on **ga-an-zi-ir**—probably either a locative (“consuming the evil *in/with* flame”) or a directive/loc3 marking the underlying agent in a causative construction (“*causing* flame to consume the evil”). In the parallel examples, the subject is said to consume the object “like fire” (**izi**/^d**girra**_x^{gi}-**gen**₇).

Seg. B 40

For **gu₂ du₃** see especially Jaques 2006, 147ff.

Segs. B 41–42

Previous translations have taken the verb in Seg. B 42 as an impersonal third person form with passive meaning: “Bulls with fat forelegs, sheep with long fleece, and great food offerings, **are brought before you**, Nuska, lord beloved by An” (ETCSL); “mit Rindern mit sich aufbäumenden Vorderfüßen, Schafen mit langem Woll(pelz), gr[oß]en Speisegaben, **tritt es vor dich**, Nusku, Herr, ge[lie]bt von An” (van Dijk). If the interpretation of Seg. B 27ff. as involving the king is correct, it is likely that he is also the subject here.

⁹¹³ Cf. also CBS 1511 8’ (edited in Sjöberg 1991) .

Seg. B 43–44

These lines are usually translated in the second person, with Nuska as subject. If we take the king as the subject in line Seg. B 42, it is equally possible to understand him as the third-person subject of Seg. B 43–44.

Seg. B 43

For the proposed meaning of **šū zi ġar** “to carry out rightly,” see especially Lämmerhirt 2010, 92–93 (“*richtig* ausführen/setzen;” “*richtig* [= *korrekt?*/*vortrefflich?*] ausüben”).

Seg. B 44

For **niġ₂ gu-ul** “to provide abundantly for (+ dir.),” cf. *Lugale* 665 (van Dijk 1983a l. 669) and Iddin-Dagan A 102 (Attinger 2014 l. 100).

Seg. B 46

šita

I understand **šita** in this line as the priestly title. Van Dijk, in contrast, takes it line as a type of vessel, based on its occurrence with **gal si₁₂-ga** and citing his discussion of the term in his comment to Seg. A 14 (pp. 125–130 ad i 11). In that comment, he establishes three meanings for **šita**: a priestly office; a prayer; and an *ešda*-vessel, as an alternative spelling to **eš-da/eš₂-da**. He groups the majority of attestations of **šita** under the third definition. However, all of the examples he cites

for this definition are now interpreted differently, with one possible exception,⁹¹⁴ and the use of **šita** as a spelling of **eš₂-da** seems in fact to be extremely rare.⁹¹⁵ This, in addition to the fact that we now have the spelling **eš-da** for *ešda*-vessel preserved earlier in this text (Seg. A 36), strongly suggests that **šita** here designates either a priest or a type of rite or prayer, and not a vessel. Since Nuska has already been referred to as a *šita*-priest (of the Abzu) in Seg. A 25, this seems to me to be the simplest solution.

gal si₁₂-ga

For **gal si₁₂-ga** (+ loc.) referring to a god, cf. *Lugale* 140 **aga-na** (**//men-na**) **gal si₁₂-ga** (post-OB **men-na gal-be₂ si₁₂-ga-na** : *ša₂ ina a-gi-i ra-bi-iš ba-nu-u₂*).

eš-bar-re kiĝ₂

On **eš-bar-re kiĝ₂** see most recently Attinger 2017b, 62 and cf. Ibbi-Suen C 56 (Sjöberg 1970–71 l. 55) and TH 416.

⁹¹⁴ Regarding van Dijk's references on p. 128: in AS 12 60, 350–351 (LU 350–351) and Belleten 16 pl. 62 Ni 4150 rev. i 21 (Enlil A 108), **šita** must be understood as a prayer or rite (used with **šu du₇**); on p. 129: in PBS i 114, 12–13 (Enlil A 58–59), **šita** likewise makes more sense as a prayer or rite (parallel to **šu-luḥ**). The only remaining example, TCL 16 90, 40–45 (Lugalbanda I 481–486 = Wilcke in Volk, ed. 2015 lines 470–475), is uncertain. In the most recent translation, Wilcke evidently understands **šita** as a phonetic spelling for **šita₂** “mace” (Wilcke in Volk, ed. 2015, 250 ad 471 and 475, translating “Keule”).

⁹¹⁵ See the comment to line 351 in Attinger 2019i, and note that neither ePSD nor ETCSL explicitly recognizes **šita** as a spelling for **eš₂-da** or as designating a type of vessel (aside from in the rare reading **šita** = **lidda** for **lid₂-ga**); ETCSL translates this line “You who make the holy princely šita vessels look especially fine,” but glosses **šita** as “supplication.”

Seg. B 47

For Nuska as *udug* of the Ekur, cf. TH 58.

Seg. B 48

en sa₂ gal pa₃-da

For the reading **sa₂** over **di** in this line, see already Sjöberg in Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 130 ad 420. That **DI** is to be read **sa₂** in the expression **sa₂ pa₃** (“to find/reveal counsel” =) “to offer counsel” is confirmed both by the phonetic spellings **sa ba-de₃** (TH 420 ms Ur₂) and **ša₃ ba-de₃** (Ur-Ninurta B 4 ms C [MS 3418]) and by the bilingual equivalence with *a-ta mil-ki* (see CAD A2 [1968], p. 518, *atû*; cf. Ea 4 92 [MSL 14, p. 358] sa-a SA₂ = *milku*, *Antagal* G 269 [MSL 17, p. 228] sa SA₂ = *milku*). For the nuance of “arriving at the right solution after careful deliberation and taking of counsel,” see Klein 1990, 112 ad 5.

Seg. B 49

‘a₂’ ‘sa’-‘par₄’ NE.RU-du-še₃ la₂-a

Two possible analyses present themselves for the first half of the line. The grammatically simpler is to understand **la₂-a** as an active participle modifying **a₂**, with **sa-par₄** as direct object: “arm that has stretched the net against the enemy.” So, e.g., van Dijk: “Arm, der das große Schlagnetz über die Übeltäter hinbreitet” and ETCSL: “arms wielding a battle net over the enemy.”

More difficult grammatically, but having better literary parallels, would be to understand **la₂-a** as a passive participle modifying **sa-par₄**, and to understand **a₂** and **sa-par₄** in apposition to each other. In this analysis, three translations would be possible:

(a) “(whose) arm (is) a net stretched out against the enemy” (where we would expect instead **a₂-zu** “your arm”)

(b) “(having) a (strong) arm, a net stretched out against the enemy”

(c) (as an epithet for Nuska:) “arm, a net stretched out against the enemy.”

The metaphor of an arm equated with a net is well attested in OB literary compositions. A good parallel to our line occurs in Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 30, in the divine epithet **a₂ sa-par₄ gal kur-re dub-ba** “arm, great net ... against the enemy land.” In the other examples, the construction is slightly different, **a₂** being marked with a possessive suffix: Sin-iqišam A (Hymn to Numušda) 25 (Sjöberg 1973a l. 19),⁹¹⁶ Iddin-Dagan D 33,⁹¹⁷ Enlil A 26,⁹¹⁸ and Išme-Dagan W A48–A50.⁹¹⁹

Perhaps also in favor of understanding of the entire expression as an epithet for Nuska is LB 2111 (TLB 2 3)⁹²⁰ 6 **sa-par₃ lu₂-NE.RU-še₃ la₂-a-me-en** “I (Ḫammurabi) am a net stretched out against the enemy.” For further discussion of **sa-par₄** “net” as “a divine/kingly attribute or a metaphorical description of deities and earthly rulers,” see Steinkeller 1985 (esp. 40–41).

NE.RU-du, zi-du

On the contrasting pair **NE.RU-du** and **zi-du**, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 46-47.

⁹¹⁶ **a₂-zu sa-par₄-am₃** “your (=Numušda’s) arm is a net.”

⁹¹⁷ **a₂-zu [sa]-par₄ maḥ** “your (=Ninisina’s) arm, a great net.”

⁹¹⁸ **nibru^{ki} a₂-be₂ sa-par₄ gal-am₃** “the arm of Nippur is a great net.”

⁹¹⁹ **a₂-zu-ta gu sa-par₄ gid₂-gen₇ niġ₂-nam la-ba-ra-e₃** “from your (=Nippur’s) arm, like a long net, nothing escapes.”

⁹²⁰ Edited in Sjöberg 1961.

Seg. B 50

On full reduplication of a noun+adjective construction to indicate plurality, see Attinger 1993, 161, n. 235. I know of no unambiguous examples besides the one cited there (AfO 24, 15–17 rev. 7' **gu₄-dili-gu₄-dili-ba**) and probably the construction in TCL 15 45: **uĝ₃-dur₂-ru-uĝ₃-dur₂-ru-na-be₂**

Seg. B 51

uru₁₇^{ru} mah

The term **uru₁₇(URU×MIN)^{ru}**,⁹²¹ occurring both as a noun and as an adjective, is to be distinguished from the phonetically and semantically similar **uru₂(URU×KAR₂)** “storm” and **uru₁₆(EN)** “massive” (see Attinger 2019k, s.v. **u₁₈-ru-n** adj., **u₁₈-ru-n** s., **uru₂** s., and **uru₁₆(-na)** adj.). On the meaning of **uru₁₇^{ru}**, see especially Ludwig 1990, 107–113 ad 3, with previous literature. Based on the various contexts in which it occurs, Ludwig concludes: (1) that **uru₁₇^{ru}** essentially refers to “etwas Riesiges [...], einen riesigen Gegenstand, oder – falls es sich auf Personen bezieht – ‘Riesen’”; (2) that it belongs to the category of words that designate “eine vertikale Verbindung zwischen Himmel und Erde,” in some cases referring to a temple pillar or other temple feature (112); and (3) that in some contexts, **uru₁₇^{ru}** instead seems to refer to a storm (110, with n. 284; 112). In the context of storms, Ludwig describes **uru₁₇^{ru}** as something “die kosmischen Zonen durchbrechend[...] und damit gleichzeitig in ihrer Position festhaltend[...]”

⁹²¹ Read either **uru₁₇^{ru}** or **u₁₈-ru**.

(112)—an image that fits well with the translation “tornado, whirlwind” proposed in some recent literature.⁹²²

Aside from our line, the expression **uru₁₇^{ru} mah** occurs in three other compositions, where it always appears in connection with the verb **ki us₂** and probably refers to a type of storm: Ur-Namma B 30, TH 453, and Enki’s Journey to Nippur 56 (so also Attinger 2019k, s.v. **u₁₈-ru-n** s.). That **uru₁₇^{ru}** in these references refers to a type of storm is suggested by the fact that it is paired with **u₄ gal** in TH 453,⁹²³ and that a storm is a likely subject of **ki us₂**.⁹²⁴

Based on these examples, I assume that **uru₁₇^{ru} mah** in Nuska A B51 likewise refers to a “great *whirlwind*,” further supported by the fact that the image of a storm or whirlwind “covering” (**dul**) the earth makes sense.

Seg. B 52–53

The syntax of Seg. B 52–53 is not clear. My translation of B52 assumes that **nam-mah gal-gal** is topicalized (“(for your) exceeding greatness”) and that **an-ne₂ za₃-mim** is to be understood similarly to a *mes-anne-pada* construction (“praised by An”), although the absence of a verb such as **du₁₁** makes this difficult (cf. Keš Temple Hymn 38 [Delnero 2006 l. 37] **en-lil₂-le za₃-mim du₁₁-ga** “praised by Enlil”). This is also the interpretation adopted by van Dijk: “der übergroßen Erhabenheit wegen bist du von An gepriesen!” ETCSL differently analyzes the line as: “An be praised for your very great eminence!,” for which, however, **an** instead of **an-ne₂** is expected.

⁹²² E.g. Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 201–202 ad 29–30 “*tornado*,” Attinger 2019o, l. 17 “*tourbillon*” (with footnote).

⁹²³ Although the lexeme **uru₂** can likewise be modified by **mah** and refers to a type of storm, it is to be distinguished from **u₁₈-ru/uru₁₈**, since it is consistently written **uru₂**. See esp. *Lugale* 83 (written **uru₂** in all 4 OB sources and all 4 post-OB sources).

⁹²⁴ Cf. esp. *Lugalbanda* II 30, where **u₁₈-lu** occurs as a variant to **uru₁₇^{ru}**.

Seg. B 53 (**mu mi-ri-in-du₁₁ aia "ugu₆-na**) is equally difficult. In terms of syntax, the two options I can think of are:

(1) a finite verb followed by a headless genitive serving as an epithet for Nuska: “*he has declared your name!*”⁹²⁵ *Oh (one)* of his father who engendered him, ...” Against this are (a) the fact that it assumes a new sentence begins mid-line and (b) the fact that **aia "ugu₆-na** as a headless genitive is otherwise unattested. In favor of it, however, is the fact that taking **aia "ugu₆-na** as an epithet would explain the third-person possessive suffix.⁹²⁶

(2) a finite verb with the subject delayed until the end of the sentence⁹²⁷ and **"ugu₆-na** as a mistake for ergative **"ugu₆-ne₂** (perhaps influenced by non-finite constructions where the subject follows the verb and is in the genitive case). So van Dijk: “*der Vater, der (dich) gezeugt hat, hat dir den Namensspruch gesprochen;*” ETCSL: “Your own father has declared your fame.” In this analysis, though, the use of the third person possessive suffix, rather than the second person, is unexplained.

Also problematic is the analysis of the verbal form **mu mi-ri-in-du₁₁**, and the translation “he has declared your name” is based primarily on context. Cf. perhaps the use of the oblique object (**ri₍₂₎**) with **mu še₂₁** (e.g. Nanna A 50; Šara A 38) or with **mu pa₃** (Nanna E 14). Note also the form **mu mi-ri-in-!x¹** in Seg. B 15.

⁹²⁵ On the difficult analysis of the verbal form, see below.

⁹²⁶ Cf. especially **nir-ġal₂ aia "ugu₆-na** in *Angim* 207/209, *Lugale* 725 (van Dijk 1983a l. 728), Ninurta A Seg. B 22, Ninurta K (aka Ninurta’s Journey to Eridu II, Wagensonner 2005, 105–128) Seg. B 23, and **en er₃ aia "ugu₆-na** in Šu-ilišu A 64, all in the context of second-person doxologies.

⁹²⁷ On this unusual word order, see Attinger 1993, 155, §96b.

en <me?> galam-galam-ma dur₂ ki ġar-ra

As the line is written, it is possible to take **galam-galam-ma** (1) as a modifier of **en** (so ETCSL: “immensely complex lord who has taken his seat”) or (2) as a locative adjunct of **dur₂ ki ġar-ra** (so van Dijk: “Herr, der in überragender Größe Wohnung genommen hat”).

(1) Regarding the first analysis, although **galam(-ma)** is far more frequently attested describing an object, it can occasionally apply to a human /deity, meaning something like “ingenious, clever.”⁹²⁸ The verb **dur₂ (ki) ġar** “to establish one’s seat” almost always specifies a location, but one or two exceptions are known.⁹²⁹

(2) The alternative analysis, taking **galam-galam-ma** as a locative adjunct, has in its favor that the location of Nuska’s seat would be specified, but against it is the fact that **galam** “skillfully made, intricate, complex” does not normally occur as a noun,⁹³⁰ and its meaning would be obscure.

A possible solution, proposed by Attinger 2019o, note to line 1, is (3) to assume a word was omitted—perhaps **<me> galam-galam-ma** “among the complex *me*’s,” on analogy with Ur-Ninurta B 1 **en me galam-ma dur₂’ ki ġar-ra**.⁹³¹ In favor of this are the fact that Nuska is associated with **me galam-galam-ma** in Seg. A 12; that, in general, **me** with **galam** is well-attested

⁹²⁸ For a discussion of **galam(-ma)** in reference to people, see Alster 2005, 96, 169 ad 262 (“‘artful one’ [lit. elaborate one];” “clever”), with previous literature, and note that **niġ₂ galam-ma-galam-ma** is a divine attribute in Enlil A 131.

⁹²⁹ Bird and Fish 5; perhaps Ur-Ninurta B 1 ms A (see Attinger 2019o, note to l. 1).

⁹³⁰ The noun **galam** “step” is excluded based on context.

⁹³¹ So probably ms B; mss A and C different. Aside from Ur-Ninurta B 1, a god “taking up his seat” (**dur₂ ki ġar**) among the **me** is also attested in *Lugale* 683 (van Dijk 1983a line 686; **me** preserved only in a post-OB source). Cf. also **me** with **dur₂ ġar** in Ninisina A 121, Sadarnuna A 1, Išme-Dagan H 1, Išme-Dagan D 3, Išme-Dagan W A87–A89.

(see Farber-Flügge 1973, 156); and that it would create a good parallel with the following line (**me** **UL ħuš su₃-ud-da ġiri₃ gub-ba**).

Seg. B 55

me UL ħuš su₃-ud-da

The adjectives **ul** and **ħuš**, while both individually attested with **me**, do not otherwise occur in conjunction with one another. The use of **su₃-ud-da** modifying **me** is also unusual; the closest parallel known to me is **me u₄ sud-ra₂** in Ibbi-Suen C 24//29 and 43.

For the image of a god standing on the *me*'s, cf. EWO 136 **me gal me šar₂-ra ġiri₃ gub-ba** (parallel to the image of “riding” [**u₅-a**] on the *me*'s in the preceding line).

APPENDIX II.6 NUSKA B (4.29.2)

II.6.1 Editions and Translations⁹³²

Edition: Pp. 144–159 in: van Dijk, J. J. A. 1960. *Sumerische Götterlieder: II. Teil*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960/1. Heidelberg: Carl Winter

Transliteration with commentary: Pp. 27–29, 44 in: Sjöberg, Åke W., 1977. "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts, II." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 29, 3–45

Translation: Pp. 61–62 in Falkenstein, A. and W. von Soden. 1953. *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich: Artemis⁹³³

Transliteration/translation: No. 4.29.2 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>)

II.6.2 Sources

N₁: CBS 8548 (STVC 37; photo JCS 29, 44)

CDLI: [P263347](https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/P263347) (with photos)

Upper half of an unruled 1-column tablet.

II.6.3 Text

Segment A

A1

N₁ 1 [lugal²] du₂-[da¹]-[zu¹] [e₂¹-kur-ta [d¹en¹-[lil₂¹]-[le²] [x¹]-[(x)] [x¹]-[in¹]-[du₁₁¹]-[ga²]
[Oh king²,] your birth Enlil decreed from the Ekur!

A2

N₁ 2 [d¹]nuška du₂-da-zu <e₂-kur-ta [d¹en¹-lil₂¹]-[le²] x (x) x(-)-[in¹]-[du₁₁¹]-[ga²]
Oh Nuska, your birth <Enlil decreed from the Ekur>!

⁹³² Throughout Appendix II.6, “van Dijk” refers to van Dijk’s edition, “Sjöberg” to Sjöberg’s transliteration and commentary, and “Falkenstein” to Falkenstein’s translation in SAHG, unless otherwise stated.

⁹³³ Falkenstein’s translation also appears in Hartmann 1960, 220–221.

A3

N₁ 3 ʽen¹ ʽnu-dim₂-mud-e ʽabzu¹-ta ʽlugal¹ ʽnam¹-ʽhe₂² ʽmim¹ mu-ri₂-in-du₁₁
 Lord Nudimmud, *in*⁹³⁴ the Abzu, *honored you as the king (of) prosperity!*⁹³⁵

A4

N₁ 4 sugal₇ zi me<<AŠ>>-teš₂-e ga-i
 Let me extol the true vizier!

A5

N₁ 5 ʽnuška sugal₇ maḥ ʽen-lil₂-la₂ za₃-mim-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃ ku₇-ku₇-da
 Nuska, exalted vizier of Enlil, your praise is good, it most sweet!

A6

N₁ 6 lugal-ĝu₁₀ ser₃-re-eš₂ ga-am₃-ʽdu₁₁¹
 Let me praise my king in song!

Gloss under **ser₃(?)**: ʽ(x)⁹³⁶

A7

N₁ 7 sud-ra₂-aĝ₂ [PA[?]].LU⁹³⁷ zi ʽen-lil₂-la₂-me-en
 You are the brilliant light of the true [shep]herd[?] Enlil!

A8

N₁ 8 mu maḥ pa₃-da ʽnin-lil₂-la₂-me-en
 You are he whose grand name was called by Ninlil!⁹³⁸

A9

N₁ 9 ĝeš-tu⁹³⁹ ĝeštu šum₂-ma ʽen-ki-ga-me-en
 You are he who was given wisdom by Enki!

A10

N₁ 10 ʽen-ul ʽnin-ul-e du₂-da-me-en
 You are he who was born of Enul and Ninul!

A11

⁹³⁴ Or “*from*.”

⁹³⁵ Or: “*caused you to adorn the king in prosperity*.”

⁹³⁶ May also be surface damage.

⁹³⁷ Normally read ʽsipa¹ ([PA].LU), but the break is more narrow than one would expect for PA, and the second sign looks closer to DIB[?].

⁹³⁸ Lit: “who was called by (his) grand name by Ninlil.”

N₁ 11 nuġun nam-en-na-da tab-ba-me-en
You are *he who was joined with* the “seed of *en-ship*”!⁹³⁹

A12

N₁ 12 e₂-kur-ra ʽSER₃¹-be₂-me-en
You are the *song* of the Ekur!

Gloss under **SER₃-be₂**: *na-a-DI šI-ra-at*²

A13

N₁ 13 sugal₇ lugal-a-ne₂-er tum₂-ma-me-en
You are the vizier suited to his king!

A14

N₁ 14 ^dnuška ^den-lil₂-la₂ lu₂ ša₃-ga-na-me-en
You, oh Nuska, are the man of Enlil’s heart!

A15

N₁ 15 igi {x} ġal₂ ^da-nun-ke₄-ne-me-en
You are *the wisest* of the Anuna!

A16

N₁ 16 du₁₁-ga zi saġ-be₂-še₃ e₃-a-me-en
You *are* the true utterance that takes precedence!

A17

N₁ 17 sugal₇ maġ aia ^den-lil₂-ka-me-en
You are the great vizier of father Enlil!

A18

N₁ 18 ʽzi¹ du₁₁-ga šu nu-bala-e-me-en
You *are* the spoken truth that cannot be altered!

Gloss under **du₁₁-ga** : *ta-KI-x*⁹⁴⁰ (meaning unclear)

Gloss under **šu nu-bala**: *la na-DU²-am²* (meaning unclear)

A19

N₁ 19 [x] ʽx¹ zalag-ga sud-ra₂-aġ₂-be₂-me-ʽen¹

⁹³⁹ Or: “You are the seed that was joined with (*the ones*) of *en-ship*/(*the things*) of *en-ship*!”

⁹⁴⁰ Possibly **IR** or **NI**?

You are the bright light of the brilliant ...!

Gloss under **-ga sud-ra₂-aĝ₂**: ¹a¹-na HU?(-)DI(-) x(-)TIM u₂-wa-a²-ru (meaning unclear)

A20

N₁ 20 [x x (x)] nam-nir-ĝal₂ šum₂-ma-¹me¹-en
You are *he who* was given nobility [by ...(?)]!⁹⁴¹

A21

N₁ 21 ¹d¹en¹-lil₂-le igi zi ¹bar¹-¹ra¹-me-en
You are he who was looked upon favorably by Enlil!

A22

N₁ 22 [e₂²] ¹d¹en¹-lil₂-ka me-te-¹be₂¹-me-en
You are the ornament of the [house²] of Enlil!

A23

N₁ 23 [x x] ¹x¹(-)¹de₃²¹-eš-a na(-)[x (x)]-¹x¹-me-en
You are ...!

A24

N₁ 24 [...] ¹x¹ saĝ ¹x¹[...]-me-en
You are [...]!

A25

N₁ 25 [...] ¹x¹ [x (x)]-¹me-en¹
You are [...]!

About 7–10 lines missing from the end of the obverse.

Segment B

About 7–10 lines missing from the beginning of the reverse

B1

N₁ rev. 1' [...-me]-en
You [are ...]!

B2

N₁ rev. 2' [...] ¹x¹-me-en

⁹⁴¹ Or: “You are the [...] who was given nobility!”

You are [...]!

B3

N₁ rev. 3' [...] -¹me¹-en
You are [...]!

B4

N₁ rev. 4' [...] ¹x¹ ¹šum²¹-¹mu¹-¹me¹-en⁹⁴²
You are he who gives [...]!

B5

N₁ rev. 5' [x] ¹x¹ igi ¹x-x¹ [(x)] ¹x¹ ¹šum²¹-¹mu¹-me-en
You are he who gives [...]!

Illegible gloss under ¹x-x¹ [(x)] ¹x¹

B6

N₁ rev. 6' [^d] ¹nin¹-tur⁵-ra ^{ḡeš}bansur si¹²-ga-me-en
You are he who *has made* the table *lavish* for Nintur!

B7

N₁ rev. 7' ^den-nu-ge⁴-ra a₂ ¹aḡ²¹-¹ḡa²¹ ¹e₃¹-[a[?]-me]-¹en¹
You are he who [*has*] *issued* commands for Ennugi!

B8

N₁ rev. 8' lugal-ra nam-til₃ ¹x x¹-¹me¹-¹en¹
You are he who ... life for the king!

B9

N₁ rev. 9' an ki Uš-¹be²^{1?}⁹⁴³-še₃ ¹x x-x¹-me-en
You are ...*to/for the foundation*⁹⁴⁴ of heaven and earth!

Illegible gloss under ¹x x x¹ (?)

B10

N₁ rev. 10' a₂ aḡ²²-ḡa²² e₂ ¹en¹-lil²-ka-ta
According to the ordinances of the house of Enlil,

⁹⁴² Line omitted in Sjöberg 1977 and ETCSL.

⁹⁴³ What Sjöberg read as AŠ in **us₂-aš-be₂-še₃** (ETCSL **us₂ dili-be₂-še₃**) is almost certainly the first horizontal of the sign read **BI**[?], rather than a separate sign.

⁹⁴⁴ Or: **us₂** “*path*.”

B11

N₁ rev. 11' me gal-gal-la za₃ gub-gub-bu-me-en
 you are he who continually *keeps* all the great *me's at hand*!

Gloss under **za₃ gub-gub-bu-**: *le-te(-)ʿx x x (x)¹*

B12

N₁ rev. 12' me zi-da IGI(.)ʿx x¹ ġa₂{RI}-ġa₂-me-en
*(As for)*⁹⁴⁵ the true *me's*—you are he who sets ...!

B13

N₁ rev. 13' me maḥ-a PA.A ʿzi¹-me-en
*(As for)*⁹⁴⁶ the grand *me's*—you are the true ...!

B14

N₁ rev. 14' me ul-e pa e₃ ʿAK¹-me-en
 (As for) the eternal *me's*—you are he who makes them appear in full glory!

B15

N₁ rev. 15' me ^{tu}tuba ša₃ gada!^{1?} la₂-a-me-en
 (As for) the *me's* of the *tuba*-garment—you are he who *wears them (like) linen*!

B16

N₁ rev. 16' me nun-na gu₂ me-er-me-re-me-en
 (As for) the princely *me's*—you are he who makes them prosper!

B17

N₁ rev. 17' me niġ₂-lu-a-ba šu du₇-a-me-en
 (As for) the *me's* in their abundance—you are he who has perfectly completed them!

B18

N₁ rev. 18' ^da-nun-na diġir gal-gal-e-ne
 The Anuna, the great gods,

B19

N₁ rev. 19' za₃-mim umun₇ ʿx¹⁹⁴⁷ [(x)] ʿmu¹⁹⁴⁸-ri-in-ne
have extolled you seven(fold)!

⁹⁴⁵ Or “upon.”

⁹⁴⁶ Or “upon.”

⁹⁴⁷ Possibly 'kam' or 'mim'?

⁹⁴⁸ Both van Dijk and Sjöberg read **zi**, but **mu** looks more likely to me (and makes more sense in context).

B20

N₁ rev. 20' sugal₇ šu-luḥ [x (x)] a₂-nun-ĝal₂-me-en

You are the vizier [who? ...] the lustration rites, the most powerful.

B21

N₁ rev. 21' ša₃ dadag ʾaia¹ d^{en}-lil₂-ka-me-en

You are the one of father Enlil's gleaming heart.

B22

N₁ rev. 22' za₃-mim du₁₁-ga kiĝgal d^{nu}ška

(*For*) the praise spoken of assembly leader Nuska,

B23

N₁ rev. 23' ʾmunus¹ zi mul an-da ša₃ kuš₂-u₃

let the true, shining woman who takes counsel with An,

B24

N₁ rev. 24' dⁿⁱsaba za₃-mim

Nisaba, be praised!

Subscript

ʾser₃¹-gid₂-da d^{nu}ška-kam

It is a *širgida* of Nuska.

II.6.4 Commentary

Seg. A 1

Incipit

The proposed reconstruction of **lugal** at the beginning of the line follows van Dijk, who sees this line as the incipit listed in Catalogue N3 13 **lugal du₂-da-zu**. This identification is probably correct, given the infrequency with which the form **du₂-da-zu** occurs outside of the expression “your mother/father who bore/engendered you” and the fact that the other compositions listed in Catalogue N3, as far as they are identified, are likewise hymnic liturgies (see section 2.1.3.1.3).

[...]-in'-**du₁₁-ga'**

I understand the verbal form to indicate a nominalized clause, presumably followed by the enclitic copula **{am}**. On the function of the copula with finite verbal clauses, see Zólyomi 2014, 152–181, who argues that it can (1) serve to “emphasize the speaker’s belief in the truth or factualness of the proposition expressed by the clause, contrasting it with its implicit negation” (cf. in English, “he decreed...” vs. “he did decree...”) (Zólyomi 2014, 169), or (2) serve to cancel the usual topic-comment configuration of a sentence, presenting instead the entire sentence as topic (providing information not “about someone or something, but about an entire state of affairs”) (Zólyomi 2014, 154). In the present line, the fact that the object of the verb (**du₂-da-zu**) appears at the beginning of the sentence, before the agent (**^den-lil₂-le**), suggests that it is to be understood as the topic; thus the first function of the clausal copula, emphasizing the truthfulness of the statement, is most likely at play here.

Regarding the verbal prefixes, there appears to be at least two and as many as four signs missing between ^d**en-lil₂-le** and **(-)in'-du₁₁-ga'**. The sign read **in'** looks identical to the **IN** in Seg. A 3, except that it includes a group of four *Winkelhaken* at the beginning. These wedges may therefore belong to a separate sign, in which case the verbal form should be read **in-du₁₁**.

Seg. A 3

abzu^{ki}-ta

On the frequent use of the ablative with the Abzu (as Enki's residence) with a locative meaning, expressing remote deixis, see Attinger 2019f, note to l. 57. Here I am hesitant to break the parallelism between **e₂-kur-ta** in the preceding lines and **abzu-ta** in the current line by translating the former as "from the Ekur" and the latter as "in the Abzu," although the lines themselves are not syntactically parallel.

lugal nam-ḥe₂

The analysis of the term **lugal nam-ḥe₂** is difficult, and several different possibilities have been proposed:

(1) Genitive construction **lugal nam-ḥe₂(k)**, "king of prosperity": This exact expression is not elsewhere attested, but cf. the similar **lugal nam-ḥe₂-ḡal₂-la** "king of abundance" (Rim-Sin) in Rim-Sin D 1 and **ur-saḡ nam-ḥe₂-a** "hero of prosperity" (Iškur) in Ur-Ninurta F 1. If we understand the term as a genitive construction, however, the absence of a case ending requires explanation:

(a) Vocative: One possibility is to understand the expression as a vocative; so, e.g., PSD A2 (1994), p. 185, abzu 1.2.1. The usual position of a vocative, though, is at the beginning of the clause, rather than immediately prior to the verb.

(b) Absolutive: An alternative suggestion is to take **lugal nam-he₂** as an object of **mim du₁₁**, with the nuance “to hail (s.o.) favorably *as* ...” What case **lugal nam-he₂** should then be in is unclear. Metcalf’s translation “Lord Nudimmud has honoured you as(?) the king of prosperity” (Metcalf 2015b, 26) seems to assume that **lugal nam-he₂** is a genitival compound, in which case it must be unmarked for case.⁹⁴⁹

(2) Left-head noun-noun compound **lugal nam-he₂**, lit. “prosperity king”: Attinger’s conjectural translation “le seigneur Nudimmud t’a (Nuska) appelé avec bienveillance ‘Roi-abondance’” (Attinger 1993, 616 ex. 345) seems instead to assume that **lugal nam-he₂** is non-genitival, in which case it might be understood as directive.

(3) Separate terms: Both explanations (1) and (2) assume that **-ri₂-** in the verbal form refers to Nuska as the semantic object of the verb **mim du₁₁** (on which see Attinger 1993, 616, §647 c 2°, “locative-terminative,” and Zólyomi 2016, 155, “Locative3”). A third possibility, suggested to me by P. Delnero (personal communication), is to take **-ri₂-** as a marker of the underlying agent in a causative construction, with **lugal** as the semantic object⁹⁵⁰ and **nam-he₂** as an adjunct, translating something like “Nudimmud caused you to adorn the king in

⁹⁴⁹ For this construction cf. perhaps examples of **mim du₁₁** meaning “to adorn (s.th.) in (s.th.)” where the material of adornment is absolutive (maybe something like “He(ERG.) favorably treats/adorns you(LOC3) with (the title) “King of abundance” (ABS.)). However, in such cases the material seems to be coreferenced by a locative {**ni**} in the verb (see Attinger 1993, 613, 617 ex. 334 (CT 15 27 8)).

⁹⁵⁰ On **mim du₁₁** with absolutive/unmarked semantic object, see Attinger 1993, 612–613, §647 a.

prosperity.”⁹⁵¹ Cf. perhaps Nisaba A 10 **kur hi-nun-ta mim zi du₁₁-ga** “She (Nisaba) has rightly adorned the land in prosperity” (see Attinger 1993, 612 ex. 332).

Seg. A 4

me-teš₂ (dir.) **i**

For a discussion of Seg. A 4–6 as an example of the “Ich will preisen” formula, better known from Akkadian hymns, see section 3.3.2 and Metcalf 2015b, 24–28.

This scribe’s formulation of the expression **me-teš₂** (dir.) **i** is unusual on two counts. First, an unexplained horizontal wedge (AŠ) is written between **me** and **teš₂**, assumed here to be a mistake. Second, this is the only instance of this expression known to me where the verbal root is not reduplicated.

Seg. A 7

[PA’].LU’ zi

The usual reading of these signs is **‘sipa’ zi** “true shepherd,” referring either to Nuska⁹⁵² or to Enlil.⁹⁵³ However, in addition to the fact that the signs themselves are uncertain, a possible point against this interpretation is that the epithet **sipa zi** usually applies to a human king, and only rarely to a deity (Enlil).⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁵¹ For **mim du₁₁** meaning “to adorn,” see Attinger 1993, 613, §647 a 1° (with material of adornment in the absolutive); 617–618, §647 e (with material of adornment in the locative); 618 §647 i (with material of adornment in the ablative).

⁹⁵² So, e.g., Falkenstein in Falkenstein and von Soden 1953, 61 “Für ferne Tage bist du der gute Hirte Enlils”; Lämmerhirt 2010, 502 ex. A 415 “Die Korona, der rechte Hirte Enlils bist du.”

⁹⁵³ So, e.g., van Dijk 1960, 144–145: “[Li]chtglanz des guten [Hir]ten Enlils”; ETCSL “You are the light of the good shepherd Enlil.”

⁹⁵⁴ Enlil A 93, 154; Išme-Dagan H 12. On this epithet in general, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 45–46.

Seg. A 10

^den-ul ^dnin-ul-e

The divine pair Enul and Ninul are best known as belonging to the ancestry of Enlil, on which see especially Lambert 2013, 405–417. Aside from their association with Nuska in this line, a connection to him might also be obliquely referenced Sadarnuna A 4, where they are said to have made his wife, Sadarnuna, suitable for the Ešmaḥ. For further discussion and references concerning the pair, see Volk 1998–2001, 509.

Seg. A 11

nuḡun nam-en-na-da tab-ba-me-en

Semantically, the most sensical interpretation of this line would be something like “You are the seed (i.e. offspring) that was joined with *en*-ship.” Cf. van Dijk’s interpretation (reading **ušum** instead of the now-collated **nuḡun**): “Drache, der du das Herrentum mit dir vereinigt hast” (145); “Drache, mit der Herrschaft bekleidet” (153 ad 11). Against this interpretation, however, are the fact that the genitive suffix of **nam-en-na** would be unexplained, and the fact that the sequence **nuḡun nam-en-na** is elsewhere attested as a single expression, “seed of *en*-ship.”

The title **nuḡun nam-en-na**, along with similar titles, usually serves as an epithet of a ruler, as in the following examples:

[dumu] **'du₂'-da ^dnin-sumun₂-ka-me-en nuḡun nam-en-na-me-en** “I (Ur-Namma) am the [son] born of Ninsumun, the seed of *en*-ship” (Ur-Namma C 113)

nuḡun nam-en-na “(Ur-Namma, ...), the seed of *en*-ship,” (Ur-Namma 1 (RIME 3/2 1.1.1) iv 12')

a nam-en-na⁹⁵⁵ “(Gilgameš, ...), the offspring of *en*-ship” (Šulgi O 62)

⁹⁵⁵ Klein 1976 transliterates **nam** with a question mark, but it looks fairly certain in the CDLI photo ([P255863](#)).

nuġun nam-lugal-la-me-en (Šulgi to Amar-Suen): “you are the seed of kingship”⁹⁵⁶ (CKU 17 4)

a zi nam-lugal-la' 'nuġun' nam-para₁₀-ga-me-en “I (Išme-Dagan) am the true offspring of kingship, the seed of rulership” (Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 253)

In light of this evidence, the most consistent interpretation of **nuġun** would be to take it as an epithet for a ruler, highlighting his royal lineage. The actual meaning of the line, though—“You are he who was joined with the ‘seed of *en*-ship’ (i.e. the king)” —is obscure. In a different context, it would seem to be a reference to Nuska’s bond with the human ruler. Here, though, we would expect a reference to Nuska’s own royal lineage (so ETCSL’s translation, with the preceding line, “You were born to Enul and Ninul, and so you are united with the lordly seed”).

An alternative interpretation is to disregard the usual usage of **nuġun nam-en-na** as a single expression and instead to translate “You are the seed that was joined with (the ones) of *en*-ship/(the things) of *en*-ship!”, treating **nam-en-na** as a headless genitive.

Seg. A 12

My reading of the sign **ŠIR₃** as **ser₃** “song” is based on the gloss *na-a-DI²*, perhaps for *nādu* “to praise, extol” (following Sjöberg 1977, 29 ad Line 12). This interpretation is extremely tentative, however, as the reading of the gloss is uncertain, and **ser₃** is otherwise unattested as an epithet for a human or deity.

A word written with the sign **EZEN/ŠIR₃** does appear in reference to a person or deity in a passage that occurs in both Šulgi N 62–63 and Dumuzi-Inana Y 57–58. Here, though, the term is

⁹⁵⁶ Note that Michalowski takes **nuġun nam-lugal-la** as a calque from Akkadian reflecting *zēr šarrūtīm*, *zērum ārium ša šarrūtīm*, etc. (Michalowski 2011, 397).

usually understood as **izim** “festival:” **bala u₄ sa₉-ga** (Šulgi N adds **a₂**) **e₃ he₂-me-en** / **EZEN saĝ-ki zalag-ga he₂-me-en** “may you be a reign *that brings forth* (Šulgi N: *that raises*) fine days! May you be a *festival* that makes the face (lit. “forehead”) shine!” The usual understanding of **EZEN** as **izim** “feast, festival” (e.g. Kramer 1969, 99; 1971, 198; Sefati 1998, 270, 279 ad 56–59; Jaques 2006, 81 S136; ETCSL), is not certain, however, and **ser₃** “song” also seems possible (cf. Volk in Volk, ed 2015, 87 “Mögest du jemand sein, der ... (mit) einer leuchtenden Stirn”).

Another possible example of **izim** as a metaphor for a person, where the reading **izim** is confirmed by the syllabic writing **i-ši-en**, occurs in the Message of Ludiġira to His Mother 41 **ama-ġu₁₀ izim siškur₂-re asila₃^{la₂} si-a**.⁹⁵⁷ This line is translated by Çig and Kramer 1976, 418 “My mother is feast brimful of joyiness offerings,” but interpreted instead by Jaques 2006, 66 as “Ma mère qui remplit d’allégresse la fête et les/tes sacrifices”).

Note also that the palace is described as a “festival” (**izim**) in Iddin-Dagan A 212 (Attinger 2014 l. 210)

Seg. A 14

On the syntactic structure of this line, in which both Nuska and Enlil are treated as topics (Nuska as the subject of the copular clause, Enlil as a left-dislocated possessor), see Zólyomi 2014, 41, Copular Clause Type (Bii). Zólyomi expresses this construction in English as “As for Enlil, Nuska, you are the man of his heart.”

⁹⁵⁷ See Jaques 2006, 66 for a score of this line.

Seg. A 15

igi ġal₂

The noun or adjective **igi-ġal₂** can have two different connotations: (1) “wise,” “wise one” (Akk. *igigallu*) and (2) “observer,” “one who watches over (s.o/s.th.).” The first meaning is attested, for example, in first-millennium *Lugale* 521a (van Dijk 1983a l. 522a) **^da-nun-na diġir gal-gal-e-ne-ke₄ igi-ġal₂-be₂ ħe₂-me-en** : *ša₂ ^da-nun-na-ki* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *lu-u₂ igi-gal₂-la-š_{u2}-nu at-ta* “You (alabaster) are the wise one of the Anuna, the great gods.” The second meaning can be inferred from context in, for example, Iddin-Dagan D 20⁹⁵⁸ and Nungal A 7⁹⁵⁹ (cf. also Bird and Fish 98–99).

Seg. A 16

du₁₁-ga zi

For the range of meanings implicit in **du₁₁-ga zi**, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 69–73, who concludes that **zi** here can have the sense of an “‘angesehen, gewichtig, (wirk)mächtig, unanfechtbar, unerschütterlich [...], ferner wohl auch ‘formal korrekt’” utterance (73).

My tentative translation of **du₁₁-ga zi** as an epithet for Nuska follows Attinger 2019h, note to l. 453, who cites in comparison Nanna A 51 **du₁₁-ga zi dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂-me-en** “you are a ‘true utterance,’ the son of Enlil.” More frequently, **du₁₁-ga zi** refers to the utterance of a deity and not

⁹⁵⁸ Iddin-Dagan D 20 **saġ zi kalam-ma-ka en₃-tar-re unken-^lna igi^l-ġal₂** “who cares for the righteous servants of the land, who watches over the assembly” (cf. Lämmerhirt 2010, 457 ex. A 169).

⁹⁵⁹ Nungal A 7 **e₂ zi du NE.RU du-a igi-ġal₂ ħulu šu-be₂ nu-e₃** “house that watches over the upright and the evildoers, from whose hand the evil do not escape.”

to the deity themself—including, for example, in the headless genitive expression **du₁₁-ga zi-da** “one of the true utterance.”⁹⁶⁰

Seg. A 17

^den-lil₂-ka

The /a/ in **^den-lil₂-ka** must be a scribal error.

Seg. A 18

^lzi^l du₁₁-ga

On the phrasal verb **zi du₁₁** “to speak truth,” see Attinger 1993, 762–763, §§949–952. My tentative translation of **zi du₁₁-ga** as an epithet of Nuska follows my interpretation of **du₁₁-ga zi** in Seg. A 16.

šu nu-bala-e

On the use of the verb **šu bala** with **zi du₁₁-ga**, compare Lämmerhirt’s discussion of **šu bala** with **du₁₁-ga zi-da** (Lämmerhirt 2010, 70–71).

Seg. B 6

^gēš^lbansur si₁₂-ga

⁹⁶⁰ E.g., EWO 88 **du₁₁-ga zi-da-me-en saĝ-be₂-še₃ e₃-a-me-en** “I (Enki) am the one of the true utterance, I am preeminent.” Cf. also Gudea Cyl. A iv 10–11 (97–98) **^dnanše-ĝu₁₀ du₁₁-ga-zu zi-dam / saĝ-be₂-še₃ e₃-a-am₃** “My Nanše, your utterance is true, it is preeminent.”

The nuance of **si**₁₂ in this context is uncertain. My translation “to make lavish” assumes a transferred meaning from “to be green” in the sense of “to bud, to bloom, to be verdant, lush.” Cf. perhaps the usage of **si**₁₂ in Išme-Dagan W Seg. A 45–46 and Rim-Sin B 22.

Seg. B 7

^den-nu-ge₄

On the god Ennugi, a minor deity belonging to Enlil’s circle (and occasionally described as his son⁹⁶¹), see esp. Lambert and Millard 1969, 147–148 ad I 10, Such-Gutiérrez 2003, 327, and Richter 2004, 91–92.

Ennugi’s specific role in Enlil’s household is not clear. In Atrahasis, he is identified as the bailiff (*gallû*) of the gods, named alongside Ninurta, their “chamberlain” (*guzalû*). In the first millennium god list An = Anum, it is Ennugi who is designated as Enlil’s “chamberlain.”⁹⁶²

Ennugi is also sometimes associated with agricultural activities, in particular with canal work: in *Šurpu* 4 103, he is described as “lord of the levee and irrigation ditch” (EN EG₂ u PA₅),⁹⁶³ and in the Gilgameš version of the flood story, he is named as the “canal inspector” (*gugallu*) of the gods.⁹⁶⁴ Finally, Ennugi appears in the Old Babylonian hymn “Lipit-Eštar and the Plow” (Lipit-Eštar F, 2.5.5.6) 60–61, where he, alongside a number of other deities (including Nuska and Nintur), assists Ninurta in his preparation for plowing the fields (see Civil 1994, 74 ad 21).⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶¹ CLAM p. 236 c+287, 284 e+205.

⁹⁶² An = Anum I 318.

⁹⁶³ Followed in the next line by Nuska, “vizier of the Ekur.”

⁹⁶⁴ Note, however, that the latter may well be a corruption of *gallû* “bailiff” known from the flood story in Atrahasis. So, e.g., Lambert, who suggests the corruption may have been influenced by the characterization of Ennugi in the *Šurpu* passage or elsewhere (Lambert and Millard 1969, 148 ad 10).

⁹⁶⁵ Ennugi’s tasks in this scene involve constructing the seed-basket and something to do with the whip (?).

Here, whatever the specific duties of Ennugi were understood to entail, as a minor god in Enlil's house, it makes sense that he would have received his instructions from Nuska, Enlil's vizier.

a₂ 'aĝ₂-ĝa₂ e₃'-[a'-me]-'en'

I follow Sjöberg's reconstruction 'e₃'-[a'-me]-'en', assuming that the verbal construction e₃-a parallels **si₁₂-ga** in the preceding line (Sjöberg 1977, 28). A tenseless non-finite form 'e₃'-[me]-en ("you are he who issues commands") is also possible.

The expression **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ e₃** "to issue (lit. 'send out') a command/orders" is unusual. I know of only one other possible attestation in the OB corpus, where the reading of the verb is not certain: Nanše A 183–184 **a₂-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-be₂ e₂ 'našše-ta / lugal(-e) en 'hendur-saĝ-ĝa₂(-ke₄) nam-ma-da-ra-e₃'** (/nam-ba-da-ra-'x', im-ma-da-'ra'-[x])⁹⁶⁶ "From the house of Nanše, the king, the lord Hendursaĝa, issued(?) its orders." An alternative reading, proposed by Attinger (Attinger 2017c), reads the verb as **il₂'** "raised" instead of **e₃'** "issued" (cf. the line drawing in Wilcke 1976b, 25 ad III 21 Vs. 6, 10'). The expression **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ e₃** = *têrtu u' 'uru* does occur in post-OB versions of Izi and related lists (Izi Ugarit 45 [MSL 13, p. 128]; Izi Q 66 [MSL 13, p. 220]; K 49 [CT 18 49–50] i 23), but probably as a reinterpretation of the original **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝe₂₆-e** in OB Izi 37 (see Attinger 1993, 426; Crisostomo 2014, 418 ad 37).

Seg. B 9

an ki uš-'be₂'?l-še₃

⁹⁶⁶ Verbal root preserved only in ms P (HS 1599 [TMH 3 21; Wilcke Koll. p. 25]). Lines preserved in mss B₁, P, and MS 2294 ([P251534](#)).

If the reading of the first five signs is correct, the simplest analysis would be an anticipatory genitive construction, lit. “of heaven and earth, their **uš**,” with the entire NP in the terminative case. However, I know of no other attestations of the “foundation (**uš**) of heaven and earth” or the “path (**us₂**) of heaven and earth,” leaving this interpretation tentative.

Seg. B 11

za₃ gub-gub-bu

Here we might expect instead **za₃-ba gub-gub-bu** “who stands at their (the great *me*’s) side” = “who cares for/is in charge of the great *me*’s,”⁹⁶⁷ but **za₃** is clearly unmarked.

The expression **za₃ gub-gub** is difficult, and I do not attempt a definitive analysis here. ETCSL leaves the verb untranslated. Van Dijk’s translation is based on obsolete readings of the signs (**za₃-k[eš₃-d]e₃-me-en**). Sjöberg simply comments, “as far as I know, this is the only reference for **za₃ gub-gub** in connection with the *me*’s; the exact meaning remains uncertain” (noting to cf. **me-gal-gal-la za₃-kešda**). Aside from our passage, only a handful of attestations of **za₃ gub-gub** are known, and few attempts have been made to identify its meaning beyond ad hoc translations in the lines in which it occurs. Falkenstein, making no apparent distinction between **za₃ gub** and **za₃-ba gub**, proposed the meaning “zur Seite treten,’ ‘(sich) zur Seite stellen” (Falkenstein 1957, 64–65 ad 10; cf. 1949, 126 ad 4). Attinger 2019k, s.v. **za₃ gub-gub**, suggests a literal meaning “*placer les côtes vers qqc.*,” from which “*mettre qqc. aux côtes*,” “*être (qqc.) aux côtés*.”

Aside from Nuska B Seg. B 11, **za₃ gub-gub** is attested in three other Sumerian literary compositions: twice as a finite *marû* form and once as a non-finite *marû* form (see examples II.14–

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. **za₃** + pron. suff. (loc.) **gub** “to set (s.o.) at (s.th.’s) side = to put (s.o.) in charge of (s.th.)” in Gudea Cyl. B xv 1 (1157), xv 11 (1167) and EWO 239//.

II.16). In one instance (Iddin-Dagan A 53), it appears to have a transitive meaning, with the semantic object in the locative case. In another (Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdāna), it appears to be intransitive. In the third (Šulgi O), the valence is unclear.

(1) The first attestation of **za₃ gub-gub** occurs in Iddin-Dagan A 53, where it refers to the actions of unidentified participants⁹⁶⁸ in a parade of figures coming before Inana. Here, as in our line, it takes a second object in the locative case—in Iddin-Dagan A, the object being either a distaff (mss A and H) or a *balaĝ*-instrument (ms B)—and probably means something like “to put (to) the side.”

Ex. II.14 Iddin-Dagan A 53⁹⁶⁹

A,H: ḡeš**bala niĝ₂ sig-ba-ka za₃ mi-ni-ib-gub-gub-bu-NE-eš**

B: **balaĝ niĝ₂ se_{2s}-de₃ ba-KU-a za₃ mi-ni-in-gub-gub-be₂**

Attinger 2014 translates: A, H “*Ayant mis la quenouille de leur ... au côté*”; B: *Ayant mis le balaĝ ravivant qui gisait (à terre) au côté.*” Römer, following Falkenstein’s treatment of the verb, translates: “[die ‘rechten Männer’ (?) ...] stellten sich ihr mit dem Stilett(?), (das am) Unterkörper (getragen wird)(?), zur Seite.” ETCSL’s translation instead seems to take the construction NP(loc.) **za₃ gub-gub** as approximately synonymous with **za₃** + pron. suff. (loc.) **gub** “to stand at (s.th.’s) side” = “to be in charge of (s.th.),”⁹⁷⁰ translating “those who are in charge (?) of beating (?) the soothing *balaĝ* drums.” Although this meaning would fit well with the Nuska B line, it seems the least likely of the suggestions.

⁹⁶⁸ Perhaps the king and his court; see Attinger 2014, 46 ad 53.

⁹⁶⁹ Transliteration following Attinger 2014.

⁹⁷⁰ See n. 967.

(2) In Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 44, **za₃ gub-gub** designates the action of Ensuhkešdana's messenger, occurring in a passage using a series of similes to describe his hurried journey to Uruk. In the relevant line, the messenger is likened to either a throwstick or a bow; unfortunately the identity of the RU-weapon in this context is not clear.

Ex. II.15 Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 44

44 ġešRU-gen₇ za₃ (i-)im-gub-gub-be₂

The traditional understanding of the verb is “he stands at the side,”⁹⁷¹ probably with the nuance, “he is available, he is at hand.” So Attinger's translation (Attinger 2017a): “Telle l'arme *RU*, *il est toujours à disposition*” (“*toujours*” conveying the iterative nuance of the reduplicated verbal base). Wilcke's translation (Wilcke 2012) likewise conveys the nuance of the reduplicated base, but proposes an entirely different meaning: “While, like a longbow, he went step by step along them [= the mountains].”

(3) Thirdly, **za₃ gub-gub** occurs in Šulgi O 82, in somewhat broken context.

Ex. II.16 Šulgi O 82

82 [x] 'x' diġir umun₇-na za₃ gub-gub-bu ġešsilig-ga sud-sud

⁹⁷¹ Berlin 1979, followed by ETCSL: “Like a throw-stick, he stands at the side.”

Klein (1976) translates “[...] the Seven Gods, stationed at (its? [= the statue’s?]) side, equipped with *šilig*-axes.” Similarly ETCSL “the seven gods, stationed beside, wielding battle-axes.”

In addition to these three attestations in a Sumerian literary context,⁹⁷² the expression **za₃ gub-gub** also occurs in two later lexical references, neither of which, however, sheds much light on its meaning. In *Nabnitu* R 202 (MSL 16, p. 302), **za₃ gub-gub-bu** is equated with *u₂-te-el-lu-šu* (/ *u₂-tal-lu-šu*), the Dt or Dtn of *elēšu* (CAD E [1958], p. 88: “to rejoice;” AHW, p. 200: “schwellen; jubeln, jauchzen”). The Dt/Dtn of this verb is otherwise attested only in *Malku* = *šarru* 8 28, equated with *nar-[bu-u₂]* (?),⁹⁷³ and in OB Gilgameš II 191 *e₂-lu-tum* ¹*u₂¹-te-el-li-šu₂*. Von Soden treats the form as Dt, translating “zum Schwellen gebracht werden” (AHw p. 200 s.v. *elēšu* Dt). In the Gilgameš line, George tentatively analyzes the form as Dt, “factitive and reflexive,” and translates “the young men disported themselves” (George 2003, 178–179, 189). In the second lexical reference, Izi R 46–50 (MSL 13, p. 225), five entries deal with the term **za₃ gub-gub-bu**, but the Akkadian equivalents are broken.

In our line, the meaning proposed for Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana, something like “*to be at hand, to be at one’s disposition*,” would make the most sense, but remains extremely tentative. In support of this might be the gloss, which begins *le-te*, potentially for *lētu* “cheek, side,” a term

⁹⁷² It has sometimes been suggested that the expression **za₃ gub** (with no reduplication) also occurs in the parallel lines in Gudea Cyl. B xvii 20–21 (1219–1220) and Gudea Statue B [RIME 3/1.1.7.StB] vii 31–33: **geme₂ nin-a-ne₂ mu-da-sa₂-am₃ / urdu₂-de₃ lugal-e** (/ **ne₂**) **za₃ mu-da-DU-am₃** (transliteration from Gudea Cyl. B, with variants from Statue B). Falkenstein, for example, cites these lines in his discussions of **za₃ gub** meaning “zur Seite treten, (sich) zur Seite stellen,” etc. (1949, 126 ad 4; 1957, 64–65 ad 10) (cf. ETCSL, reading **gub**: “the slave was allowed to walk side by side with his master;” RIME 3/1 1.7.StB, reading **DU**: “the slave was allowed to walk side by side with his master”). However, both the absence of an explicit *Auslaut* and the parallelism with **sa₂** “to be equal to,” in addition to the use of the comitative prefix, point to a reading of **za₃ ša₄** (so, e.g., Krecher 1987, 87 ad 30; Balke 2006, 88 n. 388; ETCSRI).

⁹⁷³ See Hrůša 2010, 273, but cf. AHW p. 940 for alternative analysis of *nar[bū]*(?) as the N-stem of *rabū*, “anwachsen?”.

whose nuances include one’s immediate surroundings (CAD L [1973], pp. 150–151, *lētu* 2a1’) and “persons and assets for which one is responsible” (CAD L [1973], p. 151, *lētu* 2c).

Seg. B 12

me zi-da

The usual form for **me** modified with **zi** “true” is **me zi**, rather than **me zi-da** (see Farber-Flugge 1973, 164, Lämmerhirt 2010, 76–77). Depending on the illegible signs, something like “You are the one who sets ... *upon* the true me’s” might also be possible. Cf. the unusual form **me mah-a** (rather than **me mah**) in the next line.

Seg. B 13

PA.A

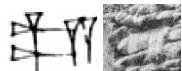
A term written **PA.A** appears a number of times in Sumerian literary compositions, the meaning or meanings remaining unclear. See discussions in Sjöberg 1976, 423 ad 22 (understood as a spelling of **u₂-a**); Klein 1981a, 40 ad 31 (understood as an adjective modifying **tu^g-ma**); Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 258 ad 35–36 (understood as some sort of an exclamation, mentioned next to **a-la-la**); and Attinger 2015a, comment to l. 291, with Attinger 2019k, s.v. **PA-a**, **PA** s. “...” (meaning described as unclear; used in reference to “nourriture des morts n’ayant personne pour prendre soin d’eux”), and previous literature. Following Attinger 2019k, we appear to be dealing with two or more distinct lexemes, including one designating a type of song or cry, attested in several proverbs (Attinger 2019k, s.v. **PA-a (ua_x-a?)**), and one serving as a substantive of unknown meaning (Attinger 2019k, s.v. **PA-a**, **PA** s.).

PA.A in a meaning other than an exclamation occurs in a number of different contexts, and it is unclear to me whether these should be understood as a single lexeme or multiple lexemes. Most frequently, it occurs as an epithet for or in a description of a person or deity: the current line (**PA.A zi**, said of Nuska); Šu-Suen D 25 (Sjöberg 1976 l. 22) (**PA.A mah**, said of Ninurta); Enlil-bani A 14 (**PA.A sa₆[-x]**), said of Lipit-Eštar); Šu-Suen J (ETCSL 2.4.4.a) 10 (**PA.A hi-li mul-mul**, said of Šu-Suen) and possibly 47 (**¹PA.A¹-zu su₃-am₃**; see below); possibly TH 50 (**PA.A⁹⁷⁴-ra tum₂-ma** “(temple) suited to the **PA.A**”); and possibly Ur-Namma C 93 (**PA[?].A⁹⁷⁵ gu₂-‘tuku¹**, said of Ur-Namma).⁹⁷⁶ The most frequent interpretation is that, in these cases, **PA.A** is to be read **u₁-a**, an alternative spelling of **u₂-a** “provider” (so, e.g., ETCSL’s treatments of Nuska B, Šu-Suen D, and Šu-Suen J; Sjöberg’s comments to Šu-Suen D (1976, 423) and Nuska B (1977, 29)). However, I know of no other cases where **PA** is used as a substitute for **u₂**, which would point against this interpretation. A different interpretation was proposed for **PA.A** in Enlil-bani A 14 by Tinney, who reads **pa-a sa₆** “fair-crowned” (Tinney 1999a, 165, l. 7), presumably assuming an extended meaning of **pa** “branch, frond” (?) (cf. also ETCSL **PA-a sag₉** “fair of ...”).

In Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld 293 (Gadotti 2014 l. 291), **PA.A** refers to the food eaten by the dead who have no one to care for them, paired with pieces of bread (**inda₃ pad-pad-ra₂**) and said to have been thrown in the street (**sila šub-ba**) (see Attinger 2015a). In Ur-Namma D *47–*48 (Nippur version 15–16, Yale version 34–35) the expression **PA.A-zu** occurs with

⁹⁷⁴ Usually read **nir**, but written **PA.A** in both mss (A and C+J). Reading courtesy of P. Attinger.

⁹⁷⁵ Read **guruš[?]** in Flückiger-Hawker 1999, followed by ETCSL; read **PA-a** by Sjöberg 1977, 29 ad Line 12’. In the handcopy (TCL 15 12) and the photo (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, pl. 20) of AO 5378 iv 9, **PA.A** looks more likely but **KALA** is not out of the question:



⁹⁷⁶ Also perhaps Šulgi R 4, ms A = CBS 8316 (STVC 54) + CBS 14111 (STVC 60). Copy has **PA.A zi**, but collated as **u₂-a zi** in Klein 1990, 102.

unclear meaning, in the line **lugal-be₂/^dnu-dim₂-mud lugal eridu^{ki}ga PA.A-zu su₃-ga-am₃** (Yale **su₃-am₃**). Tinney translates “Its [the canal’s] king/Nudimmud, the king of Eridu—your foliage is joy!” (Tinney 1999b, 33). However, at least in the Nippur version, the expression **PA.A-zu** appears to be parallel to **ku₆ mušen su₃-ga-am₃** in the preceding two lines (*45–*46, N 13–14, Y 30–31), where the meaning of **su₃-g** must be “to be full.” Cf. the translation in Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 251 (l. 35) “O its lord/Nudimmud, lord of Eridu, it is *full of* your *PA-a-cry!*” As pointed out by Tinney (1999 Ur-Namma, 44), the same sequence as in the Yale version, **PA.A-zu su-am₃**, occurs also in Šu-Suen J (ETCSL 2.4.4.a) 47 **PA.A¹-zu su₃-am₃**, in uncertain context.

In addition to the above attestations, the sequence **PA.A** occurs also in Šulgi P Seg. C 31 (Klein 1981a Section b 31), where it appears to modify **tu^utuba**, and in Dumuzi-Inana Q (Sefati and Klein 2012, 310–321), in broken context.

Seg. B 15

me tu^utuba ša₃ gada![?] la₂-a-me-en

The syntax of this line is odd. ETCSL’s translation, “you are clothed in the divine powers of ba garments and linen garments” would make sense, but the placement of **ša₃** between **tu^utuba** and **gada![?]** would be problematic. The verbal expression **ša₃ la₂** “to wear,” regularly places the item worn immediately before **la₂**, as best-known in the term **ša₃-gada-la₂** “(priest) wearing linen” (= *la-biš ki-te-e* in Lu = ša 4 99 (MSL 12, p. 131)). With **tu^utuba**, cf., for example: **ša₃-tu^utuba-la₂** in OB Nippur Lu 556 (MSL 12, p. 53); **ša₃-tu^utuba₄-la₂** : MIN(*la-biš*) *na-al-ba-ši* in Lu = ša 4 100 (MSL 12, p. 131); **ša₃ tu^utuba la₂** in Šulgi C Seg. A 31; and **ša₃ tu^utuba nam-mi-in-la₂** in Keš Temple Hymn 109 (Delnero 2006 l. 108). In contrast, when the item worn precedes **ša₃**, **ša₃** is marked with the dir./loc3 suffix {e}, as in Nisaba A 20 and Nanše B Seg. B 6.

In our line, assuming reading of **gada**^{1?} is correct, the sequence **ša₃ gada^{1?} la₂-a** should thus represent a unit, meaning something like “he who wears (has put on) the linen (garment).” This is supported by the fact that a large space separates **tu^utuba** and **ša₃**. The relationship between the first part of the line, **me tu^utuba**, and the second part, **ša₃ gada^{1?} la₂-a**, is unclear, and my translation is ad hoc. For “you are the one who wears x like y,” one might expect instead the construction in Nanše B Seg. B 6 **ku₆ tu^utuba ša₃-ge₄ nam-mi-in-la₂**, translated by ETCSL “She has fish wrapped around her body as a regal garment.”

Seg. B 16

gu₂ me-er-me-re

On **gu₂ me-er-me-re**, see the comment to Nuska A Seg. B 21.

Seg. B 17

niĝ₂-lu-a

I assume here that **niĝ₂-lu-a** functions as a substantive meaning “numerousness, multitude,” taking the expression **niĝ₂-lu-a-ba** as “in their multitude.” The form **niĝ₂-lu-a** it is not to my knowledge otherwise attested, but cf. the more frequently occurring **niĝ₂-daĝal(-la)** in the analogous expression **niĝ₂-daĝal(-la)-ba** “in its/their vastness.”

šu du₇-a

It is difficult to decide whether to understand **šu du₇-a** as having an active meaning, with the *me*’s as object, or whether to take it as passive, with Nuska as the referent (so, e.g., van Dijk: “mit der Vielheit aller ‘göttlichen Kraft’ bist du vollkommen gemacht”; so Farber-Flügge 1973, 129).

The frequency with which the verb **šu du₇** appears with the *me*'s as object points in favor of the former (for **me** with **šu du₇**, see Farber-Flügge 1973, 146–147), but the perfective form **šu du₇-a** might point in favor of the latter.

Seg. B 19

za₃-mim umun₇

I do not know of any parallels for this use of a numeral, and my translation here is speculative, based on context.

ʾmuʾ¹-ri-in-ne

The verbal form is difficult to explain. Assuming the {**n**} before the verbal base represents a perfective transitive subject, we would expect the form to end in {**eš**}, corresponding to the plural human subject, **ʿa-nun-na diġir-gal-gal-e-ne**. Perhaps, given that plurality of the subject was already marked in the NP as well as in the use of the plural (/present/future) base **e**, the scribe deemed it unnecessary to additionally mark it in the verbal suffix. One might alternatively understand a collective construction in which the human transitive subject is marked as plural in the NP, while the verbal form shows singular marking; in this case, however, either the use of **e** in place of **du₁₁** is unexpected (if we understand the form as transitive perfective singular), or the {**n**} before the verbal base is unexplained (if we understand the form as transitive present/future singular) (on collective constructions with **du₁₁** and the attested forms, see Attinger 1993, 161, §102, with table on 164, nos. 3 and 7).

Seg. B 21

ša₃ dadag 'aia' ^den-lil₂-ka

I understand this line as a headless genitive construction, roughly synonymous with **lu₂ ša** + poss. suff. (gen.) “the man of one’s heart” (cf. obv. 14 **^den-lil₂-la₂ lu₂ ša₃-ga-na-me-en**).

The alternative solution is to take the **-ka** in **^den-lil₂-ka** as a scribal error (cf. obv. 17 **^den-lil₂-ka** for **^den-lil₂** (gen.) and note Sjöberg’s transcription: **^den-lil₂<la₂>-{ka}**), understanding literally “you are the gleaming heart of father Enlil” or “you are ‘the one who makes the heart gleam’ of father Enlil.” So presumably ETCSL, “You gladden Father Enlil’s heart!”

ša₃ dadag

The form **ša₃ UD.UD** is only occasionally attested, and its reading, either **ša₃ zalag-zalag**⁹⁷⁷ or **ša₃ dadag**,⁹⁷⁸ is not agreed upon. The better attested expression **ša₃ zalag(UD)** generally refers to a mood or emotion, associated with joy (see Tinney 1996, 156 ad 151; Jaques 2006, 20, 220 n. 472, 433–434; possible exception: Šulgi B 147), whereas the contexts in which **ša₃ UD.UD** occurs are somewhat different. The latter is used as a royal or divine epithet (Inana B 65, next to **ša₃ sud-ra₂** and **munus zi**; Šulgi G 23, next to **sipa ^dlamma kalam-ma**) or describing the nature of a god or goddess’s “heart” (Gudea Cyl. B xiii 4 (1111) **en zi ša₃ UD.UD-ga-k**; Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 62 **^dnin-lil₂-le ša₃ UD.UD-ga-ne₂**), where its nuance is not clear, but an association with something like benevolence would fit the context better than joy. For this reason, I provisionally read **ša₃ dadag** rather than **ša₃ zalag-zalag**.

⁹⁷⁷ See, e.g., for the current line: van Dijk 1960, Sjöberg 1977, ETCSL; for Inana B 65: ETCSL; for Šulgi G 23: Klein 1991TSH, ETCSL.

⁹⁷⁸ See, e.g., for Inana B 65: Zgoll 1997a, 8, Attinger 2019k, s.v. **dadag(-ga)**; for Gudea Cyl. B xiii 4 (1111), Edzard 1997, 95. See Zgoll 1997a, 368–369 for discussion.

Seg. B 22

For **za₃-mim du₁₁-ga**, see my comment to Ninurta J 4' (Appendix II.4.4).

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APPENDIX II.7 MARTU A (4.12.1)

II.7.1 Editions and Translations⁹⁷⁹

Edition: Pp. 120–140 in: Falkenstein, Adam. 1959. *Sumerische Götterlieder: 1. Teil*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1959/1. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Translation: Pp. 62–65 in: Falkenstein, A. and W. von Soden. 1953. *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich: Artemis.

Transliteration/Translation: No. 4.12.1 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>).

Summary and Discussion: Pp. 100–101 and *passim* in: Klein, Jacob. 1997. “The God Martu in Sumerian Literature.” In *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, edited by I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller, 99–116. Cuneiform Monographs 7. Groningen: Styx.

II.7.2 Sources

N₁: Ni 2443 (SRT 8)

CDLI: [P345300](#) (no photo)

Collations: Kramer 1957, 80–81.⁹⁸⁰

Nearly complete ruled 1-column tablet, missing some portions due to surface damage (?).

II.7.3 Provisional Transliteration and Translation⁹⁸¹

The translation included here is provisional. A complete edition, with full translation and commentary, is in preparation and will be included in my future work.

⁹⁷⁹ Throughout this appendix, “Falkenstein” refers to Falkenstein’s 1959 edition, unless otherwise stated.

⁹⁸⁰ Throughout this appendix, “Kramer” refers to Kramer 1957, 80–81, unless otherwise stated.

⁹⁸¹ Because no photos of this tablet are available, my transliteration is primarily dependent on the handcopy in SRT 8 and the collations published in Kramer 1957. Additionally, Falkenstein, beyond including Kramer’s corrections in his edition (marked with asterisks; see Falkenstein 1959, 121), also makes reference to “einer erneuten Überprüfung des Textes in Istanbul” during which he was able to place the ends of lines 8–10, and cites his own collations throughout the commentary. I therefore assume that Falkenstein’s transliteration is more reliable than the handcopy, even where the deviations are not mentioned by Kramer nor in Falkenstein’s comments.

1

N₁ 1 ur-saĝ sul maḥ kur idim-ma za₃-be₂-še₃ til-la

Valiant warrior, grand youth, who has achieved complete control over mountain *and spring!*⁹⁸²

2

N₁ 2 ^dĠAR₇-DU₂ sul maḥ kur idim-ma za₃-be₂-še₃ til-la

Martu, grand youth, who has achieved complete control over mountain *and spring!*

3

N₁ 3 usu piriĝ ḥuš- ḥur-saĝ ki- sikil-la para₁₀ ku₃-ge si-a

(Having) the strength of a fierce lion, who, on the mountain, the pristine place, has occupied the pure throne-dais!

4

N₁ 4 ^dĠAR₇-DU₂ usu piriĝ ḥuš- ḥur-saĝ ki- sikil para₁₀ ku₃-ge si-a

Martu, (having) the strength of a fierce lion, who, on the mountain, the pristine place, has occupied the pure throne-dais!

5

N₁ 5 ni₂ gal guru₃^{ru} an ku₃-ge du₂-da me šar₂-ra dalla e₃

Laden with great fearsomeness, born of pure An, who made the myriad *me*'s appear brilliantly!

6

N₁ 6 ama ^ugu₆ ^dnin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa₂-ke₄

His mother who engendered him, Ninḥursaĝa,

7

N₁ 7 alan-na-ne₂ me-dim₂-ta^{l?} im-mi-in-diri na-me saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂

made his figure surpassing *of limb*. No one can oppose him!

8

N₁ 8 ^da-nun-na diĝir gal-gal-e-ne <na-me saĝ nu-mu-e-šum₂(?)>

Of the Anuna, the great gods, <no one can oppose him(?)>!

9

N₁ 9 nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ a₂ mu-ni-in-maḥ-e-eš gu₃ zi ^rmu^l-[na[?]]-^rde^l-eš⁹⁸³

⁹⁸² Or: the “heavy mountain.”

⁹⁸³ The end of this line is preserved in the fragment not included in the SRT handcopy. See Kramer’s collations.

They (the Anuna) have made his strength great *in valor*. They have spoken justly [to him[?]].

10

- N₁ 10 nam-nir-ġal₂ me₃-a gaba-ne₂-še₃ DU da-da-ra-še₃ mi-ni-[in-du₁₁-ge-eš[?]]⁹⁸⁴
[They have] girded him with authority that goes before him in battle.

11

- N₁ 11 ġeš[?]tukul ġeš[?]mitum pana!(NU) gal ti mar-ru₁₀ šu ʾmaḥ¹-a-ne₂ [...]⁹⁸⁵
[They have set(?)] a weapon, a *mitum*-mace, a great bow, arrows, and a quiver his grand hands.

12

- N₁ 12 nam-diġir-ra šu gal mi-ni-in-du₇-uš za₃ ša₄ nu-mu-[...(tuku)]⁹⁸⁶
They have fully perfected *him in divinity*. [He has]⁹⁸⁷ no rival!

13

- N₁ 13 gaba mu-un-zī, ša₃-tum₂-ša₃-tum₂-ma [x] ʾx¹ ʾx¹ [x x]
He has risen up,⁹⁸⁸ in the meadows [...]

14

- N₁ 14 maḥ gal-la-am₃ a₂ piriġ ġal₂-la [...]
He is exceedingly great, having the strength of a lion, [...]

15

- N₁ 15 piriġ ban₃-da-gen₇ ni₂ mu-un-da-[ri[?]]
Like a young lion, he [instills[?]] fear,

16

- N₁ 16 am a₂ gur-ra-gen₇ <ni₂ mu-un-da-ri[?] (?)>
Like a wild bull with gnarled *horns*, <he instills[?] fear (?)>

17

- N₁ 17 tumu umun₇-na za₃ mu-ni-in-ʾkeše₂¹ izi ʾmu¹-[...]
He has girded himself with the seven winds. [He ...] fire.

⁹⁸⁴ The final four preserved signs (-**ra-še₃ mi-ni-**) are preserved in the fragment not included in the handcopy. See Kramer's collations. Reconstruction of the verbal form follows Falkenstein.

⁹⁸⁵ The final three preserved signs (**maḥ-a-ne₂**) are preserved in the fragment not included in the handcopy. See Kramer's collations. At the end of the line, Falkenstein reconstructs [**bi₂-in-si-ge-eš**]

⁹⁸⁶ Falkenstein reconstructs -[**ni-in-tuku-uš**].

⁹⁸⁷ Or: "they have let him have."

⁹⁸⁸ Lit. "has raised (his) chest."

18

N₁ 18 me₃ šen-šen aga-kara₂ si₃-si₃-ga nim-gen₇ [...(ĝir₂)]
In battle, conflict, and conquest, [he flashes] like lightning.

19

N₁ 19 ni₂ maḥ-a-ne₂ ḥulu-ĝal₂ dab₅-dab₅-be₂ u₁₈-[lu...]⁹⁸⁹
Great fear of him seizing the evil, a southern storm [...].

20

N₁ 20 iri nam ku₅-ra₂-a-ne₂ a₂-be₂ ki-be₂ nu-ṛge₄¹-[ge₄]
The city cursed by him does not restore its strength!

21

N₁ 21 lugal-ra kur nu-še-ga-ne₂ mu-na-gul-gul-[e]
For the king, he destroys the land that does not obey him!

22

N₁ 22 sipa zi ša₃ ku₃-ge pa₃-da-ne₂-[er[?]]⁹⁹⁰
On the true shepherd whom he chose in his pure heart

23

N₁ 23 ^dĜAR₇-DU₂ dumu an-na šu mu-na-a-DU
Martu, the son of An, has laid his hand!

24

N₁ 24 mu-be₂ mu maḥ-am₃ ka-ge dib-ba lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-[x (x)]⁹⁹¹
That name, being an exalted name, surpassing speech, no one can [...].

25

N₁ 25 diĝir šu sikil šu-luḥ¹ me dadag-ga me-ne₂ <lu₂ nu-mu-ni-in-x (x)>
God with clean hands, who purified the lustration rites and the me's—his me's <no one can ... >

26

N₁ 26 niĝ₂-NE.RU niĝ₂-a₂-zi im-mi-in-gul niĝ₂-ge-na bi₂-in-gub
He has destroyed evil and violence and established stability.

⁹⁸⁹ Falkenstein would reconstruct: [-lu-gen₇ dul-la]

⁹⁹⁰ The copy does not indicate enough space for [-er] after -ne₂, nor is it mentioned in Kramer's collations, but Falkenstein remarks: "Nach den Raumverhältnissen kann hinter ša₃-ku₃-ge pa₃-da-ni ein [-ir] ergänzt werden" (1959, 133 ad 22).

⁹⁹¹ Falkenstein restores [-pa₃-des], describing it as questionable but noting that at least there is enough space, after collation (1959, 134 ad 24).

27

N₁ r1 diĝir ʾhuš¹-ʾa¹⁹⁹² ʾdi¹ si-sa₂ ku₅-ku₅ eš-bar-re gal-zu
The furious god, who gives just verdicts, expert in decisions,

28

N₁ r2 [ša₃]⁹⁹³ kuš₂-u₃ aia enim-ma-ne₂ sig₁₀-ga-ne₂
[deli]berator of (his) father, after he laid down his word,

29

N₁ r3 aia ʾugu₆-ne₂ en diĝir-re-e-ne ʾnun¹ ʾnam¹ tar-re-de₃
his father who engendered him, the lord of the gods, the prince who establishes fate,

30⁹⁹⁴

N₁ r4 an su₃-ud ʾki¹ daĝal-ba im-mi-in-si gaba ge₄ nu-um-mi-in-tuku
made him fill the distant heavens and the wide earth. He has no challenger!

31

N₁ r5 ħur-saĝ sikil kur ^{na₄}za-gin₃-na saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-[rig₇]
The pristine mountain, the mountains of lapis lazuli, he bestowed on him!

32

N₁ r6 kur ĠAR₇-DU₂ <(kur ^{na₄}za-gin₃-na (?)) saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇>
The Martu land , <(the mountains of lapis lazuli (?)), he bestowed on him>!

33

N₁ r7 saĝ piriĝ ʾur¹-ʾsaĝ¹-ʾĝa₂¹-am₃ me₃-a a₂-taĥ ʾlugal¹⁹⁹⁵-[la-kam[?]]⁹⁹⁶
(Having) the head of a lion, he is a valiant warrior! [He is[?]] the help of the king in battle!

34

N₁ r8 lu₂ ʾsi¹-ʾsa₂¹ ʾdi¹ ʾniĝ₂¹-[ge-na mu(?)]⁹⁹⁷-un-dab₅-ba e-ne-ra enim sa₆-[x (x)]⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹² Collated as **ħuš-a** by Falkenstein (Kramer: “traces point to the signs GIR₃ and A”)

⁹⁹³ Reconstruction following Falkenstein.

⁹⁹⁴ The line numbering in the handcopy skips a line at the beginning of the reverse. In order to make his line numbers match those in the copy, Falkenstein numbers this line 29b and the following line 30. My line numbering follows the lines on the tablet, as does ETCSL’s numbering.

⁹⁹⁵ Kramer: traces point to LUGAL. Collated as luga[l] by Falkenstein.

⁹⁹⁶ Reconstruction following Falkenstein.

⁹⁹⁷ Following Falkenstein: **lu₂-*si-*sa₂ d[i]-n[i-gi-na mu]-**

⁹⁹⁸ Falkenstein remarks that there is enough space for either **sa₆-[sa₆-ga]** or simply **sa₆-[ga]** (136 ad 33).

*To/For*⁹⁹⁹ the just man, *who has accepted the [firm] decisions*,¹⁰⁰⁰ [*the one who*] pray[s] to him,

35

N₁ r9 PA(-/.)¹x¹ ¹⁰⁰¹[x x (x)]-na-GUB sud-ra₂-¹še₃ im-mi-in-[x (x)]¹⁰⁰² ¹⁰⁰³he *established* [...]; he [*made him ...*] to eternity!

36

N₁ r10 niĝ₂ sa₆-[ga (x)] ¹x¹-ta DU-a-ne₂¹⁰⁰⁴
When he goes ... good things from ...,

37

N₁ r11 ¹amar¹ [x (x)] ¹x¹ gal-la-ne₂ mi-ni-ib-ĝar-ĝar¹⁰⁰⁵
Calves [...] are placed at his great [...]

38

N₁ r12 [...] ĤI(-)nun tur₃ amaš-a [x x]
[...] ... in the cattle pen and sheepfold ...

39

N₁ r13 ku₆ mušen ¹x¹ [(x)] ¹x¹-la gurun gibil mu₂-am₃
[...] fish and birds, *he is the one who makes* new fruit grow;

40

N₁ r14 ¹e₂¹ ¹lugal¹ ¹ku₃¹⁰⁰⁶ [x (x)](-)¹KA¹ muš₃ la-ba-ni-ib-tum₂-mu
[in[?]] the pure house of the king, [...] does not cease.

41

N₁ r15 ¹x¹ ¹x¹ ¹diri¹⁰⁰⁷-ga-am₃ nam gal tar-ra-[am₃]¹⁰⁰⁸
Being the surpassing [...], being the one who decides great fates,

⁹⁹⁹ Assuming the NP in this line is the referent of {na} in the verb of the following line (either marked or as *casus pendens*).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Lit. “*decisions [of firm]ness*.”

¹⁰⁰¹ Falkenstein: **gidri?**-¹x ¹x¹. In the copy, the traces of the second sign look something like NI.

¹⁰⁰² Falkenstein reconstructs [**durun-durun**]

¹⁰⁰³ For the entire line, Klein 1997, 100 n. 15 suggests **maš[kim?-ša₆-ga mu]-na-gub sud-ra₂-še₃ im-mi-in-[]**.

¹⁰⁰⁴ In the handcopy, there appears to be space at the end of the line for an additional sign, but Falkenstein takes **-ne₂** as the final sign in the line.

¹⁰⁰⁵ In the handcopy, there appears to be space at the end of the line for an additional sign, but Falkenstein reads **-ĝar-ĝar** as the final signs in the line.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Collated by Falkenstein as **e₂ lugal ku₃** (Kramer: probably E₂, LUGAL, and KUG).

¹⁰⁰⁷ [...].A

¹⁰⁰⁸ Restoration following Falkenstein.

42

N₁ r16 ʿx¹ ʿx¹ ʿx¹ [x] ʿx¹-ba en-nu-uġ₃ ša^{1?}(TA)¹⁰⁰⁹(-)mu-un-ʿAK¹⁰¹⁰
... keeps watch.

43

N₁ r17 i₇¹⁰¹¹-[x x x (x) mu]¹⁰¹²-ʿun¹-da-ġal₂ du₁₀-be₂ i₃-na₈-[na₈[?]]¹⁰¹³
... the river, ... is produced for him.¹⁰¹⁴ He drinks *its good (things)*.

44

N₁ r18 a₂-ʿša₃¹-ʿga¹ [x x (x)¹⁰¹⁵ mu]-na-ab-il₂ še-be₂ i₃-gu₇¹⁰¹⁶-[e]
In the field ... is raised for him. He eats its grain.

45

N₁ r19 ħe₂-ʿġal₂¹-ʿla¹ [x¹⁰¹⁷ (x)] ʿx¹ šu mu-un-na-da-an-[peš[?]-e[?]]¹⁰¹⁸
In abundance [...] increases under his reign.¹⁰¹⁹

46

N₁ r20 šu AN-[x (x) mu]-ʿun¹⁰²⁰-il₂ ħulu mu-ni-in-ġal₂
... and brought evil.

47

N₁ r21 ʿša₃¹-[x x¹⁰²¹ x (x)] ʿenim[?] niġ₂-ge-na na-nam
[...] interior [...] is a word[?] of righteousness!

48

N₁ r23 ʿbar¹-[x x¹⁰²² x (x)] ʿgiri₁₇¹-ʿzal¹⁰²³ na-nam
[...] exterior [...] is profusion!

49

¹⁰⁰⁹ Falkenstein: collation confirms that this sign is **ta** and not **ša**.

¹⁰¹⁰ No remains of the final sign are indicated in the copy, but Falkenstein reads A[K].

¹⁰¹¹ The handcopy only indicates traces of A, but Falkenstein reads **i₇**.

¹⁰¹² Falkenstein reconstructs [-**da a-zal-le mu**-].

¹⁰¹³ Falkenstein reconstructs **-e**.

¹⁰¹⁴ Lit. “is present with him.”

¹⁰¹⁵ Falkenstein reconstructs **gu₂-un-dugud**.

¹⁰¹⁶ Falkenstein reads **ku₂!** (copy: KA).

¹⁰¹⁷ Falkenstein reconstructs **uġ₃**.

¹⁰¹⁸ Falkenstein reconstructs **-peš-e**.

¹⁰¹⁹ Lit. “with him.”

¹⁰²⁰ Following Falkenstein [... **mu-u**]**n-il₂**. Not preserved in copy.

¹⁰²¹ Falkenstein reconstructs **-ga-ni**

¹⁰²² Falkenstein reconstructs **-ra-ni**

¹⁰²³ Following Falkenstein **g**[iri₁₇-z[al]]. Copy has only traces of KA (**giri₁₇**)

N₁ r24 lugal-¹ra² [x (x)] nu-kur₂-ru ¹u₄¹ [x x] su₃-ud-da-ne₂
Having lengthened the never changing [...] *and* [...] days for² the king,

50

N₁ r25 SIBIR₂ zi-¹gal₂² ¹u₆³^{1?}¹⁰²⁴ šar₂ laḥ₅-laḥ₅¹⁰²⁵ za₃-ga-na la₂-a-ne₂
Having equipped him with¹⁰²⁶ the staff that leads the liv[ing beings²], the myriad people^{1?},

51

N₁ r26 e₂-gal lugal-[la²]-¹ka²¹⁰²⁷ nuḡun-na-ne₂ mu-ni-in-dib-dib-be₂
he makes his seed pass into² the royal² palace.

52

N₁ r27 ki-in-DU si-sa₂ ḡiri₃ mu-na-ab-ḡal₂ za₃-saga₁₁ nu-mu-ni-in-tuku
The foot is set on the straight path for him. He let him have no rival!

53

N₁ r28 ¹x¹ [...] ¹x¹-er igi du₈ diḡir-ra-na-ka
[...], in the *seeing* of his (personal) deity,

54

N₁ r29 ¹nam¹-[lu₂]-lu₇ in-ga-mu-na-ab-be₂-ne
humankind speaks to him.

55

N₁ r30 ¹nam²¹-[x x] ¹x¹¹⁰²⁸ sa₆-ga ba-pa₃-de₃ enim du₁₀ <in-ga-mu-na-ab-be₂-ne (?)>
He chooses [...] in (his) heart, <they speak to him(?)> a good word.

56

N₁ r31 ^dlamma niḡ₂-¹ge¹-na u₄-šu₂-še₃ zi-da-na mu-DU ḡa₂-la nu-mu-ta-dag-ge
The protective deity of righteousness *stands* at his right side daily and does not cease!

57

N₁ r32 mim zi du₁₁-ga diḡir lu₂ ḥur-saḡ a-re-eš dib¹⁰²⁹-ba-am₃
True praise spoken (of) the god, the man of the mountain land (ḥur-saḡ), who is surpassing in praise,

¹⁰²⁴ Falkenstein: **zi-d[a-na tuku]**

¹⁰²⁵ Falkenstein (1959, 122 and 139 ad 49) reads **laḥ_x-laḥ_x** (DU.DU.DU.DU). Copy has **DU-DU-DU-e**.

¹⁰²⁶ Lit. “tied on his side.”

¹⁰²⁷ Falkenstein reads **lugal-[ra]** ¹x¹. From the copy, **lugal-[la-k]a** looks possible (so already Klein 1997, 100 n. 18).

¹⁰²⁸ Falkenstein reads **n[am-lugal-še₃ š]a₃**

¹⁰²⁹ Written LU, according to copy.

58

N₁ r33 ʾnar¹-re ser₃ ku₃-ga im-mi-in-du₁₁ mu-ne₂ pa bi₂-in-e₃
the *nar*-musician has uttered in pure song! He has made manifest his name!

59

N₁ r34 ^dĜAR₇-DU₂ dumu an-na za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃
Martu, son of An, your praise is sweet!

Subscript

ser₃-gid₂-da ^dĜAR₇-DU₂-kam
It is a *širgida* of Martu.

[Intended to be blank]

APPENDIX II.8 *UTU URSAG*

II.8.1 Editions and Translations¹⁰³⁰

Edition: Pp. 7–13 in: Cavigneaux, Antoine. 2009. “Deux hymnes sumériens à Utu.” In *Et il y eut un esprit dans l’Homme: Jean Bottéro et la Mésopotamie*, edited by Xavier Faivre, Brigitte Lion et Cécile Michel, 3–18. Paris: De Boccard.¹⁰³¹

Partial Edition (Seg. B, Seg. C 12–18): Wasserman, Nathan. 1997. “Another Fragment of a Bilingual Hymn to Utu.” *Acta Sumerologica* 19: 261–266.¹⁰³²

Partial Transliteration/Translation and Discussion (Seg. A 7–16, Seg. C 3–12): Pp. 170–176 in: Metcalf, Christopher. 2011. “New Parallels in Hittite and Sumerian Praise of the Sun. *Die Welt des Orients* 41: 168–176.¹⁰³³

Partial Edition (Seg. C 10–14): Pp. 43–45 in: Metcalf, Christopher. 2015. “Old Babylonian Religious Poetry in Anatolia: From Solar Hymn to Plague Prayer.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 105: 42–53.

II.8.2 Sources

AM: H 150 (Fs Bottéro, pp. 17–18)

CDLI: [P416514](#) (no photo)

Largely preserved ruled 1-column tablet, with 8–9 lines missing from the bottom edge. Colophon indicates a total of 71 lines, on the basis of which Seg. C 1–28 can be identified as lines 44–71. Some phonetic spellings. Provenance: Meturan.

Obv. A1–A26[

Rev.]C1–C28 (= 44–71)

BM: Tell Haddad Unn. (Fs Bottéro, p. 18)

CDLI: [P416515](#) (with photo from Fs Bottéro p. 18)

¹⁰³⁰ Throughout Appendix II.8, “Cavigneaux” refers to Cavigneaux’s 2009 edition, unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰³¹ With corrections in Cavigneaux 2009b.

¹⁰³² With improvements in Wasserman 1999.

¹⁰³³ Metcalf’s transliteration and translation of Seg. A 7–14 also appears in Metcalf 2015b, 95–96. His transliteration and translation of Seg. C 10–12 are updated in Metcalf 2015b, 192–193 and Metcalf 2015a, 43.

Completely preserved unruled 1-column extract tablet, containing 5 lines. Landscape format. Numerous phonetic spellings. Provenance: Meturan.

Obv. A12–A16

Rev. uninscribed (?)

C_{Su}: MDP 27 287

CDLI: [P370027](#) (no photo)

Almost completely preserved unruled 1-column extract tablet, originally containing 16 lines. Missing 2 lines from the bottom edge. Landscape format. Partially legible colophon invoking Inšušinak and ^dIŠKUR(-)MU(...). Provenance: Susa.

obv. A1–A9[

rev.]A14–A16

D_x: VAT 6441 (VS 10 212, aka SK 212)

CDLI: [P343017](#) (no photo)

Lower left-hand quadrant of a ruled 1-column tablet. Provenance unknown.

obv.]C3–C10, C14, C12, C11, C13 (= 46–53, 57, 55, 54, 56)

rev. C15–C21, C24, C27–C28 (= 58–64, 67, 70–71) [

E_{si}: BM 78614 (ASJ 19, pp. 265–266)

CDLI: [P283732](#) (no photo)

BM website: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=801645&partId=1 (with photos)

Upper right-hand fragment of a ruled(?)¹⁰³⁴ 2-column tablet, with interlinear Akkadian translation. Provenance: Probably Sippar (see Wasserman 1997, 261). The placement of this tablet's text within the composition *Utu ursag* is difficult, and it is likely that it belongs to a separate composition with some overlapping lines (Seg. C 12–17). It is the only source that preserves the section treated here as Seg. B.

¹⁰³⁴ The tablet appears to have faint line rulings in the photo on the BM website, although the handcopy indicates only sporadic rulings.

The main difficulty in placing the text of this tablet stems from the line count at the end of col. iii, on the reverse, which indicates that the column contained 26 (bilingual) lines. Since the final 4 ½ lines of the column are preserved, this means that 21 ½ lines are missing from the beginning of the column. The four fully preserved lines at the end of the column correspond to *Utu ursag* Seg. C 12–13, 15, and 17 (= ll. 55–56, 58, and 60 of the main text, according to the line count in A_M), and the half-line that precedes them may well correspond to Seg. C 11 (= 54) (only traces of the Akkadian translation are preserved). Thus, if the text of this source generally followed the main text of *Utu ursag*, the column must have begun around line 33, or earlier, if some lines were skipped.

Applying this data to col. ii on the obverse, we can assume that this column, too, probably contained approximately 26 bilingual lines, the first 7 ½ of which are preserved (= Seg. B 1–8). This means that, if this source’s text matched the main text, column ii must begin about 26 lines prior to line 33—that is, the first line of the column (= Seg. B 1) should represent around line 6 of the main composition. This is problematic, since lines 1–26 of the main version are preserved on ms A_M (Seg. A 1–26), and they do not overlap with the preserved content of this column (Seg. B 1–8).¹⁰³⁵ Even in the unlikely scenario that col. ii contained significantly fewer lines than col. iii—say, 16 instead of 26—it would still begin around line 16 of the main composition, and should thus still overlap with the text of Seg. A.

We must conclude that this source either (a) represents a different composition from *Utu ursag* entirely, overlapping in only one section, or (b) represents a variant version of *Utu ursag* with a significantly different number or arrangement of lines. It is included in the score as ms E_{Si}, following Cavigneaux’s edition, but it should be noted that the section preserved on this source alone, treated here as Seg. B, may not in fact belong to the *širgida Utu ursag*.¹⁰³⁶

obv.

i]unplaced lines[

ii B1–B8[

rev.

iii]C11(?)–C13, C15, C17

iv missing

II.8.3 Text

Unplaced Lines¹⁰³⁷

E_{Si} i 1 [...]

¹⁰³⁵ Note also that if col. ii began around line 6 of the composition, we would have to assume this is a collective tablet, the traces of col. i containing text from a different composition.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Cavigneaux 2009a, 8: “La face appartient peut-être à notre texte mais ce n’est pas sûr.”

¹⁰³⁷ These bilingual lines from ms E_{Si} col. i belong either to a separate composition or, less likely, to a variant version of *Utu ursag*. See above.

[...]

 E_{Si} i 2 [...]

 [...]

 E_{Si} i 3 [...] -¹x¹

 [...]

 E_{Si} i 4 [...] -¹x¹

 [...]

 E_{Si} i 5 [...] -¹ne¹

 [...] -¹gi¹

 E_{Si} i 6 [...] ¹x¹-x

 [...] -¹x¹

Segment A

A1

A_M 1 ^dutu ur-saĝ ^dutu maš₂-saĝ

 C_{Su} 1–2 ^dutu ur-[] // ^dutu maš₂-[]

Utu, valiant warrior! Utu, foremost one!¹⁰³⁸

A2

A_M 2 ^dutu ur-saĝ DIĜIR^e-re-ne¹⁰³⁹

 C_{Su} 3 ^dutu ur-saĝ diĝir-re-e-[]

Utu, valiant warrior of the gods!

A3

A_M 3 ^dutu maš₂-saĝ ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne

 C_{Su} 4 ^dutu maš₂-saĝ {a[?]} ¹d[?]¹a-nun-na-¹ke₄[?]¹-[]

Utu, foremost one of the Anuna!

A4

A_M 4 ^dutu di-ku₅ maḥ aia saĝ ġegge-ga

 C_{Su} 5 ^dutu di-ku₅ ¹maḥ¹ aia saĝ ġegge-ga

Utu, grand judge, father of the black-headed people!

¹⁰³⁸ Lit. “head buck.”

¹⁰³⁹ Read probably **diĝer^e-re-ne**.

A5

AM 5 ^dutu en ka-aš bar saĝ-en₃-tar kalam-ma
 CSu 6 ^dutu en ka-aš bar saĝ-¹x¹⁰⁴⁰-tar¹⁰⁴¹ ¹kalam²-ma

Utu, lord who makes decisions, caregiver of the land!

A6

AM 6 DIGIR^c-re-ne unu₂⁻ ki ĝa₂-ĝa₂
 CSu 7 diĝir-re-e-ne ¹unu₂¹⁰⁴² ¹ki¹ ĝa₂-[ĝa₂]

He who founds the dining halls for the gods,

A7

AM 7 ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne šuku šum₂-mu
 CSu 8 ^da-nun-ke₄-¹ne²¹ ¹šuku²¹ [šum₂²]¹⁰⁴³-mu

who give provisions to the Anuna,

A8

AM 8 ^dutu si-ĝar an-na-ke₄ ĝal₂ maḥ da₁₃-da₁₃
 CSu 9 [...] ¹x¹ [x] ¹x (x)¹

Utu, who grandly opens the bolt of heaven,

A9

AM 9 ĝeš₂ig an-na-ke₄ sila-ba bi₂-in-du₁₁
 at the doors of heaven *spoke in its streets*.¹⁰⁴⁴

A10

AM 10 I.DUB¹⁷ an-na-ke₄ dalla e₃-a deḥi₂-deḥi₂
Oh you who appeared brilliantly at the threshold of heaven, who draws near,

A11

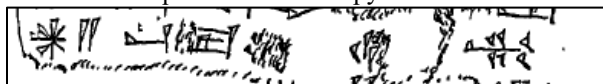
AM 11 diĝir an-na-ke₄ ma-ra-su₈-ge-eš

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cavigneaux: in².

¹⁰⁴¹ Written AŠ in the handcopy.

¹⁰⁴² ¹TE¹.[UNUG]

¹⁰⁴³ Either [šuku] ¹šum₂-mu (so Cavigneaux) or ¹šuku¹ [šum₂]-mu. Or possibly read ^da-nun-ke₄ ¹šuku¹ ¹šum₂-mu?
 Collation is required. Cf. handcopy:



¹⁰⁴⁴ Or: “commanded that they split open”?

the gods of heaven stand at your service!

A12

AM 12 AN ki-ta gu₂ mu-ra-sun₅¹-sun₅¹¹⁰⁴⁵-ne-eš
BM 1 AN ʾka₂¹ gu₂ mu-ra-su-ʾsi^{ʔ11046}-ne-eš₂ ()

*In*¹⁰⁴⁷ (all) heaven and earth,¹⁰⁴⁸ they bow their necks to you!

A13

AM 13 ^dutu ka ba-zu giri₁₇ šu ḥa-pa-ġar
BM 2 ^dutu ka pa-zu giri₁₇ šu ḥa-pa-ġa₂-al

Utu, at your utterance let obeisance be made!

A14

AM 14 ^dutu ad-da nu-^{sag}ʾSAGA₇¹-me-en
BM 3 ^dutu ad¹-da nu-us₂-ki-mi-en
CSu r1' ^dutu ad^ʔ-GUR₈^{ʔ1049}nu-ʾsiki^{ʔ1}-me-en¹⁰⁵⁰

Utu, you are the father of the orphan!

A15

AM 15 ^dutu ama BA nu-mu-un-kuš₈-me-en
BM 4 ^dutu ama u₂-mu-ʾun¹-ku-šu-ḥE₂^{ʔ1051}
CSu r2' ^dutu ma¹⁰⁵² nu-um-a-ʾx¹-me-en

Utu, you are the mother of the widow!

A16

AM 16 ^dutu ki-gul-la šu-ġar ge-ne-me-en
BM 5 ^dutu ki-gul-la₂ ʾš¹-ġar ge-ne-mi-en
CSu r3' ^dutu ʾki¹-gul-ʾla¹ šu ʾgi₄^{ʔ1}-i-ne-/me-en

¹⁰⁴⁵ Cavigneaux notes that the form of the sign in A_M is closer to ŠIR than to SUN₅(BUR₂), but no reading of ŠIR fits the context, and the same form also occurs in line 67 and H 180+ (Cavigneaux 2009a, 3–7) 37' with the apparent reading **sun₅**.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cavigneaux: *forse* ʾsu¹.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Or, in A_M: “with.”

¹⁰⁴⁸ Or **diġir ki-ta/ka₂**, reading “the deities of/in the underworld”; so Cavigneaux (“les dieux d’en bas”) and Metcalf 2011, 171 (“the gods of the underworld”).

¹⁰⁴⁹ So copy. Cavigneaux: **at-ta**^ʔ

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cavigneaux : **nu-siki-me-en**.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cavigneaux: “*forse uk*?”

¹⁰⁵² So copy. Cavigneaux suggests **ma(ama**^ʔ)

Utu, you are the avenger of the destitute!

CSu: Double ruling followed by colophon:
ina ʿx¹ ʿAK²¹ ša² dMUŠ₃.ʿEREN¹ / u₃ dīškur(-)MU [(x x)]¹⁰⁵³

A17

AM 17 maš₂-anše niĝ₂-ur₂-limmu zi-zi lah₅-lah₅ x¹⁰⁵⁴ u₂-a-še₃ ki-nu₂
Raising up the animals, the four-legged creatures, leading them, ...*to/for food and drink, at* the resting place,

A18

AM 18 ʿd¹ʿutu¹ niĝ₂-ge-na ki aĝ₂
Utu, lover of righteousness,

A19

AM 19 [x] ʿx¹ zi-da UD.IŠ¹⁰⁵⁵ x šum₂-mu
who gives ...

A20

AM 20 [x x] ʿx¹ ʿru²¹⁰⁵⁶¹-ʿx¹-ta zu-ne
....

A21

AM 21 [x x x] ʿx x¹ si-DU₃-zu mul-mul
....

A22

AM 22 [x x x an] ʿša₃¹-ʿba¹ ku₄-ku₄-da-zu-ne
....

A23

AM 23 [...] ki am₃-ši-ʿx¹ (...)
....

A24

AM 24 [...] an-na IGI [...]
....

¹⁰⁵³ My reading of the signs follows MDP 27 p. 104: *ina* . . . *ak-ša*(?) ^dšušinak u₃ ^dadad-mu. . . Collation is required.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cavigneaux: pu₂².

¹⁰⁵⁵ Or possibly ʿHUL₂² or GIDIM²?

¹⁰⁵⁶ Or ša₃²

A25

AM 25 [...] gu₂ mu-un-x[...]

A26

AM 26 [...] ʽxʽ ʽmuʽ-[...]

Unknown number of lines missing.

Segment B¹⁰⁵⁷**B1**

Esi ii 1 u₄-ḫe₂-gal-an-na ḪUL₃ a₂ ʽziʽ-[da-zu]
 u₄-ḫe₂-gal-an-na ul-li i-mi-it-ti-[ka]

 Uḫegalana, (at) [your] right rein

B2

Esi ii 2 u₄-ḫuš-gal-an-na ḪUL₃ a₂ gub₃-bu-zu
 u₄-ḫu-uš-gal-an-na ul-li šu-me-li-ka

 Uḫušgalana, (at) your left rein

B3

Esi ii 3 u₄-sumur-gal-an-na šutul₄ a₂ zi-da-ʽzuʽ¹
 u₄-su-mu-ur-gal-an-na ni-ri i-mi-ti-ʽkaʽ¹

 Usumurgalana, (at) your right yoke

B4

Esi ii 4 u₄-nir-gal-an-na šutul₄ a₂ gub₃-bu-zu
 u₄-ne-er-gal-an-na ni-ri šu-mi-li-ʽkaʽ¹

 Unirgalana, (at) your left yoke,

B5

Esi ii 5 ḫa-mun si-sa₂ giri₁₇-ʽdabʽ^{1?}-ʽzuʽ¹

¹⁰⁵⁷ It is very possible that these lines do not belong to the composition *Utu ursag̃*, being preserved only in the deviant source E_{Si} (see above under “Sources”).

ḥa-mu-si-si ka-ar-ʿta¹-ʿap^{1?}-ʿka¹

Ḥamunsisa, your driver,

B6

Esi ii 6 ^dša₃-ga-diri-ga šuš₃-ʿzu[?]¹
^dʿša¹-ga-di-ri-ka ki-zu-ʿka[?]¹

Šagadiriga, your groom

B7

Esi ii 7 [...] ʿx x x¹ [...]
 [...] šu-ka-ʿx¹ [...]

B8

Esi ii 8 *traces*

Unknown number of lines missing

Segment C¹⁰⁵⁸

C0/43

AM r 0^{,1059} *traces*

C1/44

AM r 1' [...] ʿze⁴¹-ʿe¹-da nu-me-a LUL[?]-la₂ bi₂-in-ʿdu₁₁¹

..., if not for you (= Utu), ... *would speak a falsehood?*

C2/45

AM r 2' [x x](-)ʿna¹-an-du₃-du₃ nu-mu-un-da-sa₆-ʿsa₆¹(-)[...]

*He should not...*¹⁰⁶⁰ *you are*¹⁰⁶¹ not pleased with him.

C3/46

AM r 3' [nam-til₃] ʿlu₂[?]¹-lu₇ igi niĝen₂-na-a-kam

¹⁰⁵⁸ Line numbers after the slash are based on the line count in AM, which indicates that the text has 71 lines in total. This is the numeration used by both Cavigneaux and Metcalf.

¹⁰⁵⁹ I maintain the line numeration for this tablet adopted by Cavigneaux, although some traces are preserved before “rev. 1’.”

¹⁰⁶⁰ Or: “*he ... for him.*”

¹⁰⁶¹ Or “*he is*”

D_x 1' *traces*

[The life] of a person is (*a thing*) of blurriness.¹⁰⁶²

C4/47

AM r 4' ʔtukum¹⁰⁶³-be₂ lu₂ ULU₃-ta ULU₃-še₃ al-til
D_x 2' [...] (-)lu₂ da-[ri₂[?]-še₃[?]] [...] ¹⁰⁶⁴

If a person were to live for eternity,¹⁰⁶⁵

C5/48

AM r 5' ʔa₂[?] ge₁₇-ga niĝ₂(-)GE₁₇(-)ra ħe₂-en-DU lu₂-lu₇ ba-ra-an-ge₁₇-ga
D_x 3' [...] -ga niĝ₂ la-ra-[aĥ[?]]-ta ħe₂-DU lu₂-ra ba-ʔx¹-[...]]

*bitter cries of woe*¹⁰⁶⁶ (*together*) with things of hardship¹⁰⁶⁷ could come, and it would not cause the person distress.

C6/49

AM r 6' nam-til₃ ug₅ gid₂-da giri₁₇ ba-an-keše₂[?]
D_x 4' [...] ug₅-ge-de₃ giri₁₇ ba-da-an-keše₂

Life is bound to *long(er)* death,¹⁰⁶⁸

C7/50

AM r 7' u₃ nam-til₃-la ug₅-ga ba-ra-an-da-SI.A
D_x 5' [...] ug₅-ge-de₃ ba-da-an-sa₂-a

and (*the things*) of life cannot equal (*the things*) of death.¹⁰⁶⁹

C8/51

AM r 8' u₄ til₃-la diĝir an-da-šid u₄ ug₅ nu-mu-un-da-šid
D_x 6' [...] diĝir-ra am₃-da-šid ug₅-ga nu-mu-da-an-šid

The days of life a deity can count, but the days of death he/she cannot count!

¹⁰⁶² Lit. “*of dizziness*.” I.e. inscrutable? Fast-moving (and therefore fleeting)?

¹⁰⁶³ [ŠU.NIĜ₂].ʔTUR¹.LA₂

¹⁰⁶⁴ Restoration following Metcalf 2011, 173 n. 20.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Lit. “from distant (time) (in the past) to distant (time) (in the future).”

¹⁰⁶⁶ Or “*A harmful force*?”

¹⁰⁶⁷ So D_x; AM: “... *distress*”? “*being bitterly beaten*”?

¹⁰⁶⁸ So AM (or “to dying,” taking **ug₅ gid₂-da** as an unorthographic writing of **ug₅-ge-da**); D_x: “to dying.”

¹⁰⁶⁹ So AM; D_x: “*does [life] rival dying*?”

C9/52

AM r 9' u₄ zi al-til al-GUR₄-ra-a-ne₂
 DX 7' [x x] ʾzi¹ til₃-la al-ʾGUR₄²-ra-ʾne₂?¹
*Favorable days end,*¹⁰⁷⁰ ...

C10/53¹⁰⁷¹

AM r 10' diġir-ġa₂ niġ₂-ge₁₇-ga-a-ne₂ ħa-ma-be₂ ša₃-be₂ ġal₂ ba-ra-ab-taka₄-a
 DX 8' [...] -ʾge₁₇¹ -ʾga¹ -ʾne₂¹ ħa-ma-ab-ʾx¹ ša₃-be₂ ġal₂¹⁰⁷² ħa¹⁰⁷³ -ma-ab-ʾtaka₄¹/

(AM cont.) niġ₂-nam-ma-a / ga-zu¹⁰⁷⁴
 (DX cont.) niġ₂¹⁰⁷⁵ -ʾnam¹ -ʾma¹ ʾx¹⁰⁷⁶ ʾzu¹ [x] ʾx¹

(My) offense against my (personal) deity—let him/her¹⁰⁷⁷ tell it to me,¹⁰⁷⁸ let him/her reveal¹⁰⁷⁹ the heart of it to me,¹⁰⁸⁰ let me know everything!

C11/54

AM r 11' maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂ ^dutu-kam usu₃-kam ħa-ma^{1?} -be₂ ša₃-be₂ <ġal₂>
 DX 11'¹⁰⁸¹ ʾmaš₂¹ -ʾšu¹ -ʾgid₂¹ -gid₂ ^dutu-kam ʾusu₃¹ -[...] ħa-ma-ab-du₁₁] / ša₃-be₂ ʾġal₂¹
 Es_i iii 1'[?] [...] *(traces)*¹⁰⁸²

(AM cont.) <ba-ra-ab-taka₄-a niġ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu >
 (DX cont.) ħa-ma-ab-ʾtaka₄¹ [niġ₂-nam-ma x-zu x x]

The diviner, being the one of Utu, the one of the extispicy-omen—let him tell it to me, let him reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know everything!]

C12/55

¹⁰⁷⁰ Or: “*the day on which life ends.*”

¹⁰⁷¹ For Seg. C 9–14 (53–57), my transliteration of mss DX and Es_i follows that of Metcalf 2015a, who collated the tablet.

¹⁰⁷² Collation by Krebernik, cited by Cavigneaux.

¹⁰⁷³ Collation by Krebernik, cited by Cavigneaux.

¹⁰⁷⁴ So Metcalf 2015a; Cavigneaux **nam-diri?-ga-ke₄**

¹⁰⁷⁵ Collation by Krebernik, cited by Cavigneaux

¹⁰⁷⁶ Metcalf 2015a, 44 ad 53: not **ga-**, possibly **i-**

¹⁰⁷⁷ Either referring to the deity or anticipating the diviner and dream interpreter of the following lines.

¹⁰⁷⁸ That is, let him reveal what the offense was.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Lit. “open.”

¹⁰⁸⁰ So DX. AM: “he/she does not reveal the heart of it.”

¹⁰⁸¹ The sequence of lines 54–57 in this source is: 57, 55, 54, 56 (see Metcalf 2015a score)

¹⁰⁸² Alternatively, Es_i iii 1' may contain the first half of Seg. C 12/55, treated as a separate line.

AM r 12' ensi_x¹⁰⁸³ x x x-a-be₂ ḥa-ma-be₂ ša₃-be₂ <ġal₂>
 DX 10' ʿensi¹ IZI ʿx¹ še ʿšum₂¹-ma i[n²-... ḥa-ma-ab-du₁₁] / ʿša₃¹-ʿbe₂¹ ʿġal₂¹
 Esi iii 2' [x x (x)] ša₃-be₂ ġal₂
 [mi-im]-ʿma¹ šu-um-šu lu-ʿum¹-mi-[id]

(AM cont.) <ba-ra-ab-taka₄-a niġ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu >
 (DX cont.) ʿḥa¹-ʿma¹-ab-taka₄ niġ₂-ʿnam¹-[ma x-zu x x]
 (Esi cont.) ḥa-ma-ab-ʿtaka₄¹ ʿniġ₂¹ ʿnam¹-[x x (x)]

The dream-interpreter, [*who*] *grain thrown [into?] the fire*—let him tell it to me, let him reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know] everything!

C13/56

AM r 13' pu₂-ta (-) ama² (-) dul-la igi nu-du ḥa-ma-be₂ ša₃-be₂ <ġal₂>
 DX 12' ʿu₂¹-ʿḥub₂¹¹⁰⁸⁴ ma-an-dul ʿigi¹ [...] ḥa-ma-ab-du₁₁ ša₃-be₂ ġal₂
 Esi iii 3' [u₂]-ḥub₂ -me-en igi ḥu-mu-ni-in-ʿdu₈¹
 ʿsuk¹-ku-ka-a-ku u₂-ul a-na-aṭ-ʿta₂¹-ʿal¹

(AM cont.) <ba-ra-ab-taka₄-a niġ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu >
 (DX cont.) [ḥa-ma-ab-taka₄ niġ₂-nam-ma x-zu x x]

(*I am*) deaf, *he/she has* covered it for me,¹⁰⁸⁵ I do not see! Let him/her tell it to me, [let him/her reveal the heart of it to me, let me know everything!]¹⁰⁸⁶

C14/57

AM r 14' ma-mu₂-da igi nu-du ḥa-ma-be₂ ša₃-be₂ <ġal₂>
 DX 9' ʿma¹-ʿmu¹-da igi ʿnu²¹⁰⁸⁷-ʿmu¹-ʿun¹-ʿdu₈¹ ʿḥa¹-ʿma¹-ʿab¹-du₁₁ / ša₃-be₂ ʿġal₂¹
 Esi omitted(?)

(AM cont.) <ba-ra-ab-taka₄-a niġ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu >
 (DX cont.) [ḥa-ma-ab]-taka₄ niġ₂-ʿnam¹-[ma x-zu x] ʿx¹

I have (lit. “see”) no dream! Let him/her tell it to me, [let him/her] reveal the heart of it to me, [let me know] everything!

C15/58

¹⁰⁸³ EN.LI.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Written TUK.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Or: “*it is* covered for me.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ Esi: I am deaf; I do not see anything! (So Akk; prefix chain inexplicable in Sum—“he has caused him to see”?).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Metcalf 2015a, 45 ad 57: “probably has no vertical wedge (against Zimmern’s copy), and **nu**- therefore seems possible but not certain.”

AM r 15' im-me-en-du₁₁-ga-ta im-ma^{1?}-ra-diri
 Dx r1 im-mi-in-¹du₁₁-[...]
 Esi iii 4' [x]-mi-du₁₁-ga-gen₇¹⁰⁸⁸ ma-ab-diri
 [ki]-¹ma¹⁰⁸⁹ iq-bu-u₂ u₂-ta²¹⁰⁹⁰-te-er

He/she has made (things) exceed what he/she declared for me!¹⁰⁹¹

C16/59

AM r 16' diri nam-ku₅-da saĝ im-ma^{1?}-an-MUNŠUB¹⁰⁹²
 Dx r2 diri nam-diri-¹ta[?]1 [...]
 Esi omitted(?)

He/she has ...*to/for me* more than (his/her) curse,

C17/60

AM r 17' gid₂-da dal-e niĝ₂ u₃(-)mu-sa₆-sa₆ bar UR-ta gud-da
 Dx r3 ¹gid₂¹-¹da¹ tu-lu-ra ¹niĝ₂¹ ¹x¹ [...]// ¹x¹⁰⁹³(-)¹DU₁₁¹-ga
 Esi iii 5' [gid₂]-i tu-lu-da ¹niĝ₂¹ ur₅ sa₆-ge-de₃
 ud-da-ta u₃ ru-mu-u₂-ta tu₂-ub ka-ab-ti

(AM cont.) gurum-da ¹niĝ₂[?]1 DIĜIR^e-re-ne-kam
 (Dx cont.) gur-ru-dam [...]

To make taut and to make limp,¹⁰⁹⁴ that which cheers the mood¹⁰⁹⁵ and ..., and *to revoke*¹⁰⁹⁶ the ... *that was spoken*¹⁰⁹⁷—(these things) belong[?] to the gods.

Esi: Line count: u u aš₃ (26)

C18/61

AM r 18' niĝ₂ al-du₇-da na ZI[?]¹⁰⁹⁸ BI la- [...]

¹⁰⁸⁸ Collated in Metcalf 2015a, 45 n. 12.

¹⁰⁸⁹ [ki]-ma collated in Metcalf 2015a, 45 n. 12.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Either -ta- for D perf. *ūtatter* (cf. *tūtattir/tūtatter* in parallels) or -ša- for Š pret. *ušāter* (so Cavigneaux).

¹⁰⁹¹ So AM, probably Dx. Esi: “*In comparison to what he declared, (things) were made excessive for me*”; Akk. “he has made it excessive!”

¹⁰⁹² Read **rig**_x? So Cavigneaux.

¹⁰⁹³ Possibly **ma**? Cavigneaux reads x.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Akk: “Difficulties and limpness.”

¹⁰⁹⁵ Akk. “a cheerful mood.”

¹⁰⁹⁶ Lit. “to turn back on.”

¹⁰⁹⁷ So Dx. AM unclear.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Or GABA[?].

D_X r4 lu₂ in-DUDA^{du₂1099}-e ʽxʽ [A...]

A: The *thing that is beaten*¹¹⁰⁰ ...

D: He/she beats the person, ...

C19/62

A_M r 19' lu₂ ĠEŠ¹.PA al bi₂-in-du₁₁ šu bar-ra bi₂-in-du₁₁

D_X r5 lu₂ ĠEŠ.PA al bi₂-in-ʽdu₁₁^{?1} [...]

The person requested a staff. He/she commanded that he/she free him/her.

C 19a/62a¹¹⁰¹

D_X r6 im-mi-in-DUD-de₃ ʽxʽ [...]

He/she beats him/her ...

C20/63

A_M r 20' ab-ta-si-il(-)BE₂ (-)da GU₂ nu-mu-un-da-a-e-ʽxʽ [x] ʽxʽ

D_X r7 ab-da-SI-A mu-da-ʽanʽ- [...] / nu-mu-un-da-ni-in- [...]]

The one who is equal to it ..., ¹¹⁰² he/she cannot ...

C21/64

A_M r 21' diġir-ĠA₂ igi ħu-mu-ši¹MUŠIMBAR(SA₆)¹¹⁰³-re en-ġu₁₀ ħe₂-ta-re

D_X r8 diġir-ĠA₂ igi niġen₂-na-ka ħu-mu-ʽe/unʽ-ʽšiʽ^{?1}-ʽbarʽ^{?1}

Let my deity *look upon me*¹¹⁰⁴ and care for me!¹¹⁰⁵

C22/65

A_M r 22' im-me-en-DI-TE-DE₃ ZA-e ħa-pa-pa-an-pa

D_X omitted¹¹⁰⁶

*He/she beats him/her.*¹¹⁰⁷ Let him/her breathe!

¹⁰⁹⁹ Gloss in left margin: TU. I follow Cavigneaux in taking this as a phonetic gloss for DUDA(PA.UZU).

¹¹⁰⁰ Or niġ₂ as an erroneous verbal component influenced by the phrasal verb niġ₂ ra?

¹¹⁰¹ This line may be a variant version of Seg. C 22 (= 65), which this source omits.

¹¹⁰² So D_X. A_M obscure.

¹¹⁰³ The reading MUŠIMBAR for orthographic mu-ši-im-bar was proposed by Cavigneaux.

¹¹⁰⁴ So A_M. D_X obscure.

¹¹⁰⁵ Second part omitted in D_X.

¹¹⁰⁶ This source inserts what may be a variant version of this line between Seg. C 19 and 20 (Seg. C 19a/62a).

¹¹⁰⁷ ...-DI-te-de₃ for ...-duda-de₃? (so evidently Cavigneaux: di-te-ne “On le frappe”).

C23/66

AM r 23' ša₃ gur₃-a-ne₂ ḥa-ma²-ṛi²₁-pa-de₃
 Dx omitted

Let him/her (= the sufferer?) cause you² (= Utu) to *reveal* his/her (=the personal deity's?) *compassion*!

C24/67

AM r 24' ḡe^een₃-bar-ṛgen⁷₁ NAR^{!21108} mu-un-DAB-BE₂-BE₂ mu-un-SUN₅²-SUN₅²-ne-eš
 Dx r9 ḡe^een₃-ṛbar²¹¹⁰⁹₁ ṛx¹ [(x)] ṛx¹ mu²-ni²-ṛx x¹-da-ke⁴ / ḥu-ṛmu¹-(x)-ab²-x-x-(x)-e

Like an *enbar*-reed *in the wind*² ... have entered² there.

C25/68

AM r 25' tumu niḡ₂ du₁₀-ga-ke₄ SU ḥu-mu-un-TAG-TAG-RU
 Dx omitted

Let a good wind ... (*my*) *body*!

C26/69

AM r 26' ša₃ diḡir-ḡu₁₀ ki-be₂ ḥa-ma^{!21110}-ge₄-ge₄
 Dx omitted

Let the heart of my deity be restored *for me*!

C27/70

AM r 27' ^dutu ki al-DU DIḠIR dur₂-ru-ne₂-eš₂ [(x)] /
 Dx r10-11[^d]ṛutu¹ ṛki¹ al-ṛDU^{!2}₁ DIḠIR dur²-ṛx (x) x¹ x x IR²-eš-ṛa²¹¹¹¹ //

(AM cont.) ḡeš-tu⁹ ḡeštu ser₃¹¹¹¹² ga-mu-ra-ṛx¹ tab-us₂ AN-ke₄ ḥe₂-me-ṛen¹
 (Dx cont.) [x x] ṛx x x¹ [(x)] ṛx¹ tab-us₂ AN-ṛx (x)¹ ZE₄-e^{!21113}-me-en

Utu, *at the ... place where the gods dwell*, let me [praise²] you in song *for (your) wisdom; you are second (only) to An*!

¹¹⁰⁸ Cavigneaux: AB₂×KAR₂.

¹¹⁰⁹ Cavigneaux reads **bar**. The sign looks closer to ṛpa² in the handcopy.

¹¹¹⁰ Or read **-ba-**.

¹¹¹¹ Or possibly DIḠIR x ṛx (x) x¹ dur²-re^{!2}-ne^{!2}-eš-ṛa²? Collation is required.

¹¹¹² Written BAD₃, as in subscript.

¹¹¹³ Looks closer to RA in handcopy. Collation is required.

C28/71

AM r 28' sul ^dutu en dumu ^dnin-gal-ke₄ mim du₁₁-ga ka-tar-zu ga-sil
DX r12 [...]¹¹¹⁴ ʀmim¹¹¹⁵ du₁₁-ga¹¹¹⁶ ʀx x (x)¹ [...]

Youth Utu, lord, son *cherished by* Ningal, let me praise you!

Subscript

AM ser₃¹(BAD₃)-gid₂-da ^dutu-kam
D *traces*

It is a *širgida* of Utu.

Colophon

AM šu-niĝen₂ ĝeš₂ u diš (71) mu-be₂ ša ^dutu ur-saĝ
Total: 71 (are) its lines, belonging to (the composition) *Utu ursag*.

¹¹¹⁴ Only enough space for about four or five signs.

¹¹¹⁵ Collation by Juilane Eule cited in Michalowski 2017, 225.

¹¹¹⁶ Collation by Juilane Eule cited in Michalowski 2017, 225.

II.8.4 Commentary

Seg. A 2

DIĜIR^e-re-ne

In ms AM, I take the unexpected **e** between **diĝir** and **re** (here and in Seg. A 6 and Seg. C 17) as a phonetic gloss indicating a reading /**diĝer**/, for lack of a better explanation. Although the lexical evidence clearly indicates that the usual reading of **diĝir** is /**diĝir**/ (see examples cited in MZL p. 49 no. 10), two unorthographic sources for Šulpae A, both unprovenanced, point to a variant pronunciation with an /e/ vowel (/diner/, written **di-ne-er**, **di-ne-re-ne/-ne₂**, **DIĜIR^{ne-er}-e-ne**, **DIĜIR^{ne}-re-ne/-ne₂**).¹¹¹⁷

Seg. A 7–16

For Seg. A 7–16, cf. the later Hittite parallels treated in Metcalf 2011, 171–172 (CTH 372 26–38).¹¹¹⁸ Metcalf's normalization and translation are provided below for reference.

//A7	CTH 372 26–28	DINGIR.MEŠ=aš=šan SISKUR ₂ zik=pat zikkiši karuiliyaš=šan [DINGIR.ME]š-naš HA.LA-[šu-nu] [z]ik=pat zikkiši You distribute the offerings to the gods, you distribute the portions to the old gods
//A8– A10	CTH 372 29–31	nepišaš ^{rgi} IG ¹ appa tuk=pat ^d UTU-i haškanzi nu=kan nepišaš KA ₂ -aš zik=pat aššanuwanza ^d UTU=uš šarreškiši For you, Sun-god, they (the gods) keep reopening the door of heaven. You, revered Sun-god, cross the gate of heaven.
//A11– A12	CTH 372 32–33	nu nepišaš DINGIR.MEŠ-eš tuk=pat (var. add.: ^d UTU-i) kattan kaninanteš taknašš=a DINGIR.MEŠ-eš tuk=pat kattan kaninanteš The gods of heaven are bowing to you, (O Sun-god) and the gods of the underworld are bowing to you
//A13	CTH 372 33–34	kuitt=a ^d UTU-uš memiškiši DINGIR.MEŠ-ša appa tuk=pat aruweškanzi Say what you will, Sun-god, and the gods incline to you.
//A14– A16	CTH 372 35–38	^d UTU-uš dammešhandaš kurimmašš=a antuḥḥaš attaš annaš zik kurimmaš damišhandaš antuḥšaš kattawatar zik=[pa]t ^d UTU-uš šarninkiškiši

¹¹¹⁷ Šulpae A 4–5, 15, 38, 43–45, 47–48, 50, 64. See Falkenstein 1962, 45 ad 4.

¹¹¹⁸ For a complete edition of the Hittite composition, see Schwemer 2015, 374–393.

		Sun-god, you are the father and mother of the oppressed and orphaned man. You, Sun-god, put right the grievance of the orphaned and oppressed man
--	--	---

Seg. A 8

On the gates of heavens unlocked by Utu each morning, see esp. Horowitz 1998, 266–267 and Polonsky 2002, 216–219. Cf. also Maul in Spar and Lambert, eds. 2005, 116 ad 4’.

si-ĝar

For the various parts of a Mesopotamian lock and possible locking configurations, see Potts 1990, 189–192 and Fuchs 1998, 97–107. The term **si-ĝar** (Akk. *šigaru*, synonymous with *šikkūru*, according to Potts¹¹¹⁹) refers to the bolt, pierced with one or more holes, that would be inserted into the lock assembly and held in place with a pin or pins (*šikkatu*). According to Pott’s reconstruction, the bolt would be hollow, and, to unlock the gate or door, a key would be inserted inside the bolt to lift the pins from their holes, thereby allowing the bolt to be removed (see Figure II.4). According to one of Fuchs’s proposed reconstructions, the pin or pins could instead pierce the bolt entirely, and a key could be inserted into a channel underneath the bolt and used to push the pin up high enough that it could be pulled out from above, thereby releasing the bolt (see Figure II.5).

¹¹¹⁹ See also Fuchs 1998, 100 n. 59. Potts also takes *aškuttu* as a synonym, but see Fuchs 1998, 99–100 for a more convincing interpretation (*aškuttu* = “Sperrbalken”)

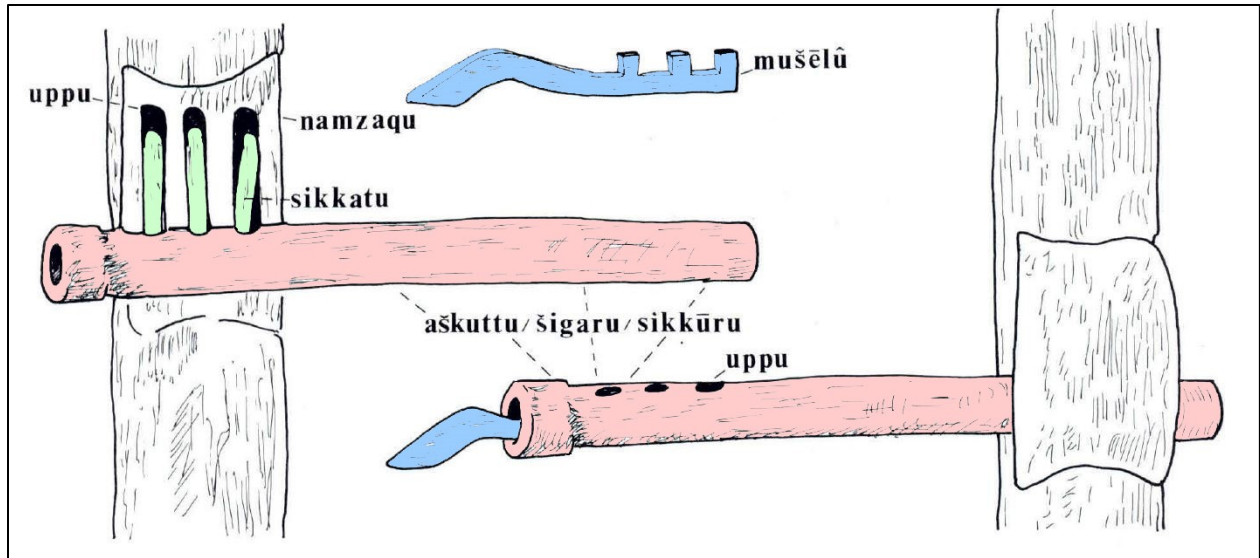


Figure II.4 Potts's Diagram of a Lock System (red = bolt, green = pins, blue = key). Image: adapted from Potts 1990, 189

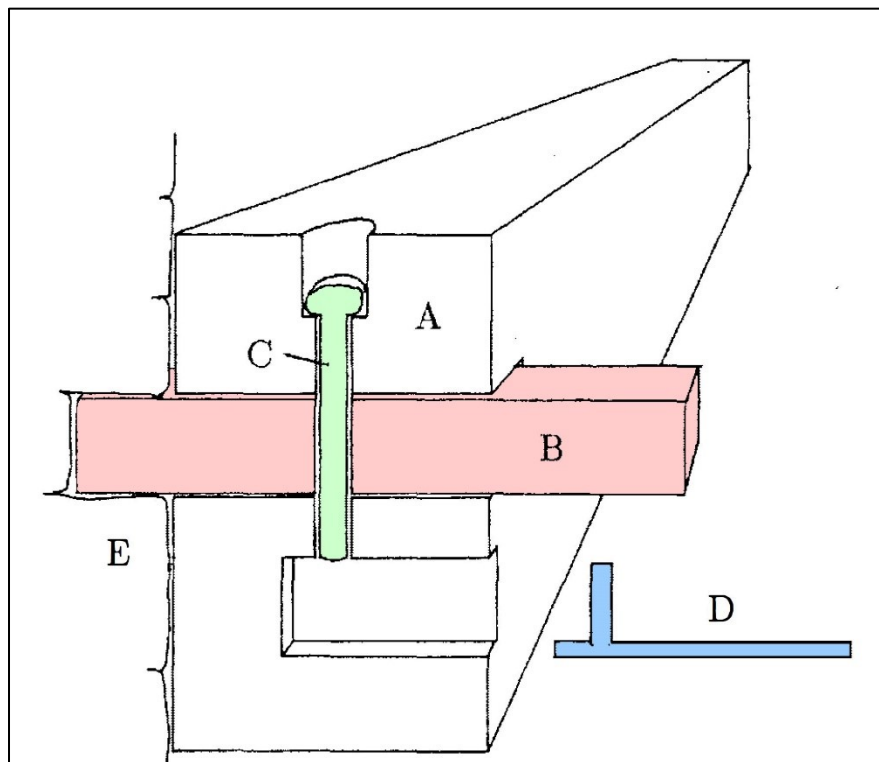


Figure II.5 Fuchs's Diagram of a Possible Lock System (A = door bar [Sperrbalken], B = bolt (šikkūru), C = pin, D = key, E = wall). Image: adapted from Fuchs 1998, 102

ĝal₂ taka₄

To my knowledge, this is the only instance of **si-ĝar** as the object of **ĝal₂ taka₄** “to open,” although Akkadian *šigarru* is occasionally attested with the equivalent, *petû* “to open” (see CAD P [2005], p. 343, *petû* 1a4’). More frequently, the verb used with **si-gar** in reference to unlocking is **taka₄** alone, lit. “to set aside (the bolt)” (equated in one instance with *petû* + *šigarru*). For examples, see George in George, ed. 2011, 107 ad 3 (**taka₄ ĝeš₃si-gar** “who draws back the bolts of ...”) and add the *eršema* HES 2 42 21.¹¹²⁰ Differently, one first-millennium bilingual uses **ĝal₂** alone, also translating *petû*.¹¹²¹

Seg. A 9

sila-ba bi₂-in-du₁₁

This expression is unclear, and two possible analyses come to mind: (1) “he commanded that they split open” (**sila** for orthographic **si-il(-la)**; cf. **sil** for **si-il** in Seg. C 28)¹¹²² or (2) “he spoke in its (= heaven’s) streets.” In favor of the first option is that it makes sense in context; in favor of the second is that **ĝeš₃ig** “door” and **sila** “street” are also attested together in other compositions¹¹²³ and that **ĝeš₃ig** with **si-il** “to split” is otherwise unattested, as far as I am aware.

¹¹²⁰ Sin-iribam CUSAS 17 50 (previously RIME 4.2.9.7 and 2.0.33) 3 **ĝeš₃si-ĝar an-na t[aka₄’-taka₄’]**; Rim-Sin I CUSAS 17 51 6 **taka₄ ĝeš₃si-ĝar utaḥ-ḥe**; Sin-iddinam to Utu 7 **taka₄ si-ĝar** (var. **taka₄ la₂ ĝeš₃si-ĝar an ki**); HES 2 42 21 **si-ĝar ku₃ taka₄-taka₄-ĝu₁₀** : *pe-ta-at šī-gar AN-e el-lu-ti*.

¹¹²¹ IVR 20 No. 2 and duplicates 3–6. See Polonsky 2002, 217 n. 634.

¹¹²² So Cavigneaux, Metcalf 2011. On the use of the locative/loc2 case to mark the topic of speech, see Attinger 1993, 248, §157 a 2°; Balke 2006, 50–51 n. 230; Jagersma 2010, 177, 667; and Zólyomi 2016, 152. For other examples where a command or instruction is implied, cf., e.g., Nippur Lament 185, Gudea Cyl. A i 19 (19), and Išme-Dagan A+V Seg. A 106–111. If this interpretation is correct, though, **ĝeš₃ig an-na-ke₄** must still be understood as a directive/loc3 participant, rather than a non-human dative (thus “at the gates of heaven, he commanded that they split open” rather than “he commanded the gates of heaven to split open”); otherwise we would expect **ba-** in the verbal form. Cf. **LDUB¹⁷ an-na-ke₄** “at the threshold of heaven” in the next line.

¹¹²³ Hendursaga A Seg. A 13 (Attinger and Krebernik 2005 l. 11), Gilgameš and Aga 87, Nisaba A 46.

Seg. A 12

gu₂ sun₅

Following Cavigneaux, **gu₂ sun₅** may be a conflation of **gu₂ si** “to assemble” and **sun₅** “go be humble.” I know of no other attestations.

Seg. A 13

giri₁₇ šu ĝar

The variant **ĝar** for **ĝal₂** in the expression **giri₁₇ šu ĝal₂** is, to my knowledge, otherwise unattested, but **ĝar** “to place” and **ĝal₂** “to cause to be present” vary with one another somewhat frequently, presumably due to their phonetic and semantic similarity.

C_{Su} Colophon

On ^dMUŠ₃.EREN as a variant to ^dNIN-MUŠ₃.EREN, i.e. Inšušinak, see Hinz 1976–1980, 117.

Seg. B 1–6

Utu’s yoke-team and attendants

The four creatures pulling Utu’s chariot, Uḫegalana, Uḫušgalana, Usumurgalana, and Unirgalana, are also known, with slight variations to the names, in Incantation to Utu A 89–90 (Alster 1991) and Incantation to Utu B 32–33 (Cohen 1977; see also Geller 1995, 107–109). In the former, they are identified as a yoke-team of four lions, driven by Utu across the sky (l. 91).¹¹²⁴

¹¹²⁴ For further discussion of Utu’s team of lions, see Krebernik 2001, 247–248 ad Vs. 7 and 249 ad Vs. 9 and Krebernik 2009–2011, 603–604 (§3.5).

Utu's attendants mentioned in our text are likewise known from Incantation to Utu A, as well as from the section of An = *Anum* dedicated to the sun god.¹¹²⁵ The driver, named Ḫamunsisa (^dḫa-mun-si-sa₂) in our text, is simply named Ḫamun in the incantation,¹¹²⁶ and is named Dalḫamun in the god list.¹¹²⁷ A separate figure named Ḫamun, who is designated as Utu's **igi(-a) si-sa₂ : muš-tē-šir pānī** "one who leads the way,"¹¹²⁸ also appears in the incantation (OB version) and in An = *Anum*.¹¹²⁹ The driver in our text, Ḫamunsisa, may thus represent a conflation of the two separate figures (Dal)ḫamun and Ḫamun **igi(-a) si-sa₂**.

As far as I am aware, the second attendant whose name is preserved in the present text—the groom (ŠUŠ₃), Šagadiriga—is otherwise unknown. Utu's groom is instead identified as Sulzimaḫana in Incantation to Utu A 92 and as ŠUŠzimaḫana (var. Sulzimaḫana) in An = *Anum* III 161.¹¹³⁰ The groom of our text, Šagadiriga (^dša₃-ga-diri-ga), can perhaps instead be identified with the figure Šagadula (^dša₃-ga-dul-la(2)), listed in Incantation to Utu A 85 and in An = *Anum* III 160 as Utu's messenger (**kiġ₂-ge₄-a**) (so Wasserman 1997, 263 ad Obv. I. 6).¹¹³¹

Seg. C 2/45

[x x] 'na'-an-du₃-du₃

¹¹²⁵ For further discussion of Utu's attendants, see Krebernik 2009–2011, 603–604 (§3.5).

¹¹²⁶ Incantation to Utu A 93, OB version: [^d]ḫa'-mun giri₁₇-dab₅-zu.

¹¹²⁷ An = *Anum* III 162: ^ddal-ḫa-mun (var. ^dIM^{dal-ḫa-mun}): giri₁₇-dab₅ ^dutu-ke₄.

¹¹²⁸ Literally "who directs the face." See Lämmerhirt 2010, 190, with previous literature.

¹¹²⁹ Incantation to Utu A 94 A, OB Version: [^dḫa]-'mun **igi-a si'-sa₂-zu**; An = *Anum* III 166–166a: ^dḫa-mun : **igi-si-sa₂ / muš-te-šir pa-ni** (var. **igi-si-sa₂** ^{<mu>-uš-te-šir}) (Litke 1998, 134–135; DCCLT Q003222)

¹¹³⁰ Incantation to Utu A 92, OB version: [^dsul'-zi]-'maḫ¹-an-na ŠUŠ₃-zu; **sul** restored from the MB source C+E; An = *Anum* III 161: ^dŠUŠ₃-zi-maḫ-an-na (var. ^dsul-zi-maḫ-an-na): ŠUŠ₃ ^{ku(-uš)} ^dutu^{ki-zu-¹u₂}-ke₄. See Krebernik 2009–2011, 603 for the suggestion that one might read ŠUBUR instead of ŠUL and translate "Oberster rechter Knecht des Himmels."

¹¹³¹ Incantation to Utu A 85, OB version: ^dša₃-ga-dul-la₂ kiġ₂-ge₄-a'-a'-zu; An = *Anum* III 160: ^dša₃-ga-dul-la lu₂-kiġ₂-ge₄-a ^dutu-ke₄.

A phrasal verb with **du₃** is possible,¹¹³² as is an unorthographic writing for another verb pronounced /du/.

sa₆ with comitative

For the intransitive use of **sa₆** with a comitative prefix meaning “to be pleased with,” cf. esp. Edubba’a A¹¹³³ 11, where **mu-da-sa₆** varies with **mu-da-hul₂** “he was pleased with me,” as well as Ninurta C 48 **he₂-da-sa₆** “let her be pleased with you.”

Seg. C 3/46

[nam-til₃] ... igi niĝen₂-na-a-kam

The restoration of **nam-til₃**, which follows both Cavigneaux and Metcalf, is based on the parallel in the Poem of Early Rulers¹¹³⁴ 18 = Syr. 9 **nam-til₃-la du₃-a-be₂ [x] x igi-niĝen₂-na-kam** : *ba-la-ṭa ka-la-šu [b]a²-ri tu-ur-ti i-ni-im-ma*.¹¹³⁵

The meaning of the term **igi niĝen₂** in this context is debated, the main suggestions including “a blink of the eye, a twinkling of the eye”; “blindness; an illusion” (see references cited in Metcalf 2011, 173 n. 22); and “dizziness, vertigo” or similar. (Attinger 2019k, s.v. **igi-niĝen₂** s. “vertige”). For the entire semantic range of **igi niĝen₂**, including “dizziness, vertigo” (Akk. *ṣūd panī*) and another, probably related but more general, negative experience, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 269 n. 122:

Soweit ich sehe, ist das folgende Bedeutungsspektrum möglich: 1. “(aufmerksam herumschauen” oder weniger wörtlich: “(genau) beaufsichtigen” (vgl. z.B. Enlil und Sud 61 // 90; weitere Beispiele bei Sjöberg [2003] 259 Anm. 22), 2. ein physisches Defizit (vgl. hierzu CAD S 228 s.v. [*ṣūd panī*] mit den Übersetzungen “dizziness” und “vertigo”; AHW

¹¹³² E.g., **šu du₃** “to point the finger, to accuse,” **šu** + poss. suff. **du₃** “to restrain one’s hands,” etc.; for further examples, see Attinger 2019k, s.v. **du₃**.

¹¹³³ Attinger 2019d, with previous editions and translations cited.

¹¹³⁴ Alster 2005, 288–325.

¹¹³⁵ Cited according to composite text, including post-OB sources from Emar and Ugarit.

1108 “Schwindelgefühl”), 3. (=2.?) eine negative, aber vorerst undeutliche Konnotation (vgl. die Belege bei Sjöberg, l.c. 230 Anm. 22); möglicherweise besteht eine enge Verbindung zu 2., so daß auch hier “Schwindel” – wenngleich in einem etwas allgemeinerem Sinne – angesetzt werden könnte. Vgl. z.B. Šulgi B 178–180: *niġ₂-bi niġ₂ igi niġin₂-na-ka | za₃ nam-til₃-la saġ im-gi₄-a | ze₂ kur nam-gu₂-ga-ka l-ba-an-da₁₃-da₁₃-e* “Das ist etwas, das *schwindelig* (?) macht: | Auch wenn man das Lebensende schon erreicht hat, | verläßt den Mann der Haß des (von ihm) unterworfenen Landes nicht mehr.” Ähnlich auch Ludwig 1990 204 Anm. 478 (Lämmerhirt 2010, 269 n. 122).

Here, context would suggest a term connoting the fleetingness of life (so Cavigneaux “le temps d’un clin d’oeil”; Metcalf 2011 “but a glance”), but comparison with **igi niġen₂-na-ka** in Šulgi B 178 would suggest something more inherently negative. It is tempting to translate “is a blur,” but there are no indications that this English idiom would carry over into the Sumerian.

Seg. C 4–14/47–57

For Seg. C 4–14, cf. the Hittite parallels discussed in Metcalf 2011, 173–174 and 2015a, 45–52 (CTH 373 20’–28’).¹¹³⁶ Metcalf’s normalization and translation are provided below for reference.

//C6–C7	CTH 373 20’	<i>huišwatar=m(u)=apa anda ħingani ħaminkan ħingan=a=m(u)=apa anda huišwanni=ya ħaminkan</i> Life is bound up with death for me, and death is also bound up with life for me.
//C8–C9	CTH 373 21’	<i>dandukišnaš=a DUMU-aš ukturi natta huišwanza huišwannas UD.ĤI.A-ŠU kappuwanteš</i> A mortal is not alive for ever, the days of his life are counted.
//C4–C5	CTH 373 22’–23’	<i>mam=mam dandukišnaš=a DUMU-aš ukturi huišwanza ešta man=a=šta man [a]ntuwaḥḥaš idaluwa inan arta man=at=ši natta kattawatar</i> If a mortal were to live forever, it would not be a grievance to him even if illness, the bane of man, remained.
//C10	CTH 373 24’–25’	<i>[kinun]=a=mu=za ammel DINGIR-IA ŠA₃-ŠU ZI-ŠU ħumantet kardit kinuddu nu=mu wašdul=mit [te]ddu n=e=z=(š)an ganešmi</i> But let my god now reveal his real intention to me with all his heart, and let him tell me my sins so that I may acknowledge them.
cf. C13–C14	CTH 373 25’–26’	<i>naššu=mu DINGIR-IA zašḥeia memau nu=mu=za DINGIR-IA ŠA₃-ŠU kinuddu [nu=mu wašd]ul=mit teddu n=e=z=(š)an ganešmi</i>

¹¹³⁶ For a complete edition of the Hittite composition, see Schwemer 2015, 351–361.

		Let my god either tell me in a dream – let my god reveal his intention to me, and let him tell me my sins so that I may acknowledge them –
//C12	CTH 373 26'	<i>našma=mu</i> ^{munus} ENSI <i>memau</i> or let a female dream-interpreter tell me,
//C11	CTH 373 27'–28'	[<i>našma=mu š</i>] _A ^d UTU ^{lu} 2AZU <i>IŠ-TU</i> ^{uzu} NIG ₂ .GIG <i>memau nu=mu=za</i> DINGIR-IA <i>ḫumantet kardit</i> [<i>šA₃-šU ZI-šU</i>] ¹ <i>kinuddu</i> <i>nu=mu wašdul=mit teddu n=e=z=(š)an ganešmi</i> or let a diviner of the Sun-god tell me (reading) from a liver. Let my god reveal his real intention to me with all his heart, and let him tell me my sins so that I may acknowledge them.

Seg. C 4/47

ULU₃-**ta** ULU₃-**še**₃

I follow Metcalf 2011, 173 in reading ULU₃ as an unorthographic writing of **ul** “distant (time),” playing on the similarity between this term and **lu₂-lu₇**. The meaning is confirmed by the Hittite parallel cited above.

Seg. C 5/48

ʾa₂ʾ¹ ge₁₇-**ga**

Cavigneaux and Metcalf translate “les forces (?) mauvaises” and “an evil (force?),” respectively. More likely is an unorthographic writing of **a** ge₁₇-**ga** “bitter cries of woe,” best attested in the expression **a** ge₁₇-**ga** **i-i** “to utter bitter cries of woe, to moan bitterly” (*maršiš nâqu*; see PSD A1 [1992], pp. 30, 32). Cf. the form **a₂** ge₁₇-**ga** **i-i** in YOS 11 90¹¹³⁷ 5 and the variation of **a** ge₁₇-**ga** with **a₂** ge₁₇-**ga** in Hoe and Plow 167 and *Lugale* 88.

¹¹³⁷ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 178–181.

niĝ₂(-)ge₁₇(-)ra // niĝ₂ la-ra-[ah[?]]-ta

The term **la-ra-ah** “distress, difficulty, hardship” (*pušqu*) is elsewhere attested in close association with **niĝ₂-ge₁₇** “sickness, distress” (cf. Inana C 251, Rim-Sin I 23 (RIME 4.2.14.23) 6, Rim-Sin I CUSAS 17 53 27), as well as with cries of distress or sadness (e.g., Inana C 251, Maul 1988 *Eršahūga* 38–42 5’). These semantic connections would make **niĝ₂-ge₁₇** in M_A a plausible variant to **la-ra-[ah[?]]** in D_X, but **(-)ra** at the end of the form is difficult to explain. Alternatively, a non-finite verbal expression **niĝ₂ ge₁₇ ra** “to be bitterly beaten” is conceivable, but seems less likely. In D_X, I tentatively understand **-ta** as an unorthographic writing of the comitative {**da**}, for lack of a better explanation. The form **niĝ₂ la-ra-ah**, as opposed to **la-ra-ah** alone, is otherwise unattested.

Seg. C 7/50

ba-ra-an-da-SI.A (A_M) // ba-da-an-sa₂-a (D_X)

The nuance of the comitative in these forms (and in D_X in Seg. C 6) is not clear. Perhaps with an abilitative meaning, taking the forms as transitive, “*one cannot make ... equal ...*” // “*has anyone ever made ... equal...?*” In D_X, the comitative could also refer to the thing not rivalled, i.e. death, but we would expect a comitative marker on **ug₅**.

The reading of **SI.A** in A_M is uncertain: either **ba-ra-an-da-diri** (“*cannot surpass ...*”) or an unorthographic writing of **sa₂-a** (“*cannot equal ...*”).¹¹³⁸

¹¹³⁸ The unorthographic writing **si** for **sa₂** is well attested. Cf., e.g., the references to non-standard writings in Attinger 2019k, s.v. **sa₂**.

Seg. C 10/53

niĝ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu

The reading of **niĝ₂-nam-ma-a ga-zu** as a cohortative expression was suggested already by Metcalf 2015a, 44 ad 53. For **niĝ₂-nam-ma** with **zu**, compare especially the expression “knowing everything,” in which **niĝ₂-nam** is most often construed as a direct object, but occasionally appears as a locative or a directive. See Balke 2006, 39–40, 49, and 51 with n. 233 for further discussion of the locative with **zu**.

Seg. C 12/55

ʽensiʽ IZI ʽxʽ še ʽšum₂ʽ-ma****

For the dream-interpreter’s use of grain (**še**) as material of incubation, along with similar materials such as *maššakku* (a type of powder and/or incense) and flour, see the references cited in Metcalf 2015a, 44–45 ad 55 (esp. George and Al-Rawi 1996), as well as Zgoll 2006, 325–326. For its being thrown into fire, in addition to the *Eršaḫūga* cited by Metcalf and others where grain (**še**) is associated with smoke,¹¹³⁹ cf. also the passage of the Aššur Dream Ritual Compendium (Butler 1998, 249–312) cited in Butler 1998, 91–92, where the effects of a forgotten dream are to be warded off by throwing four or seven kernels (*uṭṭetu*) of a certain type of plant (*atā ʽišu*) into fire.¹¹⁴⁰ Elsewhere, grain (**še**) is thrown onto a body of water (**a-MIR**) to incubate a dream (Gudea Cyl. A xx 6 [544]).

¹¹³⁹ *Eršaḫūga* K 4837 + K 4927 (IVR² 22n2) (Maul 1988, 331–333 ; BLMS K 04837 + K 04927) Maul 10’–11’ = BLMS o 6’–o 6’a.

¹¹⁴⁰ Col. iii 19; see also transliteration, translation, and comments in Butler 1998, 274, 298, 308.

For Seg. C 13–26, cf. the parallel passage in the *eršahūga*/incantation edited as *Eršahūga* 38–42 15'–23' (Maul 1988, 215–228):

Ex. II.17 *Eršahūga* 38–42 15'–23'¹¹⁴¹

15' (// *Utu uršaĝ* Seg. C 13)

n40 r 7a	u ₂ ḥub ¹ -me ¹ -en ¹	[...]	nu ¹ -du ₈
n41 r 2a	u ₂ ¹ ḥub-me-en	dul ₆ -la-ab i-bi ₂	nu-un-[]
n42 r 3a	u ₂ ḥub-me-en ¹	[...]	nu-un-du ₈
n40 r 7b	su ¹ -uk ¹ -ku-ka ¹-[...]		]-a ¹ -tal
n41 r 2b	su ¹ -uk ¹ -ku-ka ¹ -ku	ka-at-ma ¹ -ku ul	a-na-a ¹ -ta ¹ -al ¹
n42 r 3b	su-uk ¹ -ku-ka ¹-[...]		]-na ¹ -a ¹ -ta ¹ -al

I am deaf! I am covered!¹¹⁴² I do not see!

16' (// *Utu uršaĝ* Seg. C 15)

n40 r 8a	im-mu-e-du ₁₁ -ga ¹-[...]	]-diri ¹
n41 r 3a	a ₂ ¹ im ¹ -mu-e-du ₁₁ -ga-ta	im-ma-ni-[diri]
n42 r 4a	a ₂ ¹ im ¹ -mu ¹ -e ¹-[...]	]-diri
n40 r 8b	e-li ša ¹ taq ¹ -bi ¹ -[...]	
n41 r 3b	e-li ša ₂ ¹ taq ¹ -ba-a	tu-ta-at-te ¹ -er ¹
n42 r 4b	[	]-te ¹ -er

You have made (things) exceed what you declared for me!

17' (// *Utu uršaĝ* Seg. C 25)

n40 r 9a	tumu ni ₂ ¹ du ₁₁ -ga-zu ¹	[...]
n41 r 4a	tumu du ₁₀ -ga-zu	ḥa-ba-ab-[]
n42 r 5a	[...]	]-ri
n40 r 9b	ša-ar-ka ta ¹ -a-[]
n41 r 4b	ša ₂ -ar-ka ta-a-bu	li-zi ¹ -qa ¹
n42 r 5b	[...]]

¹¹⁴¹ Transliteration of each source follows BLMS (Ersh. 40, Ersh. 41, Ersh. 42). Line numeration of the composition follows Maul. Line numeration of individual sources treats each bilingual line as a single line (so BLMS, contra Maul), with two parts: (a) Sumerian and (b) Akkadian.

¹¹⁴² So Akkadian. Sumerian: “Cover it!”?

Let your good wind blow.

18' (/ Utu ursag Seg. C 24)

n40 *omitted*

n41 r 5a ^{ge}en₃-bar NIR-mud¹-da-da šu mu-^run¹-dab-^rdab¹-[...]

n40 *omitted*

n41 r 5b *ki-ma qa-ne₂-e ina i-di-ip-ti ^rše¹-[...]-x*

Like an *enbar*-reed in the *wind*, [you] *grasp him* ...

19'

n40 r 10a diġir-ġu₁₀ sul-a-lum-ġu₁₀ [...]

n41 r 6a diġir-ġu₁₀ sul-a-lum-ġu₁₀ [...]

n40 r 10b *i₃-li₂ en-ne-et-ti* [...]

n41 r 6b *i₃-li₂ en-ne₂-et-ti* [...]

My god, my sin/punishment [...]

20' (/ Utu ursag Seg. C 27?; cf. Seg. C 21)

n40 r 11a diġir-ġu₁₀ ki mu-e-til₃-la-ta igi ^rzi¹ [...]

n41 r 7a ^rdiġir¹-ġu₁₀ ki i₃-til₃-en-na-ta i-bi₂ zi bar-[...]

n40 r 11b *i₃-li₂ e-ma x-^rx¹-ta* *ki-niš nap-^rli¹-^rša₃¹-[an]-^rni¹*

n41 r 7b ^ri¹-^rli¹ *iš-tu a-šar aš₂-ba-ta* *ki-niš nap-[...]*

My god, from the place where you live, look upon me favorably!

21' (/ Utu ursag Seg. C 23?; cf. Seg. C 26)

n40 r 12a arḥu^š¹ tuku-ma-ra-ab ša₃ ib₂-ba-zu ḥa-ba-se₉-[de₃]

n41 r 8a [...]-^rma¹-ab ša₃-ne-ša₄-ġu₁₀ ^ršu¹ [...]

n40 r 12b *re-e-ma* ^rri¹-^rša¹-^rma šA₃-ka ag-gu li-nu-^rha¹

n41 r 8b ^rre¹-[e]-^rma¹ [...]-a *un-ni-ni-ia* [...]

Have compassion for me, ac[cept] my supplication!¹¹⁴³

Erš. n41 adds 21'a-23':

¹¹⁴³ So n41. n40: "let your angry heart be cooled!"

21'a

n41 r 9a [... ša₃-zu] ḥa-ma-^ʿse₉¹-[de₃]

n41 r 9b [...lib]-ba-ka li-^ʿnu¹-[...]

Let [your heart] be cooled towards me!

22' (// *Utu ursaĝ* Seg. C 26)

n41 r10 [ša₃-zu ša₃ ama] du₂-ud-da-gen₇ ki-be₂-še₃ ḥa-^ʿma¹-[ge₄-ge₄]

[Let your heart], like the heart of a mother who engendered (a child), return to its place for me!

23' (// *Utu ursaĝ* Seg. C 26)

n41 r11 [ama du₂-ud]-^ʿda¹ aia du₂-ud-^ʿda¹-[gen₇] ki-be₂-[še₃ <ḥa-ma-ge₄-ge₄>]

Like [(the heart of) a mother who engendered (a child)] and of a father who engendered (a child), <let it return> to its place for me!

Subscript

n40 r 13 ka-enim-ma diĝir lu₂-lu₇^{lu} mir-ra a se₉-da-kam

It is an incantation of “*cool water for a person's angered deity*”

n41 r 12 [ir₂-ša₃-ḥuĝ-ĝa₂] ^ʿdiĝir¹ ^ʿlu₂¹-lu₇^{lu}-[kam₂]

[It is an *eršaḥuĝa* of] a person's deity.

Seg. C 13/56

For this line, in addition to the parallel in *Eršaḥuĝa* 38–42 cited above, cf. *Eršaḥuĝa* K 2811

(IVR² 10; Maul 1988, 236–246, BLMS K 02811) rev. 2 and rev. 15.¹¹⁴⁴

pu₂-ta

The term **pu₂-ta**, literally “from a well,” usually in reference to an abandoned child,¹¹⁴⁵ is equated with *sukkuku* “deaf” in most recensions of Syllable Vocabulary A 74, including an unprovenanced OB source (BM 13902, Sollberger 1965, 23) and the Ugarit recension (Nougayrol

¹¹⁴⁴ Line numeration follows BLMS: rev. 2 = Maul 1988 rev. 3–4; rev. 15 = Maul 1988 rev. 29–30.

¹¹⁴⁵ Attested most often as a personal name; see Spada 2014, 5 ad 2.

1965, 37 line 34', 39 line 1¹¹⁴⁶) (so already Cavigneaux; cf. CAD S [1984], p. 362, *sukkuku* lexical section). Compare **sila-ta** “from the street” equated with *tummumu* “deaf” in the subsequent line of the vocabulary (Syllable Vocabulary A 75).

ma-an-dul

In ms A_M, I understand **pu₂-ta (-) ama' (-) dul-la** as a *sandhi* writing for **pu₂-ta ma-dul-la** (/ma-an-dul). Although the dative prefix occurs very rarely with **dul**, a literal meaning “he has covered it (my offense¹¹⁴⁷) for me” makes sense here.¹¹⁴⁸

Seg. C 15/59

For this line, in addition to the parallel in *Eršaḥuḡa* 38–42 16' cited above, cf. the *Versatzstück* occurring in: *Utugineta* b+264 (CLAM p. 106, 114);¹¹⁴⁹ *Aaba ḥuluḡa* *34 (Kutscher 1975, 56, 76, 144); *Ee še amša* (SK) viii 19–22 (Krecher 1966, 61, 74, 209–210), and the unidentified sources VAT (KAR 375) ii 21–32; VAT 248 (SBH 14) rev. 19–22; and NBC 11433 (AOAT 203 p. 14) 4'–7' (Hallo 1979, 2) (see score in Löhnert 2009, 355). For discussion, see esp. Krecher 1966, 209 ad VIII 19*–20*.

im-me-en-du₁₁-ga-ta

The significance of **-ta** in this form is unclear to me. Expected with **diri** “to exceed” is locative {**a**} (Balke 2006, 50 with n. 228). Conceivable analyses include (1) **-ta** as a phonetic spelling of comitative {**da**}, influenced by the use of the comitative with the semantically similar **sa₂** “to rival,”

¹¹⁴⁶ See also Farber 1999, 129 line 74b.

¹¹⁴⁷ Or, less likely: “everything.”

¹¹⁴⁸ Cf. perhaps SP 3 173 and UHF 753, and note the similar usage of the prefix {**ri**} in Edubba'a D 39 (Civil 1985).

¹¹⁴⁹ = *Kirugu* n+2 30' (Löhnert 2009, 355, 359, 370).

or (2) ablative {**ta**} conflated with locative {**a**}, as is well attested in later Sumerian texts (influenced by instrumental {**ta**} = *ina*). Note the same usage of **-ta** in *Eršahūga* 38–42 16' n41, cited above, where it corresponds to Akkadian *eli* “upon.”

Seg. C 16/59

diri nam-ku_s-da

My reading of **nam-ku_s** “curse” rather than **nam-tar** “fate” (so Cavigneaux) is based primarily on the fact that the parallels to the preceding line (Seg. C 15) regularly follow it with a reference to the deity’s curse, although the expression is different (**ki na-aĝ ku_s-ra₂-zu ba-e-de₃-til** : *e-ma ta-at-mu-u tag-ta-mar* “you have finished off the place that you cursed”).

saĝ im-ma^{1?}-an-MUNŠUB

I have no better explanation of this form than Cavigneaux’s proposed reading of **MUNŠUB** as **rig_x** (“he has *given* to me more than (his) curse), although I know of no other indications that **MUNŠUB** can have this value.

¹x¹(-)¹du₁₁¹-ga gur-ru-dam

For this or similar usages of **gur**, cf., e.g., Curse of Agade 99, SP 7.41, MAH 16121 B 4’ (Cavigneaux 2012, 84–85), SP 11.21, LSU 150, 160; see also Attinger 2019j, note to 99.

Seg. C 17/60

gid₂-da dal-e // ¹gid₂-da¹ tu-lu-ra // [gid₂[?]]-i tu-lu-da

The significance of the suffix **-ra** in **D_x** is unclear to me.

Seg. C 18/61

in-duda^{du₂}-e

The spelling of this form with **-e** rather than **-de₃** is unexpected, the term **duda** having a /d/-*Auslaut*, but cf. the variant **ga-bi₂'-ib-duda-e-en**, where the composite form reads **ga-bi₂-ib-duda-de₃-en** in SP 2+6 2.d11 (Seg. D 14; = Alster 1997 6.47).

Seg. C 19/62

ĜEŠ.PA al bi₂-in-du₁₁

The significance of this clause in context is unclear. For staffs (^{ĝeš}**ĝidru**) associated with beating (**duda**), cf. SP 2+6 66 // SP MS 2108 rev. 3.

šu bar-ra bi₂-in-du₁₁

For **du₁₁** with non-finite verbal forms in the locative having the nuance “to command/instruct (s.o.) to ...,” see the comment to Seg. A 9.

Seg. C 20/63

ab-da-SI-A

My translation follows that of Cavigneaux, taking **SI-A** as an unorthographic writing of **sa₂(-a)** (see above, comment to Seg. C 7/50). This is supported by the use of the comitative prefix, which regularly occurs with **sa₂**. Equally possible is **SI.A = diri** (cf. Seg. C 15).

Seg. C 21/64

igi niĝen₂-na-ka

The significance of this expression here in D_x is obscure. Cf. its more sensical occurrence in Seg. C 3.

Seg. C 22/65

ZA-e ḥa-pa-pa-an-pa

My translation, which follows that of Cavigneaux, takes **ZA-e ḥa-pa-pa-an-pa** as an unorthographic writing for **zi ḥa-ba-PA.AN.PA** (present-future of the phrasal verb **zi pa-an/aḡ₂** “to breathe”). For **ZA** as a variant to **zi**, cf. Inana and Ebiḥ 55 Ur₂ (cited in Attinger 2019k, s.v. **zi-pa-aḡ₂**).

Seg. C 23/66

ša₃ gur₃-ra-ne₂

I understand this as an unorthographic writing for **ša₃ gur-ra-ne₂** “his/her being compassionate,” i.e. “his/her compassion.” The referent of the possessive suffix is uncertain, but it more likely refers to the one showing compassion (“his/her compassion”) than to the one who is shown compassion (“compassion for him/her”). Cf. **ša₃ gur-ru** with possessive suffix in Rim-Sin I 23 (RIME 4.2.14.23) 5 and Sin-iddinam E (aka Sin-iddinam15, RIME 4.2.9.15) 27 and note Jaques’s observation that **ša₃ gur(-ru/a)** is usually construed with no patient, and that “la compassion ne désigne donc pas un sentiment porté ‘pour/envers’ quelqu’un, mais une qualité personnelle du dieu” (Jaques 2006, 242).

My tentative interpretation of the line is that the singer asks Utu to be moved by the sufferer’s plight and to cause the personal deity to show him or her mercy.

NAR!²

My proposed reading of NAR!² is based on the partially parallel line in the passage of *Eršahuḡa* 38–42 cited above, along with a potential parallel in another *Eršahuḡa*; in these two passages, the term that would correspond to NAR!² appears varyingly as NIR-mud-da-da and as NAR-a, equated in both cases with Akkadian *ina idipti* “in the wind.” The image in both cases would seem to be that of a reed being held fast despite blowing winds:

***Eršahuḡa* 38–42 18’ (Maul 1988, 215–228)¹¹⁵⁰**

18’ ^gen₃-bar nir-mud-da-da šu mu-^run¹-DAB-^rDAB¹-[be₂-en]
ki-ma qa-ne₂-e ina i-di-ip-ti ^rše/at¹-[...]-x

Maul: “Wie ein Rohr im Winde zerdrü[ckst du mich!] (akk.: [bin ich(?)] zer[drückt!])”

BLMS: “(Sum) Like a trembling(?) *en₃-bar* reed, you grasp me with (your hand) (Akk) Like a reed in a gust, ...”

Lambert 1974, 289–291 27

27 ^gen₃-bar-gen₇ NAR-a¹¹⁵¹ gub-be₂-en i-bi₂ zi bar-mu-un-ši-ib₂
ki-ma ap-pa-ri i[na i-d]i-ip-ti tak-la-an-ni ki-niš nap-lis-an-ni

Lambert: “Like reeds, you held me down in the wind: look with steadfast favor on me.”

The obscure Akkadian term *idiptu* also occurs in *Eršahuḡa* 88 16’–17’, translating the Sumerian KAR-mud-^rda¹ and occurring in parallel to ḡurgu : [tabāš]tānu “excrement”:

***Eršahuḡa* K 4837 + K 4927 (IVR² 22n2; Maul 1988, 331–333) 16’–17’¹¹⁵²**

16’–17’ gud-gen₇ KAR-mud-^rda-ba²¹ e-da-šub

¹¹⁵⁰ Line numbering follows Maul 1988. 18’ = BLMS Ersh. 41 r 5.

¹¹⁵¹ Or possibly NAR-[x]-a. Preserved only in ms D (K 4631 + K 4894 + K 5047 + K 9663 [JNES 33, 319]). Images: CDLI ([P395668](https://cdli.oxfordjournals.org/doi/10.2307/2072268)), JNES 33, 319:



¹¹⁵² Line numbering following Maul 1988. Lines 16’–17’ = BLMS K 04837 + K 04927 o 9’–o 9’a.

18'–19' *ki-ma al-pi* [*ina*] ¹*i*¹-*di-ip-ti-šu*₂ *na-di-ma*
 udu-gen₇ ġurgu-ba ¹*e*-*da*¹-*lu*₃-*lu*₃
 ki-ma im-me-ri ¹*ina*¹ [*ta-ba-aš*₂]-¹*ta*¹-*ni-šu bu-lul-ma*

Maul: “Wie ein Rind liegt er in seinem ‘Wind(?)’! Wie ein Schaf ist er mit seinem Kot besudelt!”

This passage is comparable to *Ludlul* II 106–107 (Lambert 1960, 45–46, 294), which, in place of **KAR-mud-¹da**: *idiptu*, has instead *rubšu* “lair; dung” (CAD R [1999], p. 395).¹¹⁵³ The term *idiptu* is thus usually understood to mean either (a) “wind” or a type sickness (based on the root verb *edēpu*¹¹⁵⁴) (CAD I/J [1960], p. 9), or (b) “dung.”

For the still obscure Sumerian terms **NAR**, **NIR-mud-da**, and **KAR-mud-da** equated with Akkadian *idiptu*, see also Sjöberg 1973b, 47 ad 21 (“wind”; **NAR** read either **lib** or **nar**).

mu-un-DAB-BE₂-BE₂

This form is obscure, and probably represents an unorthographic and/or defective writing. Two potential analyses come to mind, though neither is very convincing: (1) **mu=n=dab=e=(¹a)=be₂** “that one who seized him” or “that one whom he seized” (cf. **šu mu-¹un¹-DAB-¹DAB¹-[be₂-en]** in *Eršahūga* 38–42 18', cited above; the omission of the nominalizing {¹a}, though, would be odd); or (2) **mu=n=da=b=ib₂=e** “he makes them angry with him” (for **BI** in texts from Meturan rendering the sound /bi/, cf. **ḫe₂-bi-bi-de = ḫe₂-bi₂-ib-e₁₁-de₃** in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 44; similar perhaps Cavigneaux: “Ceux contre qui ils étaient fâchés”).

¹¹⁵³ (106) *ina ru-ub-ši-ia a-bit ki al-pi* (107) *ub-tal-lil ki-i* UDU.NITA₂ *ina ta-ba-aš-ta-ni-ia*.

¹¹⁵⁴ *edēpu* = “to blow into (somebody, said of evil spirits), to inflate”; “to blow away (spirit from dead body)” (CAD E [1958], p. 28).

tumu niĝ₂ du₁₀-ga

For **tumu (niĝ₂) du₁₀-ga** “good wind” (*šāru tābu*), see the references cited in Gabbay 2015, 98 ad a+19.

SU ħu-mu-un-TAG-TAG-RU

Verbs with which **tumu (niĝ₂) du₁₀-ga** or *šāru tābu* occurs elsewhere include **ri** : *ziāqu* “to blow”,¹¹⁵⁵ **zi** : *tebû* “to arise; to lift(?)”¹¹⁵⁶; **tum₃** : *tabālu* “to carry off.”¹¹⁵⁷ Particularly relevant for our line may be the reconstructed line in *Eršaḫuġa* 19–20 36 (Maul 1988, 151, 153, 157; BLMS Ersh. 19 r 8, Ersh. 20 r 1’): ‘**tumu**’ **du₁₀-ga ri-a-be₂ aĝ₂** ‘**ħulu**’ [su-ĝu₁₀]-**ta** ‘**bi₂-in’-zi’-[zi]** : ‘*ša₂*’-*ar-ka* ‘*ta-a-bu li-zi-[qa’ ...]*’ ‘*lem*’-*nu ša₂ zu-um-ri-ia* [...], translated by Maul: (Sum.) “Wenn sein guter Wind weht, rei[ßt] er jegliches Bös[e] aus [meinem Körper!]”; (Akk.) “Dein guter Wind möge [für mich] we[hen! Jegliches B]öse meines Körpers [reiße aus!].” However, I can think of no good suggestion for the verbal form in the present line. For lack of a better explanation, one might provisionally understand **-RU** as an error (possibly a graphic error for **tak₄** as a phonetic gloss?), with **-TAG-TAG** representing **-ta₃-ta₃** “to touch” (the verbal prefix /n/ remaining unexplained).¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵⁵ *Eršaḫuġa* 38–42 17’; *Eršaḫuġa* 19–20 36; CTN 4 95 rev. ii 15’

¹¹⁵⁶ *Eršaḫuġa* 19–20 36(?); *Eršaḫuġa* 48 obv. 7–8.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Eršaḫuġa* IVR² 10 rev. 41–42; *Eršaḫuġa* 81 rev. 5–6.

¹¹⁵⁸ If we were to assume instead an unorthographic writing, the only reading for **-TAG-TAG-RU** that comes to mind in which the final **RU** could be explained is **-tuku₅-tuku₅-ru**, corresponding to orthographic **-tukur₂-tukur₂-ru** “to chew” (+{e}), which would make no sense in context.

Seg. C 27/70

tab-us₂

For **tab-us₂** as a possible spelling of **dub-us₂** “second in rank,” cf. the Meturan version of the Death of Gilgameš Seg. F 83 // Seg. F 174 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2000, M 122 // M 213).

APPENDIX II.9 LULAL A (4.11.1)

II.9.1 Editions and Translations

Partial edition (Seg. A 1–8): Pp. 430–434, 447–448, pl. 7, VIII in: Radau, Hugo. 1909. “Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur.” In *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume: Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology Dedicated to Hermann V. Hilprecht upon the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Doctorate and his Fiftieth Birthday (July 28) by His Colleagues, Friends and Admirers*, 374–457. Leipzig: Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung.

Edition: Glenn, Anna and Jeremiah Peterson. 2018. “The Lulal *širgida* Composition CBS 12590 (HAV 5 pl. 7, VIII).” *Archiv für Orientforschungen* 45: 168–181.

II.9.2 Sources

N₁: CBS 12590 (HAV, pp. 374–457, pl.7; photo pl. VIII)

CDLI [P267228](https://cdli.uconn.edu/P267228) (with photo)

Upper left-hand quadrant of a ruled, 2-column tablet.

II.9.3 Text

Segment A

A1

N₁ i 1 ur-saĝ nam-sul-la za₃ dib-ba kala-ga saĝ ge₄-¹a¹
Valiant warrior, supreme in youth, mighty one, unassailable,

A2

N₁ i 2 ^dlu₂-lal₃ ur-saĝ-e-ne-er dib-¹ba¹ ¹kala¹-ga saĝ ge₄-[a]
Lulal, who has surpassed (all) valiant warriors, mighty one, unassailable,

A3

N₁ i 3 ša₃-ta nam-ur-saĝ ni₂ me-lim₄ da-¹da¹-ra-še₃ du₁₁-¹x¹¹⁵⁹
from the womb girt with heroism, fear, and awesome radiance,

A4

¹¹⁵⁹ -ga is expected, but the traces look closer to **du₁₁** (collation courtesy of J. Peterson, personal communication).

N₁ i 4 ^{a2}an-kara₂ mi-tum a₂ me₃ za₃ zu₂-keše₂ ʔAK⁷
who has equipped himself with the ankara-weapon, the mitum-weapon, the “arm of battle,”

A5

N₁ i 5 amar ab₂ ku₃-ga i₃(-)gara₂^{1?1160} mu₇-ʔmu₇¹ / amaš-a gu₂ peš-ʔa¹
calf crying to the pure cow, “Cream!”¹¹⁶¹ whose neck has grown thick in the fold,

A6

N₁ i 6 maš₂-lu-lim niĝ₂-u₂-ma-am kur-ra-ʔka¹ / ga zi-be₂ gu₇-ʔgu₇¹
maš-lulim, who consumes true milk of the wild animal of the mountain,

A7

N₁ i 7 ^dlu₂-lal₃-ĝu₁₀ niĝ₂-u₂-ma-am kur-ra-k[a] / ga zi-be₂ gu₇-ʔgu₇¹
my Lulal, who consumes the true milk of the wild animal of the mountain,

A8

N₁ i 8 ušum a₂-ur₂ sa₆ ninta ʔusu¹ ʔgal¹ [tuku[?]] / kisal-ʔe¹ še₂₆ ʔge₄¹-[ge₄[?]]
dragon with fine limbs, male [having[?]] great strength, roaring against¹¹⁶² the courtyard,

A9

N₁ i 9 [am[?]] dubur un₃-na si-ʔmuš₃¹ ʔsa₆¹-ʔsa₆¹(-)ʔx¹ [x x]
[...] on the high foundation, (having) fine horns, [...],

A10

N₁ i 10 ʔam⁷¹¹⁶³ kuĝ₂ piriĝ am gal a₂ sud-sud kur-ʔra¹ [x (x)]
aurochs⁷¹¹⁶⁴ having a lion-tail, great aurochs, running, [...] in the mountain,

A11

N₁ i 11 usu piriĝ gu₃ mur u₄-ug₂¹¹⁶⁵ ʔu₃¹-[na gub-ba[?]] / ni₂ kur-ra {x} dul-[la]
(having) strength, a roaring lion,¹¹⁶⁶ “lion-storm” re[ady to attack[?]], who [has] covered the foreign land¹¹⁶⁷ with fear,¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶⁰ Or ga^{1?}. Both readings suggested by P. Attinger, personal communication.

¹¹⁶¹ Or “Fat and cream!”

¹¹⁶² Translation suggested by P. Attinger (personal communication), with hesitation as to the actual meaning.

¹¹⁶³ Or gud[?].

¹¹⁶⁴ Or “bull.”

¹¹⁶⁵ Or ug^{uḡ}; both suggestions (and the observation that UD PIRIĜ refers to a single entity) from P. Attinger.

¹¹⁶⁶ Or: “(having) the strength of a lion (lit. “lion-strength), roaring,” (tentative analysis proposed by P. Attinger, personal communication).

¹¹⁶⁷ Or „mountain.“

¹¹⁶⁸ My analysis of ni₂ kur-ra dul-[la] follows the suggestion of P. Attinger.

A12

N₁ i 12 [x] ni₂ TE ušum ad-ba g[u₃[?] di[?]] / kalam-ma šu ur₃-[ur₃-(r)e]
frightening [...], dragon that b[ellows[?]] loudly, that wip[es] out the land,

A13

N₁ i 13 [x x]-[x¹ eme-sig-ga ʾnu₂¹-[x (x)¹¹⁶⁹] / [ĝe^e]šeš-ad igi-ʾte¹-[en x]
 who lie[s] in ambush [for ...]¹¹⁷⁰, who [...] the trap *and (its)* netting,

A14

N₁ i 14 [...] ʾx¹ ʾKA[?] ʾx¹ [...]

About 15–20 lines missing at end of col. i. All of col. ii (about 35–40 lines) missing.

Segment B

About 30–35 lines missing at beginning of col. iii.

B1

N₁ iii 1' DIGIR ʾx¹[...] / [...]

B2

N₁ iii 2' mu(-)ʾNU₁₀[?] ʾ [...] / [...]
 Herdsman[?] [...]

B3

N₁ iii 3' sipa ʾtur¹ [...]
 Junior shepherd [...]

B4

N₁ iii 4' ʾna¹-ʾx¹ [...]

B5

N₁ iii 5' e₂ [...]

Segment C

About 20-25 lines missing at beginning of col. iv.

C1

¹¹⁶⁹ Parallels have **nu₂-a**, but there is probably too much space at the end for just [-a]. Perhaps **n[u₂-nu₂?**]

¹¹⁷⁰ Or “[...] lying in ambush.”

N₁ iv 1' [x (x)] ʔDUMU² ʔx¹ [...]

C2

N₁ iv 2' [ʔ^dʔlu₂¹-lal₃ ʔDUMU² ʔx¹ ʔšum₂¹-[ma[?] ...]
Lulal, ..., given[?] ... [...]

Subscript

ser₃-gid₂-da ʔ^dʔlu₂¹-[lal₃-la-kam]
[It is] a *širgida* [of] Lu[lal].

Top edge

^dʔnisaba¹

II.9.4 Comments

Seg. A 1

nam-sul-la za₃ dib-ba

For the expression **nam-sul-la za₃ dib(-ba)**, see also Ibbi-Suen C 55 (Sjöberg 1970–1971 l. 54), where it refers to Ibbi-Suen, and Uruk Lament Seg. H 4 (Kirugu 12 4), where it refers to Inana in comparison with Utu. The difference in nuance between the tenseless non-finite verbal form **za₃ dib** (“surpassing”) in these examples¹¹⁷¹ and the preterite form **za₃ dib-ba** (“who has surpassed”) in our line is difficult to determine. In general, the form **za₃ dib** occurs much more frequently than **za₃-dib-ba**, but both mean approximately “supreme, surpassing,” and they occur in nearly identical contexts.¹¹⁷²

For the concept of “surpassing in youth” see also the examples with **nam-sul-la diri-g**, among which are several occurrences with reference to Ninurta (Išme-Dagan C 4, Išme-Dagan O 7) and at least one with reference to Inana (Iddin-Dagan A 133 // 227–228 (Attinger 2014 ll. 131//224–225)).

saĝ ge₄

saĝ ge₄ “to block” used as a positive attribute can mean something like “to be inaccessible, unassailable, insurmountable; massive.” Cf. especially Adad-apla-iddina 5 (RIMB 2.8.5) 1, where Enlil is addressed as **ušumgal saĝ ge₄-a** : *ušumgal lā maḥār* “dragon that cannot be confronted”; *Lugale* 83, where a storm is described as **saĝ ge₄-a** : *ša lā immahḥaru* “that cannot be confronted”; and *Lugale* 62, where it is said that Asag’s strength (**kala-ga**) **saĝ im-ge₄** : *uppuqatma* “is

¹¹⁷¹ Written **za₃ dib** in both preserved sources for Ibbi-Suen C 55 (CBS 8526 (photo OrSu 19-20 175) and N 2991 (BPOA 9 156)) and in the one preserved source for Uruk Lament Seg. H 4 (VAT 7761 (VS 10 200)).

¹¹⁷² Cf. especially Nippur Lament 232, where the substantively used **za₃-dib** varies with **za₃-dib-ba** in two sources.

massive.”¹¹⁷³ Cf. perhaps also SEpM 3 4, where **saĝ ge₄-a**, said of an expeditionary army (**kaskal**), can be understood more literally as “blocking off,” but where it is easy to see how the secondary meaning developed.

Seg. A 2

ur-saĝ-e-ne-er dib-ba

The difference in nuance between **dib** in the meaning “to surpass” and **za₃ dib** used in the previous line is difficult to establish. Cf. especially Sadarnuna A 2, where the form **nam-nin-a dib-ba** is comparable to the form **nam-sul-la za₃ dib(-ba)** discussed above. The idea of “surpassing (all) valiant warriors” is similarly expressed using the verb **za₃ dib** in other compositions: *Lugale* 652 (van Dijk 1983a l. 655) **diĝir za₃ dib-ba ur-saĝ-e-ne**; Šu-Suen J (ETCSL 2.4.4.a) 39 **ur-saĝ en para₁₀-para₁₀-ke₄-ne za₃ dib**. A potentially very close parallel is in TH 69 ms G¹¹⁷⁴ obv. 3’, where Sjöberg (1969) reads [...]-gal-la **ur-saĝ-e ne-ni za₃ dib-ba**, and where the corresponding line in ms Ur¹¹⁷⁵ obv. 10 has **nun-zu im-e kur-e ur-saĝ-e / ni₂ ri za₃-dib⁻-ba**. One wonders whether the sign read in ms G as **-ni** could instead be **-er**,¹¹⁷⁶ thus reading **ur-saĝ-e-ne-er?** (with **ur-saĝ-e ni₂ ri** in ms Ur as an auditory error?).

¹¹⁷³ D stative of *epēqu*, usually used to describe of physiological features in omen texts.

¹¹⁷⁴ G = UM 29-16-423 (TCS 3 pl. 28), now joined with CBS 14231 (PBS 13 7) (+) UM 29-16-438 ([P269199](#))

¹¹⁷⁵ Ur = UET 6/1 111 (U 16829) ([P346196](#))

¹¹⁷⁶ The sign looks like NI in the copy, but it occurs on the curve of the edge, at a point where the surface is slightly damaged and an extra vertical might have been overlooked. It is difficult to tell in the cdli photo.

Seg. A 4

This line has been cited in various literature with slight differences in how the end of the line is treated and in whether the non-finite verb is understood as active, with Lulal as subject, or as passive, with the weapons as subject:

a₂-an-kara₂ mi-tum a₂-me₃ za₃-KA-kešda

“der die a.-Waffe, die m.-Waffe, den ‘Arm der Schlacht’, an die Seite bindet” (Römer 1965, 162 ad Z. 56)

a₂-an-kara₂ mi-tum a₂-me₃ za₃-KA-kešda 'x' []

“die a'ankara-Waffe, die Götterwaffe, den Arm der Schlacht, (an) die Seite gebunden .. []” (Wilcke 1969, 219 ad Z. 406)

a₂-an-kar₂ mi-tum a₂-me₃ za₃ ka keš₂-‘x'

“the *ankara*-mace (and) the *mitum*-weapon, (his) arm of battle, bound at his side” (PSD A2 [1994], p. 85, a₂-me₃)

a₂-an-kar₂ mi-tum a₂-me₃ za₃-ka-keš₂-m[e₃']

(ref. to a deity) (PSD A2 [1994], p. 41, a₂-an-kar₂)

Based on the context and the structure of the preceding lines, we can assume, in my opinion, that the line ends in a non-finite verbal form modifying Lulal; I would therefore rule out PSD A2 (1994), p. 41's tentative restoration of **m[e₃]**¹¹⁷⁷ and would take the verbal form as active, with Lulal as subject (with Römer 1965, contra Wilcke 1969 and PSD A2 [1994], p. 85). The traces of the final partially preserved sign comprise the head of a mid-level horizontal, followed by the head of lower horizontal, which would fit well with **AK**. Because of this, together with the facts that **zu₂-keše₂** is well attested with **AK** and that we expect the line to end in a verb, I tentatively read **zu₂-keše₂ A[K]**.¹¹⁷⁸ Preferable would be **A[K-a]**, for “having bound ...,” but there does not appear to be

¹¹⁷⁷ Based presumably on the occurrence of **za₃ zu₂-keše₂ me₃ 'nin-urta-ka-še₃** in *Lugale* 163 and of **zu₂-keše₂ me₃-k** in *Hendursağa A Segment C 64* (Attinger and Krebern timer 2005 l. 265'), and the fact that the traces fit **me₃**.

¹¹⁷⁸ **keše₂-d[a]** or **-r[a₂]**, or perhaps **-r[e]**, would also be conceivable, but to my mind does not fit the traces.

enough space for **-a**, even if written disproportionately close to the preceding sign (cf. the spacing of **amaš-a** in Seg. A 5).

a₂ me₃

One can hesitate whether to take **a₂ me₃** as an epithet for the two previous weapons collectively (the **^aan-kara₂** and the **mi-tum** together constituting Lulal's "arm of battle"), or individually ("arms of battle"). I tend to lean towards the former, but but the latter is equally possible.

za₃ zu(-)keše₂ 'AK²

The expression **za₃ zu(-)keše₂ 'AK²** is difficult to interpret and seems to combine or to confuse two separate phrasal verbs: **zu₂ keše₂-d/r** "to bind, tie; to gather together; to make an agreement" (with thing bound in the absolutive or locative case?) and **za₃ keše₂-d/r** "to bind to the side, to equip oneself with" (with the thing bound in the locative case¹¹⁷⁹). A particular difficulty in our line, in addition to the unusual conflation of the two terms, lies in the fact that neither the weapons nor **za₃** is marked for case. The rection of "surcomposé" verbs (Attinger 1993, 180; 2005 AK II, 214; aka "double compounds," Thomsen 1984, 271), of which **zu₂ keše₂-d/r AK** is an example, can be difficult to sort out even under normal conditions,¹¹⁸⁰ and here the addition of another nominal component, **za₃**, in the reconstructed expression **za₃ + zu₂ keše₂-d/r + AK** further complicates matters. I have no explanation for the apparent presence of two NPs in the absolutive case (weapons and **za₃**), especially given the presumably absolutive relationship between **zu₂-keše₂-d/r** and **AK**. An alternative hypothesis is to understand the entire expression **za₃ zu₂-keše₂** as single

¹¹⁷⁹ Cf., e.g. Inana E 12 and Šulgi X 65.

¹¹⁸⁰ See especially Attinger 2005b, 214–216.

NP, perhaps supported by the difficult passage in *Lugale* 164–165 where the same sequence of signs occurs, but the meaning and grammatical analysis would likewise remain elusive. In either case, a meaning close to “who has equipped himself with (the weapons)” seems likely, based solely on context and on the semantics of the individual words involved.

Seg. A 5

mu₇-mu₇

The most basic meaning of the verb **mu₇** is “to make a noise, to call out,” used also as a substantive “noise, cry.”¹¹⁸¹ Although more frequent subjects are humans and birds, its usage for the sound of a calf would not be problematic: cf. Bird and Fish 42, where **mu₇** indirectly refers to the noises made by bulls and sheep (**gud udu-gen₇ mi-ni-ib-mu₇-e-ne** “they make you [= bird] cry out like a cow and a sheep”). A similar meaning is possibly also intended in OB Nippur Ura 3 106 (MSL 8/1, p. 85), where **udu mu₇ šA₄** appears as the final entry in the **udu**-section, after a sequence of variously colored sheep.¹¹⁸²

Because **mu₇** is thus elsewhere (if sparsely) attested with reference to the noises of livestock, I take it here as referring to the bleating of the calf. The problem with this interpretation, though, is the role of the milk products in the sentence. If **mu₇** is indeed a verb of sound-making, the milk or cream can be analyzed in one of two ways: (1) non-human dative case, yielding something like

¹¹⁸¹ On the different nuances of **mu₇-mu₇** see recently Rendu Loisel 2016, 200–204.

¹¹⁸² Note, though, that the apparently corresponding entry in Ura 13 158 (MSL 8/1, p. 21), which reads **udu mu₇-mu₇-NE** (var. **udu niĝ₂ mu₇-ni-gi-mu₇-MIN (=mu₇)**¹¹⁸²), is instead associated with the extended meaning of **mu₇** “incantation”—appearing 56 lines later than the **udu**-color sequence, among terms connected to prayers and offerings, and equated with *immer āšipi*). DCCLT translates the OB Nippur Ura 3 line as “bleating sheep,” with the note: “The later translation *immer āšipi* suggests that [KA×LI] probably involves incantations in this context.” For the later line, cf. the Ur III administrative reference UET 3 165 5 1 **maš₂ niĝ₂ mu₇-mu₇**, to be understood with Cavigneaux as “un chevreau servant à un rituel exorcistique” (Cavigneaux 1995, 53).

“bleating for (its) cream”—a usage of **mu**₇ without parallel—which would require the beginning of the line to be analyzed as “calf of the pure cow”; or (2) as recently proposed by Keetman, a direct quote serving as direct object of **mu**₇, with **ab**₂ **ku**₃-**ga** in the non-human dative case: “A calf, crying to the pure cow: ‘Butter! Cream!’” (Keetman 2019, 8). The latter interpretation seems to me the most likely.

For a second, more tentative possibility for the meaning of **mu**₇-**mu**₇, see Glenn and Peterson 2018, 175–176 ad obv. i 5.

i₃(-)**gara**₂’?

Milk products (**i**₃ and occasionally **ga** or **gara**₂) of the “pure cow” (**ab**₂ **ku**₃) are mentioned frequently in Sumerian literature, used especially as a ritual substance,¹¹⁸³ as a food offering,¹¹⁸⁴ or used to anoint a deity.¹¹⁸⁵ The imagery of these products as sustenance for a calf is otherwise unattested, as far as I am aware.

amaš

For **amaš**, usually “sheepfold,” associated with cattle, see Kleinerman 2011, 128 and add to her references EWO 255 and Inana and Bilulu 85 (Jacobsen and Kramer 1953 l. 92).

Seg. A 6

maš₂-**lu**-**lim**

¹¹⁸³ E.g., FSB 30 (b); FSB 34 (i)–(j); OB incantation ZA 91, 227–232 19.

¹¹⁸⁴ E.g., Rim-Sin E 15; cf. Hendursaga A 27 (Attinger and Krebern timer 2005 l. 25)

¹¹⁸⁵ E.g., Ninisina B 12.

The term **maš₂-lu-lim** is otherwise attested only in the Gudea Cylinders, written **maš₂-lulim** (Gudea Cyl. B vi 4 (937), vii 5 (964), x 4 (1036); Gudea Cyl. frags. 8+3+5+4 (RIME 3.1.1.7) iv 4'), where it unequivocally refers to a female, milk-producing animal. For a discussion of previous treatments, see Glenn and Peterson 2018, 176 ad obv. i 6–7. In our line, however, a female identity would be unexpected, **maš₂-lu-lim** being used as an epithet for the god Lulal.¹¹⁸⁶ The simplest explanation is that the term designates a particular species or category of animal and is neutral with regard to sex. What exact animal this might have been remains unclear, although we can speculate that it was some kind of goat, deer, or closely related animal (the terms **maš₂** and **lulim** designating a domestic goat and a type of deer, respectively).¹¹⁸⁷

niĝ₂-u₂-ma-am

The term **niĝ₂-u₂-ma-am** is a little-known designation for a type of animal, otherwise attested only in the Emesal form, **aĝ₂-u₂-ma-am**, in the “Manchester Tammuz” (Alster 1992) source CBS 11371 + CBS 11419 + N 3361 + N 3392 + N 6471a + N 7668 + N 7716 obv. ii 3'–5', as identified by J. Peterson (see Glenn and Peterson 2018, 176 with n. 31). The relationship between this term and the far more common **u₂-ma-am** “wild animal” is unclear. It would seem to find parallel in the relationship between **niĝ₂-zi-ĝal₂** and **zi-ĝal₂** both “living beings,” the former more often for animals and the latter more often for people (Tinney 1996, 167–168 ad 218), but **u₂-ma-am** refers exclusively to animals.

¹¹⁸⁶ For a different interpretation, see Glenn and Peterson 2018, 176 with n. 29.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf., perhaps, the little-known compound **maš₂-a-dara₃** in Išme-Dagan S 18 (RIME 4.1.4.8 20), but this may be a variant for the much better-attested **maš₂-a-dara₃** known from Ur III administrative documents, designating a hybrid between a native goat (**maš₂**) and a type of wild goat or ibex (**dara₃**) (see Steinkeller 1995, 54). The possibility of a connection between **maš₂-lu(-)lim** and **maš₂-a-dara₃** was considered already by J. Peterson (personal communication), who pointed out that understanding **maš₂-lu(-)lim** as goat-deer hybrid would be problematic since no such animal exists in the real world.

ga zi

For further examples of gods and rulers being nursed/suckled on **ga zi** “true milk,” see Lämmerhirt 2010: 56.

Seg. A 7

^dlu₂-lal₃-ĝu₁₀

The use of the pronominal suffix **-ĝu₁₀** with a divine name is not particularly common, but also not unknown. It occurs especially in direct speech and appears most frequently as a term of endearment, used, for example, between lovers,¹¹⁸⁸ between father and son,¹¹⁸⁹ and between brother and sister.¹¹⁹⁰ Apparently less intimate examples do also occur, as in our line.¹¹⁹¹

Seg. A 8

ušum a₂-ur₂ sa₆

Compare the difficult lines 15 and 18 in the Emesal prayer BM 86536 (CT 42 3), where **Lulal** appears to be in some way associated with the hands (**šu**) of an **ušum**. The imagined physical features of the **ušum** : *bašmu* creature are not entirely known—and may well have changed over time—but, at least in the first millennium, it is attested with the forelegs of a lion (Pientka-Hinz 2009–2010, 210, §2.1).

¹¹⁸⁸ E.g., Iddin-Dagan A 190 (Attinger 2014 l. 188 ms C); Dumuzi-Inana L 1; Nanna B 59(?).

¹¹⁸⁹ E.g., Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur 321; LSU 370.

¹¹⁹⁰ E.g., Dumuzi’s Dream 20.

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. also, i.a., Ninazu A 3, 22, 28, 31; Gudea Cyl. A iv 10 (97); Nanše C 34.

usu gal [tuku']

My tentative restoration is based on the use of **usu gal tuku** in reference to Nergal in Rim-Sin I 5 (RIME 4.2.14.5) 2 and follows the suggestion of PSD A2 (1994), p. 117, a₂-ur₂ 4.

Seg. A 9

For this line, see the commentary in Glenn and Peterson 2018, 177 ad obv. i 9.

Seg. A 10

a₂ sud-sud

The meaning of the phrasal verb **a₂ sud** in this context is not entirely certain, due primarily to the multivalence of **a₂** as a body part, designating either an upper/front limb or a horn (see especially the discussion in Peterson 2007, 558–567). As Peterson observes, phrasal verbs with **a₂** can be generally divided into two types: those in which **a₂** refers to limbs, on the one hand, and those in which it refers to horns, on the other. Verbs of the former group typically describe the behavior of a human (or deity) or of a bird, while those of the latter group usually describe quadruped behavior. That is, in most phrasal verbs, **a₂** refers to a body part that does not touch the ground (i.e. arms, wings; horns; not forelegs) (see Peterson 2007, 565-566). The verb **a₂ sud**, literally “to spread one’s upper/front limbs,” usually meaning “to flap one’s wings; to fly,” with extended meanings “to run,” “to proceed (quickly)” (*šadāḥu*)¹¹⁹² or “to fly, to move quickly” (said of a cloud or a boat), is thus unusual in its application to a bovine. This would seem to support Peterson’s translation of “goring” rather than the usual “running” or “proceeding,” a translation

¹¹⁹² See PSD A2 (1994), p. 100, a₂—su₃ 1. and lexical section.

based primarily based on the parallelism between **a₂** in this line and **si-muš₃** “horns” in the preceding line (Peterson 2007, 561, n. 2160). Peterson thus understands the image to be that of a bull thrashing its horns, comparable to the motion of a person’s arms pumping while running, of a bird’s wings flapping in flight, or of a boat’s oars beating up and down (Peterson 2007, 565-566). The likelihood of this argument depends largely on whether one understands **a₂** “upper/front limbs” and **a₂** “horns” to represent (1) a single lexeme with a continuous range of meanings, (2) two lexemes that are conflated with one another, or (3) two discrete lexemes. The fact that **a₂ sud** is a regularly recurring phrasal verb with an idiomatic meaning makes it extremely unlikely that **a₂** in our line would represent a different lexeme from **a₂** in other occurrences of **a₂ sud**. Without having done extensive research on the subject, I am initially inclined to treat **a₂** “upper/front limbs” and **a₂** “horns” as distinct lexemes, albeit ones that are sometimes confused with one another (e.g., in the expression **a₂ gur(-gur)-ra**). I therefore provisionally translate **a₂ sud** in our line in the usual meaning, “to run”—either evoking the image of the bounding front legs of an aurochs as it runs or in an extended meaning from its application to people running or to birds flying.

Seg. A 11

gu₃ mur

For **gu₃ mur** (AK) in a similar context to this line, describing the rumbling of a storm, see especially the two parallel passages Eršemma 23.1¹¹⁹³ 28–30 and Eršemma 184¹¹⁹⁴ 25–27, where the god Iškur is described as both a lion (**piriĝ/UG banda₃^{da}**¹¹⁹⁵) and a roaring storm (**u₄ gu₃ mur-**

¹¹⁹³ BM 29631 (CT 15 pl. 15-16) ([P345451](#)); edited in Cohen 1981, 52–54.

¹¹⁹⁴ BM 96927 ([P355665](#)) rev. vi 17–67; edited in Cohen 1981, 57–60.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Eršemma* 23.1 29 has **piriĝ banda₃^{da}** (so Cohen and copy in CT 15 pl. 15–16); *Eršemma* 184 25 appears to have instead **UG banda₃^{da}** (so Cohen; no copy or photo available), read perhaps **piriĝ₃ banda₃^{da}?**

ra / **u₄ gu₃ mu-ra**) (note esp. the syllabic spelling **mu-ra** in Eršemma 184 27). Cf. also **gu₃ mur** **AK** describing a storm in Bur-Suen A 4 and TH 154.¹¹⁹⁶

u₃-[na-gub-ba/bu]

On the phrasal verb **u₃-na gub**, “to stand ready to attack” see most recently Jaques 2004, 225, 2006, 113 n. 254 (“se tenir dans une position pour faire un assaut”). For the restoration ‘**u₃’-[na-gub-ba/bu]** in our line, cf. especially Sin-iqišam A 13 (Sjöberg 1973a l. 11), where **piriĝ** is modified by **me₃-še₃ u₃-na gub-bu**, and Rim-Sin I 2005 (RIME 4.2.14.2005) 4, where **piriĝ** is modified by **šu zi-ga u₃-na gub-ba**. Cf. also LSU 52 and LSU 259, where **u₃-na gub-ba** modifies **am gal** “great wild bull,”¹¹⁹⁷ and note the similar imagery in Inana and Ebiḫ 8, where Inana occurs as the subject of **u₃-na gub** acting “like a great wild bull” (**am gal-gen₇**) and is compared to a lion in the preceding and following lines.

ni₂ kur-ra dul-[la]

Parallels for **ni₂ kur-ra dul-la** “who [has] covered the foreign land with fear,” in which **ni₂** or a similar term appears alone (rather than with a possessive suffix, “whose fear fills ...,” as is more common), occur in: Ibbi-Suen B Seg. A 13 (Sjöberg 1970–1971 l ii 11’); Nuska A Seg. D 19; Ur-Namma F 25//28; Sin-iddinam E 16.¹¹⁹⁸

Seg. A 12

ni₂ TE

¹¹⁹⁶ On the roaring of storms in Mesopotamian literature in general, see Rendu Loisel 2016, 75–80.

¹¹⁹⁷ Probably also in Kusu A 2: **am gal** ‘**en-ki-ke₄ u₃-’na’** [**gub-bu/ba**].

¹¹⁹⁸ The difference between the two expressions was pointed out to me by P. Attinger, personal communication.

The phrasal verb **ni₂ TE** occurs much more frequently with the person affected by the emotion as subject (“to fear”), but it is also attested with a causative meaning (“to frighten”), as is presumably the case here. See the extensive discussion in Jaques 2006, 185–188, 193–195, 196–199 (discussion of the causative use on 187, 199).

ušum ad-ba 'gu₃'₁-[di']

This restoration is suggested in PSD A3 (1998), p. 4 (ad A 2.8 ad-ba gu₃ di “to low, to moo”). The verb **gu₃ du₁₁** with **ad-ba** “aloud, loudly” (literally “in its voice”) is also attested in Šulgi X 94 (said of **gud sumun₂**) and in TH 183 (said of **amar**, in connection to the sound of the *zanaru*-instrument; // **ad-ba sa₆-sa₆**). The verb **gu₃ du₁₁** is not otherwise attested with **ušum**, but it can refer to the noise made by a wide range of subjects, including a snake (**muš-saĝ-kal**) in Šulgi D 289 (see list in Attinger 1993, 530–531).

šu ur₃-[ur₃-re/e']

For the use of **šu ur₃** with the somewhat surprising **kalam** “land (of Sumer),” rather than an enemy land, as object, cf. in Ibbi-Suen B Seg. C 10 (Sjöberg 1970–1971 1a rev. 8') **u₄ kalam-ma šu ur₃-ur₃** “storm that wipes out the land,” describing the destructive power of Meslamtaea and Lugalerra. The same also occurs in LU 198 (**u₄ šu ur₃-ur₃-re kalam i₃-ur₃-ur₃-re**¹¹⁹⁹), but there the destruction of the native land is presented as a tragedy rather a positive symbol of a deity's might.

¹¹⁹⁹ So mss N9 and N43; see Attinger 2019i for variants.

Seg. A 13

eme-sig nu₂

On **eme-sig nu₂** “to lie in ambush,” see Sjöberg 2006, 422–423, n. 39 (**eme-sig-ga nu₂-a** = “to lie in ambush (for somebody)”), where he discusses the lexical equation of **eme-sig** with *šubtu* “ambush.” Cf. also Crisostomo 2014 on OB Izi 254 (**eme-sig** = *šubtum* “encampment”).

A similar image to that in our line occurs in a few other passages in OB literature, always in close connection with the idea of subjugation of enemy lands (**ki-bala**): TH 143 (**eme-sig-ga nu₂-a** “lying in ambush” describing the prince of Kuara); TH 511 (**eme-sig-ga nu₂-a** “lying in ambush” describing Inana’s temple in Ulmaš); and the OB *Balaḡ* to Aruru CTMMA 2 1 5–6: **mu-lu zi-ga-ne₂** ^{mar}**maru** **‘zi’-[ga]** / **mu-lu nu₂-a-ne₂ eme-sig** **‘nu₂’-[a]** “who, when she arises, a storm arises / who, when she lies down, an *ambush is laid*”. A parallel to the latter also appears in a syllabically written passage in a text from OB Kish, OECT 5 10¹²⁰⁰ v 5–v 6: **ᵀa-ru-ru mu-lu ‘nu-a’-ne₂(-)me-si** **‘nu’-a** / **ᵀa-ru-ru mu-lu zi-ga-ne₂** ^{mar}**maru** **zi’-[ga]** “Aruru, who, when she lies down, an *ambush is laid* / Aruru, who, when she arises, a storm arises.”

For other examples of the verb **nu₂** used in connection with traps, nets, and snares, see Sjöberg 2005, 297 ad 8’.

(ḡeš)eš-ad

The precise functioning of the **(ḡeš)eš-ad**¹²⁰¹ device is poorly understood. It can be used in a fairly general context referring to the trapping or restraining of the wicked or an enemy, and a few

¹²⁰⁰ Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227–228.

¹²⁰¹ Or **(ḡeš)es₂(EŠ)-ad**. Note the Ur III plene writing with **-ša-** (FSB 21 (a) 03.01’ // (d) 04.01’: **EŠ-ša-ad**) but later plene writings with **-sa-** (*Erimḡuš* 2 50 (MSL 17, p. 29; DCCLT *Erimḡuš* 2 Seg. 1 53): **EŠ-sa-du**; Ura 6 195 (MSL 6, p. 70) // Murgud A 1 98 (MSL 6, p. 76) // Murgud B 2 43 (MSL 6, p. 79): **ḡešEŠ-sa-du₃**; *Muššu’u* 1 9 (Böck 2007, 95, cited in CAD as CT 17 25 14f.): **ḡešEŠ-sa-ad**).

references attest to specific types of animals it can capture. In Šulgi B 91 (Castellino 1972 l. 92), it is mentioned in connection with the capturing of the “donkey of the steppe” (**anše edin-na**); in Lugalbanda II 121, with the capturing of the “wild-bull of the mountain” (**am kur-ra**) and the “wild-cow of the mountain” (**imma₂ kur-ra**) (with the verb **nu₂**); and in SP 5 Seg. D 58 (Alster 1997 Version B 72 (1)), with the capturing of the wolf (**ur-bar**). In Dumuzi and Ġeštinana 15, it is used alongside other restraining devices to capture Dumuzi (with the verb **šub** “to drop, cast”), and in the Meturan ritual text treated in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 176–195 (“Grand texte contre Namtar”) 11, it is used to capture a type of snake (**muš-saġ-kal**).

I know of no other instances where the ^{ġeš}**eš-ad** is explicitly described as having netting or mesh, although it, along with its Akkadian equivalent *naḥbalu*,¹²⁰² has sometimes been interpreted as a type of net (perhaps due to its use with the verb **šub**?). See, for example, CAD N1 (1980), p. 134, *naḥbalu* “net, snare”; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 186 ad l. 11 “une sorte de filet ou de piège (*naḥbalu*) qu’on jette (*šub*) ou qu’on étend par terre (*nu₂*)”; Katz 2003, 292 ad 15 “net.”¹²⁰³

Seg. B 2

mu-¹NU₁₀¹



The preserved portion of the second sign in the line looks like **KU**, which, following **mu**, nearly always has the value **nu₁₀** for Emesal **mu-nu₁₀** “cowherd” (**unu₃-d** in standard Sumerian). The only apparent reason we would find Emesal here is if a female is speaking, but, if this is the case, it is

¹²⁰² See lexical and bilingual references in CAD N1 (1980), p. 134, *naḥbalu*.

¹²⁰³ Note also that ^{ġeš}**eš-ad** is followed by the item ^{ġeš}**sa-ad** in OB Nippur Ura 1 560–561, in whose name the **sa** element might suggest a type of net. See, however, Veldhuis 1997, 183–184, who argues against this interpretation based on the position of the two items in the OB version of the list.

unclear who the female would be. In the following line, the word **sipa** “shepherd” appears in standard Sumerian (cf. Emesal **sus-ba**).

Top Edge

It is not uncommon for **^dnisaba** inscribed on the top edge of a tablet to have a modern-looking **DIĜIR** sign () while the rest of the tablet has more traditional-looking **DIĜIR**-signs () , as is the case here. Compare, for example: CBS 11325 (PBS 1/1 9) + CBS 11348 + CBS 11362 + CBS 11367 (all BE 29/1 1) + CBS 11388 + N 3357 (BPOA 9 272) (photo BPOA 9 pl. 60-61); UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847 (YNER 3 pl. 1–3, PBS 10/4 3); and UET 6/1 118 = U 7744.

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II.10.1 Editions and Translation

No edition of this text has been published.

II.10.2 Sources

N₁: N 1491 (unpublished)

CDLI: [P276628](https://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/276628) (with photos)

Fragment of an unruled 1-column tablet.

II.10.3 Text

Segment A

A1

N₁ 1 [...] ṛx¹-sa

A2

N₁ 2 [...] ṛx¹ ṛzi¹ ṛġal₂¹-la²-am₃

A3

N₁ 3 [...] <...>

A4

N₁ 4 [...] <...(?)>

A5

N₁ 5 [...] -ṛdam²

A6

N₁ 6 [...] ṛx¹-ṛdam¹

A7

N₁ 7 [...] ṛx¹-ke₄²

¹²⁰⁴ I am grateful to J. Peterson for bringing this hymn to my attention.

A8

N₁ 8 [...]¹x¹ [...] <...(?)>

A9

N₁ 9 [...]¹x MA²¹ [...] <...(?)>

A10

N₁ 10 ¹x¹ [x (x)] ¹x¹ [x x (x)] ¹x¹-be₂

A11

N₁ 11 ¹x x x ¹kur²¹ ¹x¹ [x x] ¹x¹ [(x)] ¹x¹-dam

A12

N₁ 12 ^dmes-lam-ta-¹e₃¹-¹a¹ [...]

N₁ 13–18 *traces*

Unknown number of lines missing from the end of the obverse

Segment B

Unknown number of lines missing from the beginning of the reverse

B1

N₁ 1' [x x x x] ¹a₂¹-ĝa₂¹ [x x]
[...] most powerful [...]

B2

N₁ 2' ¹x¹ [x x] ¹x¹-ra keše₂[?]1205-da[?]
[...] *who* bound[?] [...]

B3

N₁ 3' ^dlugal-¹irra^{1ra} ĝeš[?]rab₃[?] ¹kalam^{1?}[?]¹-ma ¹šu¹ du₇
Lugalirra, neckstock[?] of the land[?], perfect,¹²⁰⁶

B4

N₁ 4' [x] ¹x¹ ¹KIŠ^{ki}-a dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂
[...] *of Kiš*, son of Enlil,

B5

N₁ 5' ^dmes-lam-ta-e₃-¹a¹ en ^dlugal-irra^{ra} / za₃-mim-be₂ maḥ-am₃

¹²⁰⁵ Or **bad₃**.

¹²⁰⁶ Or “who perfects”

Meslamtaea and lord Lugalirra—their praise is grand!

Subscript

ʽser₃ʽ-ʽgid₂ʽ-ʽdaʽ ʽnergal-kam

It is a *širgida* of Nergal.

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APPENDIX II.11 NINISINA A (4.22.1)

II.11.1 Editions and Translations

Edition: Pp. 284–291 in: Römer, W. H. Ph. 1969. “Einige Beobachtungen zur Göttin Nini(n)sina auf Grund von Quellen der Ur III-Zeit und der altbabylonischen Periode.” In *lišān mithurti: Festschrift. Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19. VI. 1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern*, edited by W. Röllig, 279–305. *Altes Orient und Altes Testament* 1. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker.

Edition: Pp. 107–142 in: Römer, W. H. Ph. 2001. *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 276. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Transliteration/Translation: No. 4.22.1 on ETCSL (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=all#>).

Selected Commentary: Pp. 255–257 in: Attinger, Pascal. 2005–2006. Review of *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache*, by W. H. Ph. Römer. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51: 254–257.

Partial Translation (ll. 10–23, 30–42): P. 47 in: Attinger, Pascal. 2008. “La médecine mésopotamienne.” *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* 11–12: 1–95.

Partial Transliteration/Translation (ll. 17–21, 32–35, 37–40, 74–79): Pp. 16–17, 25, 30–31 in Böck, Barbara. 2014. *The Healing Goddess Gula: Towards an Understanding of Ancient Babylonian Medicine*. *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 67. Leiden: Brill.¹²⁰⁷

II.11.2 Sources

N₁: Ni 2483 (SRT 6; obv. photo Kramer 1956 fg. 31)

CDLI: [P345298](https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/P345298) (no photo)

Collations: Kramer 1957, 79–80.¹²⁰⁸

Complete ruled 2-column tablet.

obv.

¹²⁰⁷ See further references to Ninisina A in the Böck’s index, s.v. *Ninisina A* (p. 219) and *SRT 6* and *SRT 7* (p. 220).

¹²⁰⁸ Throughout this appendix, “Kramer” refers to Kramer 1997, unless otherwise stated.

- i 1–38
- ii 39–73
- rev.
- iii 74–110
- iv 111–136

N₂: Ni 2445 (SRT 7)

CDLI: [P345299](https://cdli.ucla.edu/p345299) (no photo)

Collations: Kramer 1957, 80.

Complete ruled 1-column extract tablet, containing the second half of the hymn.

obv.: 64–101

rev.: 102–136

II.11.3 Provisional Transliteration and Translation

The translation included here is provisional. A complete edition, with full translation and commentary, is in preparation and will be included in my future work.

1

N₁ i 1 [... para₁₀] ṛmaḥ¹-a dur₂ ḡar-ra
[...] who has taken her seat upon the grand [dais],

2

N₁ i 2 [... ḥi-li[?]] ṛguru₃¹-ru u₆ di-de₃ gub-ba
[...] laden with [allure[?]], who stands to be marveled at,

3

N₁ i 3 [...^dnin-isin₂(?)]-ṛsi[?]1¹²⁰⁹-na ḥu-ul-ḥu-le-eš₂ si₁₂-ga
[... Ninisi]na[?], blossoming like ...

4

N₁ i 4 [... me[?]] ur₄-ur₄ ḡarza₂ im-pa₃-de₃
[...] who gathers the [*me*'s[?]], reveals the (royal) rites.

¹²⁰⁹ Only a final vertical wedge is preserved, according to the copy. Römer suggests possibly reconstructing ...^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na, which ETCSL follows.

5

N₁ i 5 [(x x) ^dnin-isin₂^{si}]-^rna¹-ke₄ nam-galam-ma gu₂ nam-mi-in-KU
[(...)] Ninisina ... in skillfulness.

6

N₁ i 6 [x x (x)] nam-galam-ma u₂-a me na-ur₄¹-ur₄¹²¹⁰-re
... in skillfulness ... gathers the *me*'s.

7

N₁ i 7 [^d^rnin¹-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ nam-galam-ma u₂-a me na-ur₄¹-ur₄¹-re
Ninisina in skillfulness ... gathers the *me*'s.

8

N₁ i 8 me maḥ šu-še₃ na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
She takes the grand *me*'s into her hands.

9

N₁ i 9 tu₉ gal-e u-gunu₃ im-ma-AK-e enim im-ma-ab-sa₆-ge
She *decorates*¹²¹¹ the great *cloth*.¹²¹² She speaks fine words.¹²¹³

10

N₁ i 10 bulug-KIN-kur₄-ra igi mu-un-si₃-ge
She looks over the lancet;

11

N₁ i 11 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ ĝir₂-zal-e u₃-sar im-ma-AK-e
Ninisina sharpens the scalpel.

12

N₁ i 12 me nam-a-zu šu im-du₇-du₇
She perfectly completes all the *me*'s of medicine.

13

N₁ i 13 dumu-ne₂¹ lugal ĝir₂-si-ra
To her son, the king of Ĝirsi—

14

¹²¹⁰ UR₄ written KIN, here and in line 7. Clear in photo.

¹²¹¹ Lit. “makes (decorative) inlays/incrustations (**u-gunu**₃ = *iḫzētu*) on.”

¹²¹² Or “garment.”

¹²¹³ I.e. prayers? Lit. “makes *words* fine.”

N₁ i 14 ^dda-mu lu₂ sa₆-ga šu-ne₂ ba-ab-šum₂-mu
into the hands of Damu, the good man—she gives them.

15

N₁ i 15 dumu-ĝu₁₀ niĝ₂ nam-^ʾa¹-zu-ka ĝessal^{sal4} ħe₂-em-ma-AK
“My son, you should pay attention to¹²¹⁴ the things of medicine.

16

N₁ i 16 ^dda-mu niĝ₂ nam-a-zu-ka ĝessal^{sal4} ħe₂-em-ma-AK
Damu, you should pay attention to the things of medicine.”

17

N₁ i 17 ^{tu9}bar-si-ge šu im-ma-an-ti šu im-gur-gur-re
After taking the *barsig*-cloth, she *wraps up* (the wound).

18

N₁ i 18 ^{tu9}bar-si i₃-li₂-e im-ma-AK-e
She treats the *barsig*-cloth with *ili*-oil.¹²¹⁵

19

N₁ i 19 im al du₁₁-ga im(-)ku₇-ku₇-e
*She ...*¹²¹⁶ *the required clay.*

20

N₁ i 20 uš₂ lugud-e šu im-šu₂-ur-šu₂-ur-re
She *wipes off* the blood and pus.

21

N₁ i 21 sim_y(GIG.GIG)¹²¹⁷-ma šu(-)BIL mu-na-AK-e
She ... the wounds for him.

22

N₁ i 22 nin-ĝu₁₀ ša₃-zu ama kalam-ma-ka
My lady is the *midwife and* mother of the land.

23

N₁ i 23 a-zu gal saĝ gegge-ga-kam

¹²¹⁴ Lit. closer to “let (your) attention be given to,” following Attinger 2008, 47 “puisse (ton) attention se concentrer sur.”

¹²¹⁵ For this reading, see Attinger 2005–2006, 255 ad L. 18.

¹²¹⁶ Lit. “makes sweet”?

¹²¹⁷ For the reading GIG.GIG (reduplicated **sim**_x) as **sim**_y, see Attinger 2019k, s.v. **sim**_x(GIG)-ma

She is the great physician of the black-headed people!

24

N₁ i 24 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na dumu an-na-ke₄
Ninisina, the child of An,

25

N₁ i 25 dumu-ne₂ lugal ĝir₂-si-ra
to her son, the king Ĝirsi—

26

N₁ i 26 ^dda-mu lu₂ sa₆-ga šu-ne₂ ba-ab-šum₂-mu
into the hands of Damu, the good man—gives (these things).

27

N₁ i 27 dumu-ĝu₁₀ niĝ₂(-)^{nam}(-)^a-zu-ka ĝessal^{sal₄} ħe₂-em-ma-AK
“My son, you should pay attention to the things of medicine.

28

N₁ i 28 ^dda-mu niĝ₂ ^{nam}-a-zu-ka ĝessal^{sal₄} ħe₂-em-ma-AK
Damu, you should pay attention to the things of medicine.

29

N₁ i 29 eš-bar kiĝ₂-ĜA₂ za₃-mim mi-ri₂-in-du₁₁
You are praised¹²¹⁸ for (your) sought-out decisions!”

30

N₁ i 30 ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na ^{nam}-isib mu-na-AK-e
Pure Ninisina carries out the office of *isib*-priest for him (Damu).

31

N₁ i 31 ^den-ki-ke₄ abzu eridu^{ki1219}-ta / saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-^{rig}₇¹
Enki bestowed it on her from the Abzu, from Eridu.

32

N₁ i 32 ša₃ ge₁₇ libiš ge₁₇ lu₂-lu₇^{ra}₁ mu-^{na}₁-^{TE}₁-A-ra
After the afflicted heart and the afflicted stomach have approached a person,

33

¹²¹⁸ Lit. “one has praised you.”

¹²¹⁹ **ki** is confirmed by the photo (closer to **na** in the handcopy; cf. ETCSL **nun-na-ta**).

- N₁ i 33 lu₂-lu₇-be₂ muš ki-bil₂-^rgen₇¹ i-im-bala-bala-e
that person curls up like a snake *in* a scorched place.
- 34**
N₁ i 34 muš ki-Uš₂-a-gen₇ E-^rNE¹ DAG i₃-si-il-e
He/she *hisses* like a snake in a wasteland.
- 35**
N₁ i 35 ša₃-ġu₁₀ libiš-ġu₁₀ bil₂-la-be₂ im-me
“My heart! My stomach!” he/she says feverishly
- 36**
N₁ i 36 nin-ġu₁₀ nam-isib-^re¹ šu gal mu-un-du₇-du₇
My lady has fully accomplished the office of *isib*-priest.
- 37**
N₁ i 37 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ tu₆ bi₂-in-du₁₁ ba-sa₆
After Ninisina has spoken an incantation formula, *and it is good*,¹²²⁰
- 38**
N₁ i 38 i₃-nun-e nam-šub ba-an-si₃
and has uttered an incantation over the ghee,
- 39**
N₁ ii 1 bur gal-la-na ma-ni-in-de₂
and has poured it into her great bowl,
- 40**
N₁ ii 2 šu se₂₅-da-na nam-ma-an-DU
and has *brought* it in her cool hands (*to the patient*),¹²²¹
- 41**
N₁ ii 3 lu₂-lu₇-be₂ tumu-gen₇ su-a-na / im-ma-an-di-ni-ib-e₃-de₃
she is able to make (the ailment) go out (from) within that person’s body like a wind!¹²²²
- 42**
N₁ ii 4 izi ^ua-ZI+ZI.ŠE₃ zi-zi-da-gen₇ / ni₂-ba mu-un-te-en-te-en
Like a fire *that has sprung up in the* ...-plants, it goes out on its own!

¹²²⁰ Or “he is made well.”

¹²²¹ To apply to the wound/disease.

¹²²² Or “as if (blown away by) a wind.”

43

N₁ ii 5 diġir nam-lu₂-lu₇ siškur₂ a-ra-zu-a / mu-na-an-su₈-su₈-ge-eš
 The (personal) deities of people stand before her in offering-prayers and supplication.

44

N₁ ii 6 enim-be₂-da an-ra ^den-lil₂-ra
 (45) Pure Ninisina, in *her* lofty place, brings (44) their words¹²²³ before An and Enlil.

45

N₁ ii 7 ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na ki maḥ-a-na / mu-un-ne-de₃-en-ku₄-ku₄

46

N₁ ii 8 ^dudug ḫulu ^dlamma ḫulu **lu₂-ra** šub-ba
 The evil *udug*-demon and the evil *lamma*-demon that have fallen upon a person,

47

N₁ ii 9 ^ddim₃-me ^ddim₃-A-be₂ ku₄-ra ḡe₆-u₃-na
 the *dimme*-demon and the *dima*-demon that have entered by night,

48

N₁ ii 10 nam-tar a₂-sag₃-ga lu₂-ra nu-e₁₁-de₃
 the *namtar*-demon *and* the *asag*-demon that *will not leave the person*—

49

N₁ ii 11 lu₂-ra su₈-ge-eš u₃ mu-ni-ib-kar
 they stand before the person; sleep is driven away.

50

N₁ ii 12 diġir niġ₂ mu-un-ni-ra-a-ne₂
 The deity that has beaten him/her,

51

N₁ ii 13 saġ-ġu₁₀-a ba-an-di-ni-ib-šub-{RU}-ba
 “the one who on my head”—

52

N₁ ii 14 lu₂-be₂ ensi-ra mu-un-pa₃-de₃ / egir-ra mu-un-zu-zu
 that person *reveals* to the dream-interpreter, (*so that*) *he/she will know the future (i.e. the prognosis)*.

¹²²³ Lit. “enters with their words.”

53

N₁ ii 15 lu₂-lu₇ nam-tar um-ma-an-điri-ga
 The person, when the *namtar*-demon has overcome him/her,

54

N₁ ii 16 ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na siškur₂ mu-na-ab-be₂ / a-ra-zu mu-na-ab-be₂
 makes offering-prayers and supplications to pure Ninisina:

55

N₁ ii 17 nin-ĝu₁₀ ka-tar DU ZA ZA im-DU-DU
 “My lady, praise ...”

56

N₁ ii 18 tu₆-zu lu₂-ra mu-un-ta-e₁₁-de₃
When your incantation descends upon a person,

57

N₁ ii 19 sul diĝir tuku ħe₂-em-mu-un-AK
 he/she *is* treated¹²²⁴ as a youth with a (personal) deity.

58

N₁ ii 20 egir-ba šu-si-zu u₃-mu-ne-ur₃
 Then, after you have stretched your finger *over him/her*,

59

N₁ ii 21 ni₂-zu me-teš₂-e ši-im-i-i
 He/she praises you, *yourself*!

60

N₁ ii 22 mu-zu du₁₀-ge-eš-e im-pa₃-de₃
 He/she favorably invokes your name!

61

N₁ ii 23 nin-ĝu₁₀ ni₂-te-na ki mu-un-kiĝ₂-kiĝ₂-e
 My lady, *on her own*, seeks fervently.

62

N₁ ii 24 niĝ₂ nu-si-ge en₃ nam-ši-in-tar
 She has given her concern to the thing that no one (otherwise) ...

¹²²⁴ Or deontic {ħe₂}: “Your incantation descends...; let him/her be treated....”

63

N₁ ii 25 niĝ₂ nu-dim₂-me-de₃ ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-ga-ne₂ na-an-gub
 She has turned her attention to the thing that no one (otherwise) *can create*.

64

N₁ ii 26 nam-nu-u₈-ge₁₇-e ħi-li im-ma-an-¹x¹
 N₂ 1 nam-nu-¹u₈¹-ge₁₇-e ħi-li im-ma-an- [...]

She ... the office of *nugig* ...

65

N₁ ii 27 lu₂ nin-ĝu₁₀ me ĝar-ĝar-ra-**be**₂ šu ba-ra-an-ti
 N₂ 2 lu₂ nin-ĝu₁₀ me ĝar-ĝar-ra-**ba** šu ba-ra-an- [...]

My lady took all of its established *me*'s.

66

N₁ ii 28 u₄-ba unu₇ subi nu-ĝal₂-la-am₃
 N₂ 3 u₄-ba unu₇ subi nu-ĝal₂-la- [...]

Now at that time, there was no *šuba*-stone jewelry,

67

N₁ ii 29 unu₇ subi gu₂-a nu-ĝal₂-la-am₃
 N₂ 4 unu₇ subi gu₂-a nu-ĝal₂-la- [...]

there was no *šuba*-stone jewelry on the neck,

68

N₁ ii 30 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ ENIM-e bi₂-**in**-si₃-ge
 N₂ 5 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ ENIM-e bi₂-**ib**-[...]

and Ninisina *put it into words*.¹²²⁵

69

N₁ ii 31 subi na-ur₁₁-ru nuĝun-e-eš na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
 N₂ 6 subi na-ur₁₁-ru nuĝun-e-eš na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂

She sows with the *šuba*-stones; *she* lays them down like seeds.

¹²²⁵ I.e. invented it?

70

N₁ ii 32 in-nin₉ **nu-ge**₁₇ gal an-na-ke₄
 N₂ 7 in-nin₉ **nu-u₈-ge**₁₇ gal an-na-ke₄

The lady, the great *nugig* of heaven,

71

N₁ ii 33 unu₇ subi ENIM-e bi₂-ib-si₃-ge
 N₂ 8 unu₇ subi ENIM-e bi₂-ib-si₃-ge

put the *šuba*-stone jewelry *into words*.

72

N₁ ii 34 še-er-zi e₃-de₃ za₃ keše₂-de₃-de₃
 N₂ 9 še-er-zi e₃-de₃ za₃ keše₂-de₃-de₃

In order to make radiance come forth, in order to *gird it on*,

73

N₁ ii 35 ^{si}asila₃^{la₂} saĝ-ĝa₂^{?1226} mu-ni-ĝal₂
 N₂ 10 ^{si}asila₃^{la₂} saĝ-ĝa₂ mu-ni-ĝal₂

she placed *it* (*the šuba-stone jewelry*) *joyfully*¹²²⁷ on the head.

74

N₁ iii 1 ŠAR₂ ki-sikil li-li ĝa₂-ĝa₂-de₃
 N₂ 11 ʾLUGAL¹²²⁸ ki-sikil li-li ĝa₂-ĝa₂-de₃

In order to establish progeny *for ... the young women*,

75

N₁ iii 2 ^{dug}silā₃-ĝar-ra-ke₄ si sa₂-e-de₃ ^{ge}¹²²⁹dur ku₅-de₃ nam tar-re-de₃
 N₂ 12-13 ^{dug}silā₃-ĝar-ra-ke₄ si sa₂-e-de₃ // ^{ge}dur {x} ku₅-de₃ nam tar-re-de₃

to prepare the *silaĝarak*-vessels, to cut the (umbilical) cord, to determine the fate,

76

¹²²⁶ Kramer 1957: probably erased ĝa₂, not in copy.

¹²²⁷ Or “placed joy.”

¹²²⁸ The usual reading here, Šar₃, is possible, but against it are the fact that ms N₂ generally seems more reliable than ms N₁ (cf., e.g., lines 68, 76) and that Šar₂ ki-sikil makes little sense.

¹²²⁹ ge written over erasure.

N₁ iii 3 ġeš₃ig niġar^{ġar}-ra-ke₄ sa₂ us₂-u₃-de₃ / UM ki ra-ra-de₃
 N₂ 14 ġeš₃ig niġar^{ġar}-ra-ke₄ šu₂ us₂-u₃-de₃ UM ki ra-ra-de₃

to push (open) the door of the *niġar*, to ...,

77

N₁ iii 4 dumu lu₂ ur₂-ra da an-ri¹-ri / gu₃ ʾnun¹ sud-sud-de₃
 N₂ 15 dumu lu₂ ur₂-ra da an-ri-ri gu₃ nun sud-sud-de₃

in order to *make* the child *who is protected in the lap cry*,¹²³⁰

78

N₁ iii 5 ša₃ ki-še₃ ġa₂-ġa₂-de₃ saġ šu-bala AK-de₃
 N₂ 16 ša₃ ki-še₃ ġa₂-ġa₂-de₃ saġ šu-bala AK-de₃

to set (its) heart towards the ground, to *turn it upside down*,

79

N₁ iii 6 nam-nu-u₈-ge₁₇ zi KI IN NE EN / (-)tukum DI(-)DE₃ IM DI luḥ-e-de₃
 N₂ 17 nam-nu-u₈-ge₁₇ zi KI IN NE EN (-) tukum DI(-)DE₃ IM DI ʾluḥ¹-e-de₃

... *nugig*-ship ..., to wash ...,

80

N₁ iii 7 me gal-gal-e pa-e₃ u₃-bi₂-AK
 N₂ 18 me gal-gal-e pa-e₃ u₃-bi₂-AK

after having made all the great *me*'s appear gloriously,

81

N₁ iii 8 nin-ġu₁₀ me(-)AR₂(-)si na-an-ga-am₃-ʾdu₁₁¹
 N₂ 19 nin-ġu₁₀ me(-)AR₂(-)ʾsi¹ na-an-ga-an-du₁₁

my lady *spoke*

82

N₁ iii 9 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ silim zi-de₃-eš na-e
 N₂ 20 ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-ke₄ silim zi-de₃-eš na-e

Ninisinā praised herself rightly:

¹²³⁰ Lit. "to extend its powerful voice."

83

N₁ iii 10 nin munus sul a₂ maḥ^den-lil₂-la₂-me-en
 N₂ 21 nin munus sul a₂ maḥ^den-lil₂-la₂-me-en

“I am the lady, the youthful woman, the enormous strength of Enlil!

84

N₁ iii 11 munus sa₆-ga^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-me-en dumu an ku₃-ga-me-en
 N₂ 22 munus sa₆-ga^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-me-en dumu an ku₃-ga-me-en

I am the beautiful woman, Ninisina, I am the child of pure An!

85

N₁ iii 12 [...] lugal **aia** diġir-re-e-ne
 N₂ 23 aia-ġu₁₀ an lugal **sipa** diġir-re-e-ne

My father An, the king, the shepherd¹²³¹ of the gods,

86

N₁ iii 13 KALAM-e ʾpara₁₀¹ ku₃-ga ba-e-tuš
 N₂ 24 KALAM-e para₁₀ ku₃-ga ba-e-tuš

has seated himself on the pure dais *for the land*.¹²³²

87

N₁ iii 14 ama-ġu₁₀ ^duraš ʾnin¹ diġir-re-e-ne
 N₂ 25 ama-ġu₁₀ **an** ^duraš nin diġir-re-e-ne

My mother, Uraš, lady of the gods,

88

N₁ iii 15 an-ʾda¹ ki-nu₂ ku₃-ga ša₃ kuš₂-u₃ // e-ne-su₃-ud gal ba-e-du₁₁
 N₂ 26 an-da ki-nu₂ ku₃-ga ša₃ kuš₂-u₃ e-ne-su₃-ud gal ba-e-du₁₁

who takes intimate counsel with An in the pure bed, copulated (with him) greatly.

89

¹²³¹ So N₂, N₁: “father.”

¹²³² Or: “*for the people*.”

N₁ iii 16 ki ulutim₂-ĝu₁₀ an ku₃ ki sikil
 N₂ 27 ki ulutim₂-ĝu₁₀ an ku₃ ki sikil

My birth-place (*is*) pure heaven and pristine earth!

90

N₁ iii 17 e₂-ĝu₁₀ e₂ i₃-si-in-**na** bulug an ki
 N₂ 28 e₂-ĝu₁₀ e₂ i₃-si-in^{ki} bulug an ki

My house, the house of Isin, the *axis* of heaven and earth,

91

N₁ iii 18 ter ʾšem¹ ʾĝeš¹eren¹²³³-na ir-be₂ nu-gul-e
 N₂ 29 ter šem ʾĝeš¹eren¹²³⁴-na ir-be₂ nu-gul-e

a fragrant cedar forest whose scent cannot be destroyed,

92

N₁ iii 19 ʾša₃¹-be₂ kur []-ĝal₂-la ki us₂-sa
 N₂ 30 ša₃-be₂ kur ĥe₂-ĝal₂-la ki us₂-sa

its interior a mountain *of* abundance, *founded on the earth*—

93

N₁ iii 20 ʾe₂¹-ĝu₁₀ kur delmun^{ki} nu-me-a ʾĝeš¹ĝešnimbar-ta ba-an-du₂
 N₂ 31 e₂-ĝu₁₀ kur delmun^{ki} nu-me-a ʾĝeš¹ĝešnimbar-ta ba-an-du₂

my house, when the land of Dilmun did not (yet) exist, was created from the date-palm!

94

N₁ iii 21 i₃-si-in^{ki} kur delmun^{ki} nu-me-a ʾĝeš¹ĝešnimbar-ta ba-an-du₂
 N₂ 32 i₃-si-in^{ki} kur delmun^{ki} nu-me-a ʾĝeš¹ĝešnimbar-ta ba-an-du₂

Isin, when the land of Dilmun did not (yet) exist, was created from the date-palm!

95

N₁ iii 22 zu₂-lum-be₂ ʾgada-maḥ ʾĝeš¹ la₂-gen₇ kuru₁₃-še₃ ʾba-[]-ʾdub¹
 N₂ 33 zu₂-lum-be₂ gada-maḥ ʾĝeš la₂-a-gen₇ ʾkuru₁₃¹-še₃ ba-an-dub

¹²³³ Copy has SA₆, but collated as EREN by Kramer.

¹²³⁴ Copy has SA₆.

Its dates, like fine linen ... , were piled up into a heap!

96

N₁ iii 23 ^da-nun-na diĝir gal-gal-e-ne mu-da-gu₇-u₃-ne

N₂ 34 ^da-nun-na diĝir gal-gal-e-ne mu-da-gu₇-u₃-ne

The Anuna, the great gods eat with me.

97

N₁ iii 24 ʽe₂¹-ĝu₁₀ silim-ʽma¹ ʽgiri₁₇¹-zal ki ulutim₂ kalam-ma

N₂ 35 e₂-ĝu₁₀ **ki** silim-ma giri₁₇-zal ki ulutim₂ kalam-ma

My house (*is*) a place *of* wellness *and* profusion, the birth-place of the land!

98

N₁ iii 25 ĝe₆-u₃-na iti₆-gen₇ ma-e₃

N₂ 36 ĝe₆-u₃-na iti₆-gen₇ ma-[]

By night it shines forth for me like moonlight!

99

N₁ iii 26 an-bar₇-GANA₂ u₄ zalag-gen₇ ma-e₃

N₂ 37 an-bar₇-GANA₂ u₄ zalag-gen₇ ma-[]

By morning it shines forth for me like bright daylight!

100

N₁ iii 27 ĝešdana₃-ĝu₁₀ en ^dpa-**bil**₂-saĝ dumu ^den-lil₂-ke₄

N₂ 38 ĝešdana₃-ĝu₁₀ en ^dpa-**bil**-saĝ dumu ^den-ʽlil₂¹-[]

My spouse, lord Pabilsaĝ, son of Enlil,

101

N₁ iii 28 ša₃-ba e-ne(-)AD-be₂ mu-da-an-nu₂ / ki-nu₂ mu-ni-ib-du₁₀-ge

N₂ 39 ša₃-ba e-ne(-)ʽx¹²³⁵-be₂ mu-un-da-nu₂ ki-nu₂ [...]

after he has lain down with me ... inside it, “makes the bed sweet” there.

¹²³⁵ AD or ZE₂ is possible, according to the handcopy.

102

- N₁ iii 29 i₇-ġu₁₀ i¹kir₁₁-sig ħe₂-ġal₂ gu₇-e / GIG(-)šE₃¹²³⁶ ba-ʾKU¹-la₂¹²³⁷
 N₂ r1 i₇-ġu₁₀ i¹kir₁₁-sig ħe₂-ġal₂ gu₇-e GIG(-)ʾšE₃¹ [...]

My river, the Kirsig that *lets (people)* eat plenty, *that* ...—

103

- N₁ iii 30 ša₃-ba a NI-le ma-ra-il₂-il₂
 N₂ r2 ša₃-ba a NI-le [...]

in its interior, the flowing water rises for me.

104

- N₁ iii 31 gu₂-gu₂-be₂ ʾlal₃¹ ġeštin ba-an-mu₂ maš₂-be₂ ma-sud-e
 N₂ r3 gu₂-gu₂-be₂ ʾlal₃ ʾġeštin¹ ba-an- [...]

Its banks let syrup and wine grow there and make their yield expand for me.

105

- N₁ iii 32 kur gal ^den-lil₂-le ša₃-ga-ne₂ um-ma-an-ħu-luħ-a-ta
 N₂ r4 kur gal ^den-lil₂-le ša₃-ga-ʾne₂¹ [...]-ħu-luħ-**ħa**-a-ta

Enlil, after his heart grew afraid¹²³⁸

106

- N₁ iii 33 kur-da saġ-ki um-ma-da-an-gid₂
 N₂ r5 kur-da saġ-ki um-ma-da- [...]

and he grew angry with the mountain,

107

- N₁ iii 34 ki-bala-da nam im-ma-da-an-kus
 N₂ r6 ki-bala-da nam im-ma-da- [...]

cursed the rebel land.

108

- N₁ iii 35 ki-bala kur saġ-ki gid₂-da-ne₂-še₃
 N₂ r7 ki-bala kur saġ- [...]

¹²³⁶ Read possibly **kib₃ zi₃(šE₃)** or **kib₃ ziz₂(Aš₂)**?

¹²³⁷ Read possibly **ba-dul^sʾ-la₂**?

¹²³⁸ Lit. “*he made his heart afraid*”?

Against the rebel lands *and* the foreign lands at which he is angry

109

N₁ iii 36 aia-ĝu₁₀ ^den-lil₂-le im-ma-ši-in-ge₄-ge₄
N₂ r8 aia-ĝu₁₀ ^den-lil₂-l¹le¹ [...] -ge₄

my father Enlil sends *me*.

110

N₁ iii 37 munus sul-me-en ur-saĝ kala-ga-me-en / ĝe₂₆-e-me-en im-ši-du-un
N₂ r9 munus sul-me-en ur-saĝ [...]]-ši-du-un

I, being the young woman, being the mighty valiant warrior, go against it.

111

N₁ iv 1 sipa ki-bala-l¹ba¹ ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-ga-na / im-ma-ni-ib-dib-be₂
N₂ r10 sipa ki-bala-ba ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-[...]]-dib^{1?1239} -be₂

I let the shepherd(s) of those rebel lands pass *out of his*¹²⁴⁰ *memory*.

112

N₁ iv 2 ka u₃-mu-da-an-tar KA u₃-mu-da-an-si
N₂ r11 ka u₃-mu-da-an-tar [...]]

After *praises have been sung*¹²⁴¹ *before me*, after ... *before me*,

113

N₁ iv 3 e-ne-ra ĝeš-tu⁹ ĝeštu-ga u₃-mu-na-ni-in-u₁₈-lu
N₂ r12 e-ne-ra ĝeš[...]]

after *he has been* forgotten,

114

N₁ iv 4 iri l¹ba¹-hulu-l¹a¹-l¹ba^{1?1242} lu₂ nu-mu-un-ši-zu-zu
N₂ r13 iri l¹ba¹-hulu-l¹a¹-[...]]

in those[?] cities that were destroyed, no one *knows him*.

¹²³⁹ Collated by Kramer as LU. Not in copy.

¹²⁴⁰ Enlil's? Or "one's" (impersonal)? (cf. ll. 111–113).

¹²⁴¹ Third-person impersonal with passive meaning? Or anticipation of **lu₂** in 114?

¹²⁴² Kramer: may be BA over erasure.

115

N₁ iv 5 sipa-be₂ u₂ gu₇-a-na lu₂ nu-mu-ši-pa₃-de₃
 N₂ r14 sipa-be₂ [...]

As that shepherd eats food, no one *calls* to him.

116

N₁ iv 6 a-gen₇ u₃-[X¹]-[X¹] buru₁₄-gen₇ [u₃¹]-[...] -[X¹]
 N₂ r15 a-gen₇ u₃-mu-[...] -gen₇ [...]]

After [...] like water, after [...] like the harvest,

117

N₁ iv 7 še-gen₇ ġeš^šbad-ra₂ šu um-ma-ni-[ti¹]
 N₂ r16 še-gen₇ ġeš^rbad¹-[...]] um-ma-[...]]

after *I have* has taken him like barley (on) a threshing sledge,

118

N₁ iv 8 izi-gen₇ ^u₂numun₂-bur-gen₇ e-ne um-ma-an-la₂
 N₂ r17 izi-gen₇ ^u₂numun₂-bur-gen₇ e-ne um-ma-an-[]

after *he has been (treated) like numun-bur-rushes burned by fire*,

119

N₁ iv 9 ġeš^štukul sag₃-ge saġ ġeš ra-ra-ġu₁₀
 N₂ r18 ġeš^štukul sag₃-ge saġ ġeš ra-ra-ġu₁₀

(*concerning*) my beating him and striking him with a weapon,

120

N₁ iv 10 aia-ġu₁₀ ^den-lil₂-ra nibru^{ki}-še₃ / enim ga-mu-na-ab-[DU¹]
 N₂ r19 aia-ġu₁₀ ^den-lil₂-ra nibru^{ki}-še₃[!] enim ga-mu-na-ab-DU

let me bring word to my father, Enlil, in Nippur.

121

N₁ iv 11 nin {nam} me ħuš-a [...]]-me-en
 N₂ r20 nin me ħuš-a dur₂ ġar-ra-me-en

I am the lady who has taken a seat on the fearsome *me* 's!

122

N₁ iv 12 an ku₃-ta nam-isib šum₂-ma-me-en
 N₂ r21 an ku₃-ta nam-isib šum₂-ma-me-en

I am the one given the office of *isib* from pure *An/heaven*!

123

N₁ iv 13 e₂-gal-ta niĝ₂-saĝ zi-ga-me-en
 N₂ r22 e₂-gal-ta niĝ₂-saĝ zi-ga-me-en

I am the one who has raised the *first-fruits* from the palace!

124

N₁ iv 14 para₁₀ maḥ-ta [...] ʾti¹-a-me-en
 N₂ r23 para₁₀ maḥ-ta me šu ti-a-me-en

I am the one who received the *me*'s from the grand dais!

125

N₁ iv 15 ʾpiš₁₀¹-ʾĝal₂¹ gaba-ĝal₂ an []-a-me-en
 N₂ r24 piš₁₀-ĝal₂ gaba-ĝal₂ an uraš-a-me-en

I am the strong one, the mighty one of *An and Uraš*!¹²⁴³

126

N₁ iv 16 ʾnin¹ [...]-e-ne-me-en
 N₂ r25 nin gal diĝir-re-e-ne-me-en

I am the great lady of the gods!

127

N₁ iv 17 ʾni₂¹-ĝu₁₀ ḥuš[?]-am₃ kalam-ma mu-ʾun¹-ri
 N₂ r26 ni₂-ĝu₁₀ ḥuš[?]-a kalam-ma mu-un-ri

Fear of me, which is furious[?], *is instilled* in the land.

128

N₁ iv 18 **su-lim**-ĝu₁₀ kur-kur-ra []-im-ʾri¹
 N₂ r27 **su-zi**-ĝu₁₀ kur-kur-ra ši-im-ri

¹²⁴³ Or ^d**uraš-a** “of Uraš.”

Terror of me¹²⁴⁴ *has been imposed* upon the enemy lands.

129

N₁ iv 19 a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ []-mu-un-ši-ʽzu¹-ʽzu¹
N₂ r28 a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ nu-mu-un-ši-zu-zu

No one *can learn* my command.

130

N₁ iv 20 munus-me-en ur-saĝ-me-en sul-la-me-en / a₂ -ʽĝal₂¹ kalam-ma-me-en
N₂ r29 munus-me-en ur-saĝ-me-en sul-la-me-en a₂-ĝal₂ kalam-ma-me-en

I, the woman, I, the valiant warrior, I, the youth, I, the mighty one of the land—

131

N₁ iv 21 an mu-bu-ʽum¹-ʽgen₇¹ mu-da-gurum-e-en
N₂ r30 an mu-bu-um-gen₇ mu-da-gurum-e-en

I am able to make the heavens bow down like a *mubum*-tree,

132

N₁ iv 22 **ki** a-ĝe₆-ʽgen₇¹ mu-ʽda¹-RU-RU
N₂ r31 **ki-a** a-ĝe₆-gen₇ mu-da-RU-RU

I am able to *crash down* on the earth like a flood-wave!

133

N₁ iv 23 ĝeš³rab kalam-ma uĝ₃ šu RI-RI-me-en
N₂ r32 ĝeš³rab kalam-ma uĝ₃ šu RI-RI-me-en

I am the neck-stock of the land that clamps down on the people!

134

N₁ iv 24 **mer-gen₇ DU** uĝ₃-še₃ ša₃ ħuĝ-ʽe¹
N₂ r33 **MIR(-)DU-gen₇** uĝ₃-še₃ ša₃ ħuĝ-e

Like a ..., soothing the heart for the people,

135

¹²⁴⁴ So N₂. N₁: “my radiance.”

N₁ iv 25 šudu₃ a-ra-zu ġeš tuku-me-en / ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na za₃-mim
 N₂ r34 ʽšudu₃ʼ a-ra-zu-a ġeš tuku-me-en ku₃ ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na za₃-[...]

I am she who hears prayers and supplications!” Praise (be to) pure Ninisina!

Subscript

N₁ iv 26 šir₃-gid₂-da ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-kam
 N₂ r35 šir₃-gid₂-da ^dnin-isin₂^{si}-na-kam

It is a širgida of Ninisina.

Line count

N₁: ĠEŠ₂ ĠEŠ₂ U IA₂ (135)

APPENDIX II.12 ŠIRGIDA TO SUD

II.12.1 Editions and Translations

Edition: Pp. 9–17 in Metcalf, Christopher. 2019. *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection: Volume 1. Literary Sources on Old Babylonian Religion*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 38. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns.¹²⁴⁵

II.12.2 Sources

X₁: MS 5102 (CUSAS 38 pl. II, IV, photos pl. I, III)

CDLI: [P254171](https://cdli.oxfordjournals.org/lookup/doi/10.1093/cdli/p254171) (with photos)

Completely preserved, ruled 1-column tablet.

II.12.3 Text¹²⁴⁶

1

X₁ 1 ʾx x x¹ mu du₁₀ še₂₁-a
..., named with a good name,

2

X₁ 2 [x x] ^den-lil₂-la₂ ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂ ze₄-e-me-en
you are the [...] of Enlil, his beloved.¹²⁴⁷

3

X₁ 3 ʾama^{?1} ʾgal¹ ^dsud₃^{ki} A ser₃ ku₃-zu ga-an-ʾi¹-ʾi¹
Great mother[?] Sud, I want to bring forth your pure songs!

4

X₁ 4 nin-ĝu₁₀ du₁₁-ga-zu diĝir maĥ-gen₇ rib-ba
My lady, whose word is as supreme as (that of) the greatest god,

5

X₁ 5 igi il₂-la en ^dnu-nam-nir-re
chosen by lord Nunamnir,

¹²⁴⁵ This edition appeared too late to be incorporated into my own edition.

¹²⁴⁶ My transliteration is based on the photos available on CDLI. In some cases, where I was unable to read a sign from the photo, I reference the readings in an early draft of Metcalf's edition (unpublished, 2016).

¹²⁴⁷ Or: "you are the beloved of [...] Enlil."

6

X₁ 6 ʾgal¹-zu e₂-kur-ra nin gal ki-ur₃-ra
wisest of the Ekur, great lady of the Kiur,

7

X₁ 7 nin nam zi tar-tar-re ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne
lady who decides just fates¹²⁴⁸ *for* the Anuna,

8

X₁ 8 munus zi me gal-gal-la an _{ki}¹²⁴⁹-da nu-sa₂
true lady of the great *me*'s, *who cannot be equaled in heaven and earth*,

9

X₁ 9 igi bar-ra-zu lu₂ {lu₂} mu-un-til₃-le
your gaze lets men live!

10

X₁ 10 ^dsud₃{KI}¹²⁵⁰ A ka ʾba¹-ʾa¹-ʾzu¹ lu₂ mu-un-sa₆-ge
Sud, your utterance makes men well!

11

X₁ 11 ^eenim-zu niĝ₂ nu-kur₂-ru-dam
Your word is a thing that cannot be altered!

12

X₁ 12 ka-ta e₃-a-zu saĝ-be₂-še₃ e₃-a
That which comes out of your mouth is foremost!

13

X₁ 13 ^dsud₃ A nam-maḥ-zu ^da-nun-na-ke-ne
Oh Sud, *for* your greatness, the Anuna

14

X₁ 14 a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃ ši-im-ma-ra-an-su₈-ge-eš
stand by ready (to perform) your just commands!

15

X₁ 15 i₃-du₈ gal-zu ĝeš¹²⁵¹ tuku ^dasar-lu₂-ḫi

¹²⁴⁸ Or: “who justly decides fates.”

¹²⁴⁹ KI written below AN.

¹²⁵⁰ So Metcalf (unpublished, 2016). Illegible in photo.

¹²⁵¹ Over erasure?

Let your head gatekeeper, the attentive one, Asarluḫi,

16

X₁ 16 šu-luḫ me ku₃-ga si ḫu¹²⁵²-mu-ra-ab-sa₂
prepare for you the lustration rites and the pure rituals (**me**)!

17

X₁ 17 ṛsugal₇¹-zu ṛnin-ḡidru-ke₄ {LU₂} a-ra-zu enim¹²⁵³-ma-še₃ ša-ra-ab-DU
Your vizier, Ningīdru, *stands by for you* ... supplication *and* ...

18

X₁ 18 ṛbur¹-ṛsuen-e aga zi dalla mu-ni-in-e₃
He (Ningīdru) made the true crown shine brightly *for* Bur-Suen.

19

X₁ 19 ṛmen¹ zalag-ga-zu saḡ-ḡa₂-na u₃-mu-e-ḡal₂
After you placed your bright *men*-crown on his head,

20

X₁ 20 ṛx¹ [x (x)]ṛḡidru¹ ṛuḡ₃¹ si sa₂-sa₂-e ṛsaḡ²¹-ṛe²¹-eš ṛmu¹-ṛni¹-ṛin¹-ṛrig₇¹
he bestowed on him [...] the scepter that keeps the people in order

21

X₁ 21 ṛṛbur¹-ṛṛsuen¹ sipa nun-be₂ na-nam
Bur-Suen is indeed their princely shepherd!¹²⁵⁴

22

X₁ 22 ṛsibir₂¹ uḡ₃ lu-a e-ne-ra u₃-mu-na-e¹²⁵⁵-šum₂
Since you have given him the shepherd's staff of the numerous people,

23

X₁ 23 kur-kur ki-ḡar-zu kilib₃-be₂ ḡa-ra-ab-laḡ₅-e
he shall lead the lands, your entire territory for you!

Scribal notation: nu-KU₅

24

X₁ 24 ḡeš-ḡur-zu niḡ₂ šu nu-te-ḡe₂₆-dam

¹²⁵² Over erasure?

¹²⁵³ Written SAG.

¹²⁵⁴ Or: "their shepherd and prince!"

¹²⁵⁵ Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

Your plans are untouchable.

25

X₁ 25 ʳnin¹-ġu₁₀ a-ʳra₂¹ AK-a-zu igi nu-ġa₂-ġa₂
My lady, no one can look upon your accomplished (ritual) procedures.

26

X₁ 26 ʳġarza¹¹²⁵⁶-ʳzu¹ ħur nu-ʳbala-e¹¹²⁵⁷-dam
Your rites can never be overturned.

27

X₁ 27 [meʔ (x)]¹²⁵⁸-zu me an-na saġ-e-ʳeš¹ ʳrigs¹¹²⁵⁹-ga-a
Your [... *me*'sʔ] are *me*'s bestowed (on you) by An.

28

X₁ 28 [iri]^{ki}-zu šuruppag^{ki}-e an-ʳne₂¹ ʳma¹-ʳra¹-ʳan¹-ʳx¹ [(x)]¹²⁶⁰
Your city, *that* Šuruppag,¹²⁶¹ An has ... for you.

29

X₁ 29 ʳki¹-tuš ša₃ ħul₂-la-ka ʳden¹-lil₂-ʳda¹¹²⁶² [x]-ʳx x¹¹²⁶³
In the joyful dwelling,¹²⁶⁴ [...] with Enlil

30

X₁ 30 ʳnin¹-ġu₁₀ iri^{ki} nam-ʳmaḥ¹¹²⁶⁵-za ʳšuruppag¹[^{ki}]-ga-ke₄
My lady, (*whereas*) *in your grand city*,¹²⁶⁶ (*the citizen*) of Šuruppag

31

X₁ r1 [x (x)]^dsud₃ dumu nun mu-še₃ ħu-<mu-ʔ>{ri-}in-ʳše₂₁¹¹²⁶⁷
named you “[...] Sud, the princely daughter,”

¹²⁵⁶ [x].AN

¹²⁵⁷ Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁵⁸ Metcalf (2016, unpublished) reads [x x].

¹²⁵⁹ Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁶⁰ Verbal form following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁶¹ Or “*At* your city, Šuruppag.”

¹²⁶² Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁶³ Something like [mu]-ʳda-x¹ might be possible, but it is difficult to tell from the photo.

¹²⁶⁴ Lit. “the dwelling place of the joyful heart”

¹²⁶⁵ Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁶⁶ Lit. “city of grandness”?

¹²⁶⁷ My reading of the signs in the verbal follows Metcalf (2016, unpublished): ħu-{ri-}in-ʳše₂₁¹. The signs are difficult to read in photo (in particular, the sign read ħu appears to have additional wedges, perhaps from an erasure; however, based on Metcalf’s reading, these marks are presumably just surface damage).

32

X₁ r2 ʾnibru^{1268ki}-a kur gal ^den-lil₂-le
in Nippur, great mountain Enlil

33

X₁ r3 ʾnam¹-maḥ e₂-kur-ra mu-še₃ mu-ri-in-ʾše₂₁¹²⁶⁹
named you “Grandness of the Ekur.”

34

X₁ r4 [tum]-ʾma¹-al^{ki}-a en ^dnu-nam-ʾnir¹-ʾre¹²⁷⁰
In Tummal, lord Nunamnir

35

X₁ r5 [^dnin]-ʾlil¹ sa₆-ga-e mu-še₃ mu-ʾri¹-ʾin¹-ʾše₂₁¹²⁷¹
named you “*This* beautiful Ninlil.”

36

X₁ r6 ʾx x x x¹ zi edin[?]-na-ke₄
Living ... of the steppe[?],

37

X₁ r7 ʾx¹ [x] ʾx x x¹-zu me-t[e] ʾḡal^{2?}-ʾne₂¹-me-en
... you are *his* ornament[?]

38

X₁ r8 šuruppag^{ki}-še₃ ^dlamma sa₆-ʾga¹-ne₂-me-en
For Šuruppag, you are her¹²⁷² beautiful protective goddess.

39

X₁ r9 za₃-gu-la₂ iri^{ki}-za-ke₄ ḥu-ʾmu¹-ni-lum-lum-mu-ne
At the za₃-gu-la₂-shrine of your city, may they make everything flourish!

40

X₁ r10 enim ʾuru₁₆¹ an-ki-a me maḥ-ta saḡ il₂
(Having) a mighty word in heaven and earth, standing *proudly among* the grand *me*’s,

41

¹²⁶⁸ [EN].ʾLIL¹

¹²⁶⁹ Final sign following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁷⁰ Following Metcalf (2016, unpublished). Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁷¹ Final two signs following Metcalf. Difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁷² Šuruppag, personified.

X₁ r11 d¹rud₃¹ kur gal¹²⁷³-la-ra ša₃-ENIM-ĝal₂¹la-ne₂-me-en
Sud, for the great mountain you are his *intimate counselor*.¹²⁷⁴

42

X₁ r12 para₁₀ gal-¹la¹ ¹dur₂¹ ĝar-ra-zu-ne
Since you have taken your seat on the great throne-dais,

43

X₁ r13 šuruppag ĝigiri₁₇-¹zal¹-¹la¹ asila₃ ĥa-ra-su₃-e
let Šuruppag be showered in profusion and joy for you!

44

X₁ r14 lu₂ a-ra-zu siškur₂ ma-ra-{an[?]-}da-ab-be₂{-en[?]}¹²⁷⁵
A man makes supplications and prayer-offerings before you;

45

X₁ r15 kadra₂^a-ne₂ šu ti-ba-ab lu₂(-)^akaš[?](-)^azu ĥe₂-a (Metcalf: lu₂ kaš(?)^a-zu ĥe₂-a)
receive his gifts, and let *him* be *your* ...

46

X₁ r16 saĝ¹²⁷⁶ gegge-še₃ ama ¹arĥuš¹-a-me-¹en¹
For the black-headed people, you are the compassionate mother!

47

X₁ r17 ¹kur¹-¹kur¹-¹re¹²⁷⁷ saĝ en₃-tar-be₂-me-¹en¹
For all the lands, you are their caregiver!

48

X₁ r18 ĥe₂-¹du₇¹ e₂-maĥ-a nin e₂-ki-si₃-ga
Fitting ornament of the Emaĥ, lady of the Ekisiga,

49

X₁ r19 ¹munus¹ ¹sa₆¹²⁷⁸-ga e₂-dim-gal-an-na
beautiful woman of the Edimgalana,

¹²⁷³ Over erasure?

¹²⁷⁴ Following Metcalf. Lit. “*heart that brings (good) words.*”

¹²⁷⁵ In the CDLI photo, there appears to be an erased(?) **en** at the end of the line, on the right edge of the tablet. Metcalf (unpublished, 2016), reads: **ma-ra-[x(?)]-da-ab-be₂.**

¹²⁷⁶ Following Metcalf (unpublished, 2016). The sign looks like KA in the CDLI photo.

¹²⁷⁷ Following Metcalf (unpublished, 2016). First three signs difficult to read in photo.

¹²⁷⁸ Reconstructed following Metcalf (unpublished, 2016).

Scribal notation: nu-KU₅ {sa-gid₂-da AN}¹²⁷⁹

50

X₁ r20 ʽ^dʽ¹sud₃ʽ¹ A za₃-mim
praise (be to) Sud!

Subscript

ʽ^{ser}₃ʽ¹-gid₂-da ^dsud₃-kam
It is a *širgida* of Sud.

¹²⁷⁹ Final two erased signs following Metcalf (unpublished, 2016). Difficult to read in photo.

II.12.4 Commentary

Line 2

^den-lil₂-la₂ ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂

Since the beginning of the line is missing, a few different analyses of this sequence are possible:

- (1) “[...], beloved of Enlil,” assuming an epithet of Sud in the break and an anticipatory genitive construction (lit. “of Enlil, his beloved”)
- (2) “beloved of [...] Enlil,” assuming an epithet of Enlil in the break and an anticipatory genitive construction (lit. “of [...] Enlil, his beloved”)
- (3) “[...] of Enlil, his beloved,” assuming a partial epithet of Sud in the break, with **ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂** as a separate epithet.

All three solutions require taking **ki aĝ₂** as a substantive, “beloved.” This is not common, but compare, for example, Ninurta C 56,¹²⁸⁰ Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 277 (Wilcke 2012 l. 276),¹²⁸¹ and Šulpae A 14.¹²⁸²

Line 3

^dsud₃^{ki} A

Many instances of Sud’s name in this text, especially when it occurs in the vocative, are followed by A. The reason for this is unclear, none of the conceivable explanations being entirely satisfactory:

¹²⁸⁰ Ninurta C 56: **ur-saĝ-me-en ama-ĝu₁₀ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂ ki aĝ₂-ne₂ ĝe₂₆-e-me-en** “I am a valiant warrior, I am the beloved of my mother Ninlil.”

¹²⁸¹ Enmerkara and Ensuhkešdana 277 (Wilcke 2012 l. 276): **^dinnana-ke₄ ur₂ ku₃-ga-ne-še₃ zi-de₃-eš mu-un-pa₃-de₃-en ki 'aĝ₂-ĝa₂¹-ne₂-me-en** “Inana chose you rightly for her pure lap; you are her beloved.”

¹²⁸² Šulpae A 14: **^din₁-hur¹-saĝ-ĝa₂-ke₄ ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂ ze₄-e-me-en** “you are the beloved of Ninhursaga.”

(1) The exclamation **a**: Understanding here the exclamation **a** would make little sense, as this exclamation almost always indicates suffering or sadness (see PSD A1 [1992], pp. 29ff, a B; PSD's usage 4, **a** in cries of joy, is attested only once).¹²⁸³

(2) **-a(k)** in an anticipatory genitive construction: In all instances of ^d**sud₃(-)**A except for the doxology (l. 50), it is followed by a noun phrase with a second-person possessive suffix.¹²⁸⁴ One might thus wonder whether the scribe had an anticipatory genitive construction in mind. Against this, though, are the following facts: (a) no genitive occurs in l. 50 ^d**sud₃(-)**A **za₃-mim**; (b) we would expect ^d**sud₃-da** rather than ^d**sud₃-a**; and (c) a second-person anticipatory genitive is otherwise unattested in Sumerian literature, as far as I am aware.

(3) A indicating a vocative: Given the contexts in which ^d**sud₃(-)**A occurs, one might wonder whether A is functioning as some sort vocative indicator. Against this, however, are (a) the fact that this construction is otherwise unattested, vocatives normally being marked with {Ø} or {e}; (b) the fact that ^d**sud₃(-)**A in l. 50 does not appear to be vocative; and (c) the fact that a vocative occurs in l. 41 without A.

ki

For the accidental spelling of Sud with ^{ki}, influenced by **SU.KUR.RU**^{ki} = **šurru^{pag}**^{ki}, cf. the Sumerian Flood Story Seg. B 15, as well as line 10 of the present composition (where the determinative **ki** was added to Sud's name and then erased).

¹²⁸³ PSD A1 (1992), p. 31 Bilingual 8 (*Eršemma* 34.2: 18 **a u₃-li-li** = *i-na ri-ša₂-a-ti*).

¹²⁸⁴ L. 3: ^d**sud₃^{ki}(-)**A **ser₃ ku₃-zu**; l. 10: ^d**sud₃(-)**A **ka ba-a-zu**; l. 13: ^d**sud(-)**A **nam-mah₃-zu**.

ser₃ i-i

As Metcalf remarks (unpublished, 2016), **ser₃ i-i** “to bring forth song” is probably a conflation of **ser₃ du₁₁** and **me-teš₂ i-i**. Cf. also **ser₃ (loc.) i-i** in Rim-Sin B 29 and possibly **ser₃ (adv.) i-i** in Nergal C 51.¹²⁸⁵

ser₃ ku₃

For the hymns designated as **ser₃(-)ku₃**, see Shehata 2009, 266–268. Here probably simply “pure songs” rather than the hymnic type known, e.g., from the Middle Assyrian catalogue KAR 158.

Line 5

igi il₂

For **igi il₂** “to choose” in this context, compare especially Enlil A 158 and Enlil and Sud 31–32, where Enlil chooses Sud/Ninlil as his bride; similarly said of choosing a spouse in Martu A 47, Ur-Ninurta 1 12–13, and Zambīia 1 (RIME 4.1.11.1) 12–13.

igi il₂-la DN(erg.)

For similar examples of conflation between the “**mes an-ne₂ pa₃-da**” construction and the “**mes pa₃-da an-na**” construction, see, i.a., the examples cited in Attinger 1993, 214, §137 *remarque* 1, with n. 478.

¹²⁸⁵ Van Dijk (SGL 2 no. 1) reads in line 51 of the *tigi* version (AO 5388 (TCL 15 23) rev. 17’): **[*se]r₃-*r[e-^{*}e]š₂? he₂-i-i**; Peterson, on the other hand, reads **‘me¹-‘teš₂’ he₂-i-i** (Peterson 2015: 52 ad 74, B r17’). I cannot tell from the CDLI photos which reading is more likely. The handcopy shows nothing before **he₂**.

Line 7

Note that deciding fates and distributing the *me*'s to the Anuna are among the blessings Enlil promises for Sud when he asks for her hand in marriage in Enlil and Sud (38–39).

nam zi tar

Despite the familiarity of the expression **nam zi tar** in the name of the literary character Namzitara, it does not occur in literature very frequently. Far more commonly attested are **nam du₁₀ tar** and **nam gal tar** (Lämmerhirt 2010, 77 s.v. **nam zi** “rechtes Schicksal”). Infrequent examples include Nanna L 36, Lipit-Eštar E 13, Išbi-Erra A i 7' (Sjöberg 1993); Hymn to Inana for Išme-dagan (ETCSL 2.5.4.a) (Sjöberg 1998 iv 9).

nam tar-tar-e ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne

Here **nam tar-tar-re** evidently serves as a substantive, with the recipient of the action (the ones whose fates are decided) most likely in the genitive case. Compare the construction in Rim-Sin B 36 **en₃ tar-tar diġir-re-ne-ke₄**, and perhaps in EWO 118: **en [nam] tar-tar-re-ġu₁₀**.

Line 8

...-da nu-sa₂

Use of the comitative in conjunction with the verb **sa₂** normally indicates the person or thing being rivalled—or, with negation, the one whom no one can rival.¹²⁸⁶ Here, though, I see no way in which **an-ki-da nu-sa₂** could sensically be understood as “who does not rival heaven and earth,”

¹²⁸⁶ E.g., **a-ba e-da-sa₂** “who can rival you?” (Inana C 256). See Gragg 1973, 58 and Balke 2006, 106 ex. 222 with n. 450 for further examples.

since a positive epithet is required.¹²⁸⁷ My translation assumes that **-da** is either (1) a mistake for the locative or (2) represents **-ta** with a locative meaning (on which see the bibliography cited in Attinger and Glenn 2018, 153 ad F. 6/rev. 8 = l. 6; cf. l. 40 of the present text). The first suggestion is made more likely by the fact that the scribe demonstrates some confusion at this point in the text, initially omitting **KI** and later inserting it below the line.¹²⁸⁸

Lines 9-10

The terminology of these two lines represents a recurring motif in Sumerian literature and liturgical texts, as in the following examples.

Ex. II.18 Iddin-Dagan B 35–37

35 du₁₁-ga ^den-lil₂-la₂-^rta¹
 36 igi bar-ra-zu lu₂ mu-^run-til₃-e¹
 37 ka ba-zu lu₂ mu-un-^rsa₆[?]-ge[?]¹²⁸⁹

At the command of Enlil,
 your (= Iddin-Dagan's) gaze lets people live!
 Your utterance makes people well[?]

¹²⁸⁷ Note also that, although **sa₂** is frequently attested with a comitative infix, the form NP-**da nu-sa₂** is not common.

¹²⁸⁸ It is tempting to consider the possibility that the scribe was in some way influenced by the more common expression **za₃ nu-sa₂** “to have no rival,” especially in light of the fact that **za₃** can very occasionally be confused with **da** (due to either phonetic or semantic similarity; see Mittermayer 2014, 207 ad Vs. i 6 and cf. Lugalbanda II 343 ms AA). However, **an ki** would remain problematic, **an ki-a** being expected (cf. especially Rim-Sin I CUSAS 17 53 7 **an¹-ki-a za₃ nu-sa₂** “who is unrivaled in heaven and earth.”).

¹²⁸⁹ The verb in l. 37 is not fully preserved in any of the published sources for this composition, but there are a few unpublished for which no image is available (neither photo nor handcopy): H 156+ ([P355729](#)); MS 4888 ([P253886](#)); Si 275 (RT 16: 187–188) + Si 646 ([P357253](#)). ETCSL reads **-silim-e** with no indication of damage, suggesting that one of the unpublished sources contains the verb. The traces in ms A (Tinney 1999a, 171 ms L₁ = AO 8864 [TCL 16 88; coll. NABU 2002/85]) iii 23' might fit **sa₆-ge¹**, according to the hand-copy, but collation is required (the signs are illegible in the photos on the Louvre website: http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=24672).

Ex. II.19 Šu-Suen C 9–10¹²⁹⁰

- 9 ʿses¹-e igi bar lu₂ ʿtil₃¹-la-na im-ma-ʿni¹-in-ku₄-re-en
 10 [ʰ]šu-^dsuen ʿka ba¹²⁹¹ lu₂ sa₆-ga-na im-ma-ni-in-pa₃-d[e₃-en]

The brother, in his gaze that lets people live, caused me to enter.
 Šu-Suen, in his utterance that makes people well, chose me.

Ex. II.20 Eršahūga in Lambert 1974, 288–291¹²⁹² 31–33

- 31 i-bi₂ bar-ra-zu mu-lu-be₂ al-til₃ i-bi₂ zi bar-mu-un-ši-ib₂
 ina nap-lu-si-ka ʿa-wi-lum šu¹-[u₂ i]-bal-luṭ ki-niš nap-li-ʿsa-an-ni¹
 32 mu-lu bar-ra-zu ʿmu¹-[lu-be₂ al-til₃] ʿi¹-bi₂ zi bar-mu-un-ši-ib₂
 a-wi-ʿil¹ [...¹²⁹³ a-wi-lum] ʿšu¹-u i-bal-luṭ ki-niš nap-li-sa-an-ni
 33 ka ba-zu-še₃ [...] ʿi¹-bi₂ ʿzi¹ ʿbar¹ mu-un-ši-ib₂
 ina i-piš pi-i-ʿka¹ [... ki-niš] ʿnap¹-li-sa-an-ni

At your gaze, that people lives. Look upon him (Akk. “me”) favorably!
 The person whom you ...—that person lives. Look upon them (Akk. “me”) favorably!
 Because of your utterance, [...]. Look upon them (Akk. “me”) favorably!

Line 14

a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃ ... su₈

Compare the almost identical expression in Enlil A 9 **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃-eš im-ma-sus-ge-eš**, where four mss add **ši-** to the verbal prefixes. According to the copy, ms X₂ = YBC 4653 (SGL I pl. 2–3) appears be identical to our line, minus the second person dative prefix (**a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃ (-) ši-im-ma-sus-ge-eš**). However, the collated transliteration in Delnero 2006 adds **-eš** at the end

¹²⁹⁰ These lines preserved in ms A = N 3560 (PAPS 107, p. 521).

¹²⁹¹ These signs are read **ʿsaĝ? ba?** by Sefati (1998, 360), but **ʿka ba** looks likely in the available photos.

¹²⁹² Supplemented by Maul 1988, 213–215.

¹²⁹³ Lambert (1974, 290) and Maul (1988, 214) reconstruct [*tap-pal-la-su*] according to IVR² 29**n5 obv. 7’–8’ (Maul 1988, 308–312): **mu-lu i-bi₂ bar-ra-zu al-til₃** : *a-wi-lim tap-pa-la-si a-me-lu šu-u i-bal-luṭ*. The absence of **i-bi₂ (igi)** in our line is difficult. At face value, **mu-lu bar-ra-zu** could perhaps be something like “the man whom you had estranged” (cf. the use of **bar-ra** in *Eršahūga* 43 (Maul 1988, 228–231) obv. 20’–21’: **bar-ra mu²-un²-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-e-de₃** : *ana nakri taškunanni*).

of **zi-de₃-**. Otherwise, in comparison, it would be tempting to consider **zi-de₃ ši-** in our line as a possible sandhi writing for **zi-de₃-eš ši-**. As it is, **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi-de₃** must be understood as an NP in the directive or non-human dative case.

On the expression **a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi**, see recently Lämmerhirt 2010: 69 (**a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ zi** “rechte Anweisung”).

Lines 15–16

Asarluhi is not otherwise known as a gatekeeper, as far as I am aware. The divine gatekeepers typically named in literary texts are **Biti**,¹²⁹⁴ the chief gate-keeper of the Netherworld (see especially in Inana’s Descent; also Ur-Namma A 76), and **^dkal-kal**, the chief gatekeeper of Enlil/the Ekur (see esp. the references in Cohen 1988, 763 ad **^dKal-kal** and **^dKal-kal-ša₆-ga**). Asarluhi’s performing the purification rites in l. 16 is more in keeping with his character as known from other texts, where he is one of the main deities associated with incantations and their accompanying rites. In the context of our line, compare especially the description of him in Asarluhi A 35–36, as well as the description of his role in the OB bilingual ritual purification text VAT 8382 (van Dijk 1967) 37.

Lines 16

I understand **hu-mu-ra-ab-sa₂** as a transitive *marû* form, although a final **-e** is expected.

¹²⁹⁴ **^dbi₂-ti**; also written **^dbi₂-du₈** and syllabically **bi-tu** in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 198 MA 42//MB 23’.

Line 17

For **a-ra-zu enim-ma-še₃** with **DU**, cf. perhaps Lipit-Eštar 4 21–22 (**a-ra-zu-ne₂-še₃ gub-ba**); Ninazu A 30 (**šita-še₃ ša-ra-da-DU**). For a possible lexeme **enim-ma**, see comment to Nuska A Seg. A 22.

^dnin-ġidru

The /k/-*Auslaut* indicates that here ^dNIN.PA represents the DN Ninġidru(k), rather than the homographic DN Ninḥad.¹²⁹⁵ Ninġidru is similarly involved in coronation in PBS 5 76 and in Rimuš 2001 (RIME 2.1.2.2001), where, in the latter, the reading of the name is likewise confirmed by the presence of a /k/-*Auslaut* (see further below).

Marchesi, noting the association of Ninġidru with the goddess **^dnin-me-šu-du₇** in Šuruppag texts,¹²⁹⁶ assumes that the same two deities are represented in the later Emesal pair **^du₃-mu-un-mu-durus/^dumun-mu-du-ru** and **^dgašan-me-šu-du₇**.¹²⁹⁷ If the Emesal version of Ninġidru's name is indeed /Umun-muduru/, “lord of the scepter,” this would indicate that, contra most translations, Ninġidru is a male deity.¹²⁹⁸

Against this suggestion, however, are (1) the fact that in Emesal Vocabulary I 13–14 (MSL 4, p. 4), **^dumun-mu-du-ru** is equated with **^den-ġidru**, not **^dnin-ġidru**, and is identified in the Akkadian column as Nuska (followed in l. 15 by **^dgašan-me-šu-du₇ : ^dnin-me-šu-du₇ : ^dsa-dar₃-nun-na**), and (2) that **^dumun-mu-du-ru ^dgašan-me-šu-du₇** is translated **^dnuska** [...] in the god

¹²⁹⁵ See Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 113 n. 158; cf. Bramanti 2017, 34, 37 with n. 13. On pre-Ur III attestations of Ninġidru and other divine names with the element **ġidru**, see Bramanti 2017, 36–38.

¹²⁹⁶ These two deities also appear together in OB An = *Anum* (TCL 15 10) iv 3–4, included in Nuska's circle. See Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001b and Richter 2004, 84–85.

¹²⁹⁷ Cf., e.g., the litany entries in CLAM p. 284 e+206 = p. 359 a+222 and CLAM p. 236 c+288 = p. 305 c+162 as well as Diri I 13–15, discussed below.

¹²⁹⁸ For /**umun**/ as the Emesal equivalent of **nin** in male divine names, see the examples in Schretter 1990, 265–269.

litany in CLAM p. 236 c+288 = p. 305 c+162. Given the pairing of Ningîdru with Ninmešudu in earlier texts, it is possible that Emesal /Umun-mudu/ originally represented Ningîdru and was later reinterpreted as ^den-ġidru as a byname of Nuska, but this remains speculative. In the absence of further evidence, my treatment of Ningîdru as a male deity is tentative.

The role of Ningîdru in the present text—being responsible for the *aga*-crown and the scepter “that keeps the people in order,” while Sud bestows on Bur-Suen the *men*-crown and the staff (**sibir**₂) “of the many people”—recalls to some extent the royal investiture scene in CBS 11366 + CBS 11400 (PBS 5 76), where Ningîdru likewise plays a central role:

Ex. II.21 CBS 11366 + CBS 11400 (PBS 5 76) Rev. iii' (= vii?)¹²⁹⁹

5'-6'	e ₂ -an-na-še ₃ mu-ni-in-ku ₄ -ku ₄
7'	para ₁₀ babbar-ra mu-na-te
8'-9'	ġidru za-gin ₃ -na šu-ni-še ₃ mu-un-ġar
10'-11'	para ₁₀ ^d nin-men-na-še ₃ mu-na-te
12'-14'	aga ku ₃ - ¹ si ₂₂ ¹ saġ-ġa ₂ -na mi-ni-in-ge-en
15'-16'	para ₁₀ ^d nin-ġidru-še ₃ mu-na-te
17'-18'	^d nin-ġidru me-te ġal ₂ an ki
19'-20'	a ₂ ġal ₂ e ₂ -kur-ra šu-luh-ġa tum ₂ -ma-am ₃
21'-22'	mu nam-tur-ra-ne ₂ u ₃ -mu-e-šub
23'-24'	mu bur-ge ₄ -a-ne ₂ nu-ub-še ₂₁
25'-26'	mu nam-en-na-ne ₂ i-im-še ₂₁

He/she brought *him* into the Eana.

He approached *the one* on the white dais.

He/she placed the lapis-lazuli scepter (**ġidru**) in his hands.

He approached the throne dais of Ninmena, (coming) before her,

She (Ninmena) fixed the golden *aga*-crown (**aga**) upon his head.

He approached the throne dais of Ningîdru, (coming) before him.

Ningîdru, who is the fitting ornament of heaven and earth,

the mighty one *of* the Ekur, suited to the lustration rites!

After his (the king's) childhood name *had been cast aside*,¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁹⁹ Edited in Sjöberg 1972a, 111–112. See also Förtsch 1918, 238–239 n. 3; Jacobsen *apud* Frankfort 1978, 245–246; Römer 1969a, 135–136; Michalowski 1976, 164; PSD B (1984), p. 186, bur-gi₄-a; Römer 1986–1991, 168–169.

¹³⁰⁰ Or: “after *he* had cast aside ...” Expected here is a transitive verbal form with Ningîdru as agent, as reflected in previous translations (e.g., Sjöberg 1972a, 111 “den Namen, den er als Kind (getragen hatte), liess sie weg”; Römer 1986–1991, “Nachdem Ningîdru seinen ‘Namen-Kleinheit’ hatte fallenlassen”). However, the presence of **-e-** in

his **bur-ge**₄ name was no longer used;
his “name of *en*-ship” was used (instead).

Here it is not Ningîdru but Ninmena and an unidentified deity who provide the *aga*-crown and scepter, while Ningîdru bestows on the king a new name. In this case, the coronation evidently took place in Uruk, in the Eana, although Ningîdru is explicitly associated with Nippur and the Ekur.

An earlier, more oblique reference to Ningîdru’s involvement in royal investiture, dating to the reign of Rimuš, presents him as helping to appoint an unnamed *ensi* of Šuruppag, together with Sud:

Ex. II.22 Rimuš 2001 (RIME 2.1.2.2001) 0’–5’¹³⁰¹

- 0’ [ensi₂]
- 1’ ʾšurupag^{1ki}-ga-ʾke₄¹
- 2’ ša₃-ge pa₃-ʾda¹
- 3’ ^dsud₃-ʾda¹
- 4’ mu ʾpa₃¹-[da]
- 5’ ^dnin-ġidru-ʾka¹

[..., *ensi*] of Šuruppag, chosen in the heart by Sud, called by name by Ningîdru, ...

Line 22

sibir₂(BURU₁₄)

The correct reading of BURU₁₄ when it appears among royal insignia is difficult to determine. As discussed below, the evidence is inconclusive, and I adopt the reading **sibir**₂ “shepherd’s staff”

u₃-mu-e-šub is problematic. Unless we are to assume that **-e-** is a mistake for {**n**}, the only grammatical analysis that comes to mind is to take this as an intransitive form with the “préfixe local” {**e**} (Attinger n.d., 28, 30–34, with previous literature). For comparable forms, see esp. Attinger 2000.

¹³⁰¹ Reconstruction following the more recent edition in Frahm and Payne 2003–2004.

over the possible **enkara** “*enkara*-weapon” primarily because a shepherd’s staff makes more sense than a weapon as something that leads.

*** *Aside on BURU₁₄(sibir₂?) and U.BURU₁₄(ešgiri?)* ***

As an item of royal insignia, **BURU₁₄** appears most often in the pair written **BURU₁₄ U.BURU₁₄**,¹³⁰² designating two items associated with shepherdship, where the reading of both signs is contested.

Potentially suitable readings of the second sign of the pair **U.BURU₁₄** (aBZL no. 341, ŠIBIR), include **ešgiri** (*šerretu* “lead-rope”) and **sibir** (*šibirru* “shepherd’s staff”).¹³⁰³ Potentially suitable readings of the first, **BURU₁₄** (aBZL no. 063), similarly include **ešgiri₂** (?) and **sibir₂**, as well as a third reading, **enkara** (a type of weapon).¹³⁰⁴

The foundational discussion of the two items is van Dijk 1966–1967, 70–73 ad 7. As discussed by van Dijk, the key piece of evidence for the readings of the signs is a gloss in Dumuzi-Inana D1 17 (BM 15280 [CT 42 4] i 17): **BURU₁₄ si-bi-ir₁ U.BURU₁₄**, which would seem to indicate that the first item in the pair is to be read **sibir₂**, leaving the second to be read **ešgiri**.

This conclusion was called into question in Veldhuis 1997, 174–176, who is hesitant to accept **sibir₂** as a value of **BURU₁₄**, observing that “all lexical evidence, Old Babylonian as well as post-Old Babylonian, agrees that the regular spelling for both **eškiri** and **šibir** is **U.EN×KAR₂** [= **U.BURU₁₄**]”

¹³⁰² Almost always written in this order, either as an immediate pair or in two successive lines.

¹³⁰³ In the OB evidence, the reading **ešgiri** is confirmed, i.a., by OB Nippur Ea 418 (MSL 14, p. 48) **eš-gi-i U.BURU₁₄**. See also Kutscher 1975, 127–128 ad *221. The reading **sibir** is well-known from later lexical evidence and can be assumed for the OB period. Note also the sign **U.BURU₁₄ (sibir)** is also used as an unorthographic spelling for **sipa-ra** in Išbi-Erra E (Reisman 1976) 29 ms B (Bowen 2017, 308, cited as OECT 5, 4).

¹³⁰⁴ For the proposed reading **ešgiri₂** see, e.g., ePSD **ešgiri** “staff” and **eškiri** “rope” and ETCSL **ešgiri₂** “staff.” I know of no lexical or unorthographic evidence to support this reading (cf. aBZL no. 063, MZL no. 165), but if the pair **BURU₁₄ U.BURU₁₄** does include the item /ešgiri/ (see below), the spellings **BURU₁₄ BURU₁₄** in Ur-Ninurta E 14, Lipit-Eštar G (Sjöberg 1982 Text 2: 348–349, 359–360) rev. 8’, and Išme-Dagan A +V Seg. A 60 ms M would support the reading **ešgiri₂**. The reading **sibir₂** is based on the gloss **si-bi-ir** in Dumuzi-Inana D1 17, discussed below. The reading **enkara** is attested in OB Nippur Ea 417b (MSL 14, p. 48) ms B1: **en-kara₂ BURU₁₄** (but cf. Veldhuis 1997, 175, who suggests taking this gloss as “a theoretical elaboration, rather than a genuine sign value”).

and that the proposed value /sibir/ is based only on a single gloss. Against reading BURU₁₄ as **sibir**₂ is the fact that in OB Nippur Ura 321–324, which reads ġeš BURU₁₄ / ġeš **gag** BURU₁₄ / ġeš U.BURU₁₄ / ġeš **gag** U.BURU₁₄, it is the *second* item of the pair, U.BURU₁₄, that is to be read /**sibir**/, at least according to later versions of the list.¹³⁰⁵ Veldhuis thus leaves the reading of the first item, ġeš BURU₁₄, an open question, noting the possibility of ġeš **enkara**, but hesitant to adopt it over other possibilities.¹³⁰⁶

A second, more difficult challenge to van Dijk’s proposed reading of the pair as **sibir**₂ **ešgiri** is an expression that occurs in Ur-Namma D *18, which, following Tinney’s collated transliteration (Tinney 1999b, 46), reads as follows:

Ur-Namma D, Ur Version 19 (Tinney 1999b l. 21)¹³⁰⁷

U₁ 18⁺ BURU₁₄ ʾU.BURU₁₄¹³⁰⁸ eš-giri₁₇ zi-ġal₂ DU¹.DU-e / [...]
 U₂ 7⁺ [...] ʾeš¹-giri₁₇ zi-ġal₂ ʾDU.DU¹-e / ʾšu-ġu₁₀¹-uš im-ma-an-ʾšum₂[?]¹

Ur-Namma D, Yale Version 16¹³⁰⁹

Y 16 U.BURU₁₄ ʾBURU₁₄¹ uġ₃ daġal lu-a ʾx¹ ʾġe₂-em[?]¹-[...]

The Yale version thus includes one of the few attestations of the pair where the order is reversed (U.BURU₁₄ BURU₁₄),¹³¹⁰ but more interesting for our purposes is the apparent addition of **eš-giri**₁₇ in the Ur version, included in both sources. This would seem to rule out a reading of **ešgiri** “lead-

¹³⁰⁵ Ura 4 429 (MSL 5, p. 185): ġeš *ši-bir* U.BURU₁₄(**ŠIBIR**) : *ši-bir-ru*.

¹³⁰⁶ Here it is worth noting that we need not assume that the items listed in OB Nippur Ura correspond to pair of insignia known from literary contexts; it is possible that only the second item of the pair, **sibir**(**z**) “shepherd’s staff,” was included in the lexical list, and that the preceding item represents an unconnected value of BURU₁₄, representing some other type of staff or stick (possibly **enkara**).

¹³⁰⁷ U₁ = UET 6/1 76 (U 16895; collations UAVA 9 pp. 83–84; photo JCS 51 pl. 2, after p. 49) + UET 6/3 518 (*147); U₂ = UET 6 /1 77 (U 16860; collations UAVA 9 pp. 84–85; photo JCS 51 pl. 3, after p. 49).

¹³⁰⁸ This sign is unclear both in the hand-copy and in the CDLI photo ([P346161](#)). Tinney transliterates ʾ**šibir**¹, which suggests that the traces of U.BURU₁₄(**ŠIBIR**) are legible on the tablet itself.

¹³⁰⁹ Y = YBC 4617 (photo JCS 51 pl. 1, after p. 49).

¹³¹⁰ So also Išme-Dagan A +V Seg. A 60 ms D+; Šulgi G 25.

rope” for the second item in the sequence, as **sibir₂ ešgiri eš-giri₁₇** would be redundant. Tinney reads the sequence instead **enkara šibir eš-kiri₃** “the rod, ring and nose-rope.”¹³¹¹ The usual pair would then comprise **enkara** “*enkara*-weapon” and **sibir** “shepherd’s staff”—which would fit nicely with the sequence in OB Nippur Ura 321–324, but would leave the gloss in Dumuzi-Inana D1 17 unexplained.¹³¹²

The evidence for the identity of the **BURU₁₄** and **U.BURU₁₄** items is thus mixed. It seems entirely possible that, by the OB period, the scribes themselves had some uncertainty regarding the correct readings. In the absence of further data (and without having collated the crucial signs in Ur-Namma D ms U₁), I tend towards the conventional reading indicated by Dumuzi-Inana D1—that is, **sibir₂ ešgiri**—in large part simply because a staff and a lead-rope are a better fit for items that “lead the people” (see comment to ll. 20 and 22–23) than are a weapon and a staff.

Scribal Notation **nu-ku₅**

The significance of the notation **nu-TAR**, tentatively read **nu-KU₅** (lit. “not cut”) following the suggestion of Metcalf (see further below), is unclear. It occurs both here, between lines 23 and 24, and at the end of the hymn, between lines 49 and 50 (see Figure II.6). The term cannot be understood as a liturgical rubric, as **nu-KU₅** does not appear in the list of rubrics in OB Nippur Lu

¹³¹¹ Cf. ETCSL **ešgiri₂ 'šibir eš₂¹-giri₁₇** “the staff, the shepherd’s crook (...) and the nose-rope,” which evidently takes **ešgiri₂(BURU₁₄)** as a type of staff. For the proposal to identify the pair **BURU₁₄ U.BURU₁₄** as the “rod and the ring” motif known from the visual record, see Hallo 2005, 150–153. I follow instead the traditional understanding of the “rod and ring” as measuring/surveying devices, as discussed most recently in Slansky 2007 (see there for previous literature). For a summary of alternative views, see Wiggermann 2006–2008 (note also the rejection of **MUŠ IGI MIN** as a possible identification of the rod and ring in Woods 2004, 59–76, esp. 62, 64–66).

¹³¹² Another point perhaps in favor of this reading is that Akkadian *šibirru* is fairly often associated with a weapon (*kakku*), both appearing as elements of royal regalia, although the examples date exclusively to the first millennium (see CAD Š2 [1992] *šibirru*).

(see Shehata 2009, 337), and its two other attestations occur in places where no rubric is expected (see below). The most likely explanation is that it is some sort of scribal notation indicating something about the inscribed text, rather than about the composition itself.

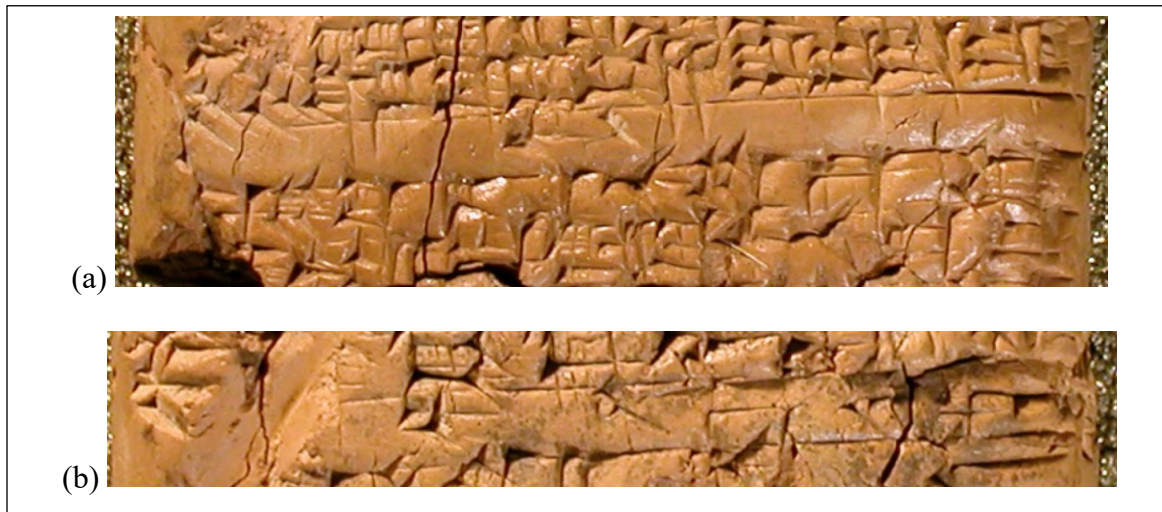


Figure II.6 **nu-KU**s on MS 5102: (a) obv. 23–24; (b) rev. 49–50. Image: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/P254171>

The first instance of **nu-KU**s on the current tablet is written at the center point of a blank line, near the halfway point of the hymn, at a thematic turning point. The second instance occurs at the end of the text, immediately before the **za₃-mim**-doxology, where it is followed by the partially erased signs **sa-gid₂-da** AN.

The two other known occurrences of the **nu-KU**s notation were identified already by Sjöberg (1974, 173 ad 24–25). The first is Ni 4369 (ISET 1 pl. 15, p. 73), a source for BaU A, “Seg. D” between ll. 24 and 25 (rev. 10’ and 11’) (Figure II.7). These same lines are also preserved in another source for BaU A (MS 3329 [[P252270](https://cdli.ucla.edu/P252270)], rev. between 11 and 12), where no break is indicated, supporting the idea that **nu-TAR** is a scribal notation referring to the inscription of a particular tablet. In Ni 4369, as in our text between lines 23 and 24, the notation appears at the center point of an otherwise blank line.

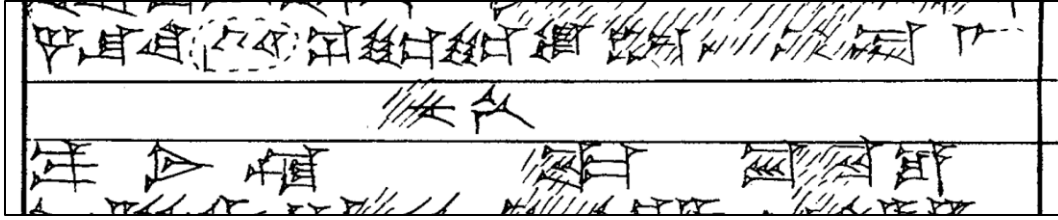


Figure II.7 **nu-KU**s on Ni 4369 rev. 10'–11'. Image: ISET 1 pl. 15, p. 73

The final known example of notation **nu-KU**s is UM 29-16-534 (unpublished, CDLI [P257012](https://cdli.ucla.edu/P257012)), a source for Copper and Silver, Seg. C between ll. 8 and 9 (rev. 2' and 3') (Figure II.8). As was the case in BaU A, another source of Copper and Silver preserving these lines not indicate any division between them (CBS 11356 + N 4187 [[P266505](https://cdli.ucla.edu/P266505)], iv 8'–9'). The notation appears left-of-center in a blank space spanning two lines, with traces of some erased signs preserved in the first blank line.



Figure II.8 **nu-KU**s on UM 29-16-534 rev. 2'–3'. Image: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/P252270>

Two of the four known instances of **nu-KU**s thus occur in conjunction with an erasure, and all four appear in blank lines where a division in the text is unexpected. As observed already by Metcalf, the instances in the *širgida* to Sud occur at moments in the text where one might expect a rubric in another hymnic type, such as a *sagida* or a *sağara* in the case of an *adab* or a *tigi*. For this reason, Metcalf suggests that the scribe may have written the notation **nu-KU**s “not divided” to indicate that no rubric was present on the model text, despite the fact that they expected one to

occur (unpublished, 2016). Against this, though, are (1) the fact that *širgida* hymns never include rubrics, so they should not be expected here, and (2) more significantly, that a rubric would never be expected in a literary debate, leaving the notation **nu-KU₅** in Copper and Silver unexplained.

More likely, in my opinion, is that the scribe of MS 5102 mistakenly left a blank line at the middle and at the end of the text, thinking that rubrics should be added, but then, realizing his or her mistake, wrote **nu-KU₅** “not divided” to indicate that the blank lines should be disregarded. This explanation would fit with the occurrences of **nu-KU₅** in BaU A and in Copper and Silver as well, although the reason the scribe initially left a blank space is not entirely certain. In UM 29-16-534 (Copper and Silver), at least one of the two blank lines has been erased, suggesting that perhaps the scribe had written a line or two out of place, continued the text without noticing, then later went back and erased the incorrect line(s), writing **nu-KU₅** to indicate that the blank lines should not be understood as a division in the text. In Ni 4369 (BaU A), no erasure is apparent (at least in the handcopy), and it remains unclear why the scribe might have accidentally left a blank line.

Returning to the two instances of **nu-KU₅** in MS 5102, the first does not appear to be written over an erased line, while the second is followed by an erased rubric (**sa-gid₂-da AN**). As Metcalf points out, this rubric does not belong at the end of a hymn even in cases where rubrics are expected, and it probably represents some confusion on the part of the scribe between the terms **sa-gid₂-da** and **ser₃-gid₂-da**. One might tentatively speculate that the scribe, having left blank spaces for rubrics, went back to fill them in, and then, realizing his confusion as to what rubrics belonged, recognized (or was instructed) that no rubrics should in fact be included. He/she would then have erased the mistaken **sa-gid₂-da AN** and written **nu-KU₅** “not divided” in both of the blank lines left open for rubrics.

A potential challenge to this hypothesis is that the erased rubric between lines 49 and 50 is written to the right of the **nu-KU**₅ notation, suggesting that it was written after it rather than before. The scribe could have merely written the rubric to be right-justified, a practice attested, for example, in HS 1491 (TMH 4 12),¹³¹³ VAT 8212 (VS 17 40),¹³¹⁴ and 3N-T 388 = UM 55-21-317,¹³¹⁵ but in these cases the rubrics usually begin at the center-point of the line or left-of-center, whereas in MS 5102 the erased rubric begins slightly right-of-center.

Line 24

šu nu-te(-ĝ)

For this usage of **šu ti/teĝ**₃, usually “to take” or “to accept” (Akk. *leqû*) (literally “to make the hand approach”), cf., for example, EWO 196; Išbi-Erra A (Sjöberg 1993) i 16’–17’; Išme-Dagan B 27; Išme-Dagan D Seg. B 6; Išme-Dagan Q a 15’–16’; LSU 66.

Line 25

a-ra₂ AK

The term **a-ra₂** “way” (*alaktu*; less frequently *ṭēmu*, *milku*¹³¹⁶) can be taken generally as “ways, customs” or more specifically as “(ritual) procedures.” Here, where it occurs with **AK**, I understand the latter (cf. the occurrence the semantically related terms **ĝeš-hur** and **ĝarza** in lines 24 and 26). Compare especially the usage of **a-ra₂ AK** in the incantations cited in Rudik 2015, 59, **a-ra₂ ib₂-AK-na-be₂ nu-(mu-)zu me(-a) ba-(da-)DU-e** (Asalluḫi to Enki): “Mein Vater! Den Weg, den ich

¹³¹³ Obv. 7, 13, 19, 25; rev. 6, 32 (= Šu-Suen F ll. 7, 13, 19, 25, 37, 63).

¹³¹⁴ Obv. 3’; rev. 11’, 13’ (= Ur-Ninurta F Seg. A 3, Seg. B 11, 13).

¹³¹⁵ Rev. 3’ (= Išme-Dagan L Seg. D 3; cf. Ludwig 1990, 13).

¹³¹⁶ See PSD A1 (1992), pp. 150–151, a-ra₂ B bilingual and lexical sections.

da einschlagen soll, kenne ich nicht; wohin soll ich mit ihm (Patienten) gehen?” (FSB 32, FSB 50, FSB 89). See also Attinger 2005b, 217.

igi nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂

The expression **igi nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂** is unusual on two counts. First, the normal verb used to express that something should not be seen is **igi bar**, not **igi ĝar**.¹³¹⁷ Second, if this is to be analyzed as a non-finite verbal form, we would expect **nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-dam**, parallel to **nu-te-ĝe₂₆-dam** in l. 24 and **nu-bala-e-dam** in l. 26.¹³¹⁸ For this reason, I understand **nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂** as a finite form, although we would expect the semantic object (**a-ra₂ AK-zu**) to be marked in the verbal prefixes.¹³¹⁹

Line 27

[me' (x)]-zu

The term that would make the most sense here is **me**: “your *me*’s are *me*’s that” For parallels, cf. the following statements:

Ex. II.23 Ninisina F Seg. A 4

A4 me-ne₂ me an-¹ne₂¹ saĝ-e-eš rig₇-ga-ne₂

Her (=Ninisina’s) *me*’s (are) *me*’s bestowed on her by An

Ex. II.24 TH 381

381 me-be₂ me an-ne₂(/-na) nam tar-ra

Its (=Isin’s) *me*’s (are) *me*’s whose fate was decided by An

¹³¹⁷ For **igi bar** negated, see, e.g., the examples in Karahashi 2000, 115–116 (nos. 6–7, 15–16, 18). For **igi ĝar**, compare perhaps Enlil A 43 N_{III-25}, where [...**ig**]**i nu-ĝar**[-...] occurs as a variant for **igi nu-bar-re-dam**.

¹³¹⁸ Grammatically possible for ll. 25–26 is “My lady, neither your accomplished (ritual) procedures, which no one can look upon, nor your rites can be overturned,” but this solution seems overly contrived.

¹³¹⁹ This last point was brought to my attention by P. Attinger (personal communication, May 2017).

Ex. II.25 Nanna H Seg. A 5

A5 me-zu me maḥ-am₃ **an-ne₂** šum₂-ma-am₃

Your (= Suen's) *me*'s are grand *me*'s given by An!

an-na ... rig₈-ga-a

Based on the above parallels, **me an-na saĝ-e-eš rig₈-ga-a** is probably to be understood as “*me*'s bestowed by An,” despite the unexpected **an-na** in place of **an-ne₂**. In support of this analysis is the fact that this scribe has already confused the **mes an-ne₂ pa₃-da** construction with the **mes pa₃-da an-na** construction in line 5, where he made the inverse mistake. Compare also the variant **an-na** for **an-ne₂** in the passage cited from TH (ms B).

In light of this interpretation of the line, I tentatively understand the final **-a** in **rig₈-ga-a** as an abbreviated enclitic copula.

Line 29

[ki]-tuš ša₃ ḥul₂-la-ka

On the genitive expression **ša₃ ḥul₂-la(k)**, see Jaques 2006, 393–395. The expression **ki-tuš ša₃ ḥul₂-la-k**, literally “the dwelling of the rejoicing heart” = “the dwelling that brings joy,” “the joyful dwelling,” is fairly well attested, almost always occurring in apposition to **e₂** “temple” or to a temple name.

Lines 30–31

I tentatively understand these lines to refer to the fact that Sud, in her own city of Šuruppag, was originally called by the name “... Sud, the princely daughter (i.e., citizen).” I thus analyze **iri^{ki} nam-mah^h-za** as a genitive phrase with possessive suffix in the locative case (**iri^{ki} nam-mah^h** + **{{(a)k}** + **{zu}** + **{’a}**, lit. “in your city of grandness” = “in your grand city”), and analyze **šuruppag^[ki]-ga-ke₄** as a headless genitive in the ergative case (lit. “the one of Šuruppag” = “the citizen of Šuruppag”). The citizens of Šuruppag then serve as the agent of the verb in l. 32 (**hu** <**mu**-[?]> **{ri-}in-še₂₁**). The verb itself is corrupted, but the fact that the scribe evidently understood it to require the epistemic modal prefix **{he₂}** could suggest that this clause in some way conditions the subsequent two clauses (ll. 32–33 and 34–35, both ending in **mu-ri-in-še₂₁**).

Line 31

dumu nun

“Princely daughter” (**dumu nun** : *mārtu* NUN) is the epithet regularly given Sud in Emesal laments: *Elum gusun* OB Version e+237 (CLAM pp. 287, 297); *Elum gusun* OB Version e+255 (CLAM pp. 289, 297) = *Zibum zibum* a+271 (CLAM pp. 364, 372; Löhnert 2009, 440 Kirugu 5 9’ = 190’); *Immal gudede* a+67 (CLAM pp. 610, 626), b+137 (CLAM pp. 613-614, 628); and the lament to Sud AO 3024 (TCL 15 1) 7, 24 (see Bergmann 1964, 39).

Line 35

sa₆-ga-e

For the form DN **sa₆-ga-e** “this fine DN,” compare the recurring couplets in Enki and Ninḫursaĝa: **lu₂-tur sa₆-ga-e ne nu-mu-un-su-ub-be₂** (/su-ub-bu-ma-ni) / DN **sa₆-ga-e ne nu-**

mu-un-su-ub-be₂ (/su-ub-bu-ma-ni) “Should I not kiss this fine youth? Should I not kiss this fine DN?” (/ “Kiss this fine youth! Kiss this fine DN!”) (91–92, 94–95, 111–112, 114–115).¹³²⁰

Line 39

za₃-gu-la₂

On this term see most recently Attinger 2012, 380 ad CKU 23 L. 18 (distinguishing two lexemes: **za₃ gu-la/la₂** “place d’honneur” (**za₃-g** = “côte”) and **za₃-gu₂-la₂** (Ur III) / **za₃-gu-la** (OB) “un type de sanctuaire”), as well as Michalowski 2011: 443–444 ad 18 (“a sacred seat of some kind”), with bibliography and attestations. Here, the **za₃-gu-la₂** of a city probably refers to a structure/shrine rather than place of honor.

...-ke₄ hu-mu-ni-lum-lum-mu-ne

The identity of the plural agent of the verb (**{ene}**) is unclear, as are the function of **{e}** in the NP **za₃-gu-la₂ iri^{ki}-za-ke₄** and the referent **{(n)ni}** in the verbal prefixes. If **{e}** were to mark the shrines of the city as the agent, the verb should be constructed with a singular/non-human agent. On the other hand, if **{e}** is understood as a marker of the directive/Loc3 or non-human dative, we are left without an explicit agent (and the expected verbal prefixes would be **ba-** or **bi₂-**, rather than **mu-ni-**).¹³²¹

¹³²⁰ Cf. similarly, in Enlil and Ninlil: ^{lu₂}**ki-sikil ne-en sa₆-ga-ra ne-en mul-la-ra** / ^d**nin-lil₂ ne-en sa₆-ga-ra ne-en mul-la-ra** / **lu₂ geš₃ na-an-du₁₁ lu₂ ne na-an-ni-su-ub** (38–40). This latter reference was brought to my attention by P. Attinger (personal communication, May 2017).

¹³²¹ A third possibility, understanding a headless genitive, “the ones of your shrine and city,” is unlikely, not only because the headless-genitive solution seems somewhat contrived, but also because **za₃-gu-la₂** and “city” seems like an unlikely pairing, the **za₃-gu-la** presumably existing within the city.

Line 40

me maḥ-ta saĝ il₂

For use of the ablative case with a locative meaning, see the bibliography cited in Attinger and Glenn 2018, 153 ad F. 6/rev. 8 = l. 6. With **saĝ il₂**, compare especially Ninurta B Seg. B 13 (**eridu^{ki}-ta**), Šu-Suen J 5 (**e₂-kur za-gin₃-ta**), Ibbi-Suen D Seg. A 1 (**ĝeš-ḥe₂-ta**), Lipit-Eštar A 22 (**an-ta**), and Ewe and Wheat 51 (**gan₂-ne₂-ta**).

Line 41

ša₃-KA-ĝal₂

For **ša₃-KA-ĝal₂**, see esp. Attinger 2003, 24 l. 70 with n. 41 (**ša₃ KA ĝal₂-la-ni-me-en** = “*je suis pour elle un cœur plein d’initiatives/de décisions*,” lit. “je suis son cœur qui fait être la parole/où est la parole” or similar) and Klein 1989a, 53 ad 9 (“a heart having (wise) words,’ i.e. a heart full of wise thoughts”), with previous literature, along with the references given in Attinger 2019k, s.v. **ša₃-KA(enim)-ĝal₂**.

kur gal-la-ra

The presence of both a genitive marker and a dative marker in **kur gal-la-ra** must represent an error.

Line 43

On **su₃** “to sprinkle” with terms like **ḥi-li** and **giri₁₇-zal**, see Jaques 2006, 239.

Line 44

ma-ra-da-ab-be₂

The nuance added by the comitative here is uncertain; I know of no other example where the comitative occurs with **siškur₂** + **du₁₁** or with **a-ra-zu** + **du₁₁** (cf. Attinger 1993, 422–424, §236 and 679–680, §763). The most likely understanding is either “with (you)” in the sense of “directly before you” (cf. **du₁₁** with dative + comitative in Attinger 1993, 251, §160 b), or “with (offerings),” similar to the use of the comitative with **ku₄**.

Line 45

lu₂(-)KAŠ[?](-)zu ħe₂-a

From a grammatical standpoint, the sequence **lu₂(-)KAŠ[?](-)zu** could conceivably be analyzed as (1) **lu₂-kaš[?]-zu** “let him be a ‘man who knows beer’ (beer expert),” (2) **lu₂-kaš[?]** + poss. suff. “let him be your ‘beer-man’,” (3) **lu₂ BI[?]** + poss. suff. “let the man be your ...,” or (4) **lu₂-be₂[?]** **ZU** “let that man be ...” None of these possibilities is semantically very satisfactory, but option (1) or (2) seems the least problematic.

Line 47

kur-kur-re saġ en₃-tar-be₂

This form may represent a conflation between a non-human dative (**{e}**) and an anticipatory genitive (cf. l. 41), or may be connected to this scribe’s tendency to confuse **{e}** of the **mes-an-ne₂-pa₃-da** construction with genitive **{ak}**.

Sud's temples

As discussed in Krebernik 1998–2001, 457, §4.3.1, four temples or shrines of Sud are known by name: **e₂-ki-si₃-ga**, **e₂-dim-gal-an-na**, **e₂-ša₃-ba**, and [**e₂-siki**']-**'ud₅**'.¹³²² A fifth temple-name, **e₂-baḥar₂**', appears in the lament to Sud preserved on AO 3024 (TCL 15 1) in l. 22 and on the left edge.¹³²³ The name or epithet **e₂-mah**, which occurs in l. 48 of our text, is to my knowledge otherwise unattested for a temple of Sud or Ninlil (although it is well-known as a temple-name of numerous other deities; see George 1993, 119–120).

Both **e₂-ki-si₃-ga** and **e₂-dim-gal-an-na** appear as temples of Sud in the lament to Sud preserved on AO 3024 (TCL 15 1), the only other OB liturgical text I know of dedicated to this goddess. The content of the lament suggests that both temples belonged to the same city, presumably Šuruppag.

Ex. II.26 Lament to Sud AO 3024 (TCL 15 1) 1–4

- 1 uru₂ ga-ša-an-be₂-ra še mu-un-na-[ša₄]
- 2 arḥuš su₃-ge ^dsud₃ ga-ša-an- [...]
- 3 e₂-ki-si₃'-ga-ĝu₁₀¹³²⁴ ga-ša-an-be₂-ra
- 4 e₂-dim₂-gal-an-na-ĝu₁₀ ga-ša-an-be₂-ra

The city cried to its lady!

[To] the *compassionate one*, Sud, lady [...]

(*It cried*) “My Ekisiga” to its lady!

(*It cried*) “My Edimgalana” to its lady!

The temple **e₂-ki-si₃-ga** is also mentioned again in l. 25 of this lament.

¹³²² On this last name, see George 1993, 12, l. 63. and 110, no. 982.

¹³²³ Cf. **e₂-baḥar₂** as a temple of Ningublaga (George 1993, 71, no. 103).

¹³²⁴ As noted already by Krebernik, the reading **e₂-ki-enim-GA** (George 1993, 110, no. 596) is to be emended to **e₂-ki-si₃'-ga** (Krebernik 1998–2001, 457, §4.3.1).

Outside of AO 3024 (TCL 15 1) and MS 5102, Sud's temple **e₂-dim-gal-an-na** also appears in the OB royal inscription Enlil-bani 7 (RIME 4.1.10.7) 6 and in the Neo-Assyrian Canonical Temple List 64 (George 1993, 12), while her temple **e₂-ki-si₃-ga** also appears in the first-millennium Emesal lament *Immal gudede* a+67 (CLAM pp. 610, 262) and b+136–137 (CLAM pp. 612–613, 628). As observed already by Krebernik, one of the exemplars of the Enlil-bani inscription (ms 1) is “said to come from Khum near Fara [ancient Šuruppag]” (Frayne 1990, 83), while the other two (mss 2 and 3) were excavated at Enlil-Bani's city of Isin. The inscription commemorates Enlil-bani's (re)building of the Edimgalana for Sud:

Ex. II.27 Enlil-bani 7 (RIME 4.1.10.7) 1–8

- 1 ^dsud₃
- 2 nin-a-ne₂-er
- 3 ^den-lil₂-ba-ni
- 4 lugal kala-ga
- 5 lugal i₃-si-in-in^{ki}-na-ke₄¹³²⁵
- 6 e₂-dim-gal-an-na
- 7 e₂ ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ne₂
- 8 mu-na-du₃

For Sud, his lady, Enlil-bani, the mighty king, the king of Isin, built the Edimgalana, her beloved temple.

Scribal Notation

nu-TAR {sa-gid₂-da AN}

See comment above (between lines 23 and 24).

¹³²⁵ Transliteration following Walker in Hrouda 1981, 93.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name and Title Anna Glenn, M.A.
Birthplace Abington, PA, USA
Date of Birth February 7, 1987

EDUCATION

(2019) Ph.D. in Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University (expected June, 2019). Dissertation: “Praise of Kingship: *Širgida*-Hymns in the Old Babylonian Liturgical Tradition.”
2016 M.A. in Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University
2010 B.A. in Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Journal Articles

2018 Glenn, Anna and Jeremiah Peterson. 2018. “The Lulal *širgida* Composition CBS 12590 (HAV 5, pl. 7, VIII).” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 45: 168–181.

Other Publications

2018 Attinger, Pascal and Anna Glenn. 2018. “YOS 22, 49 = SEpM 7, X25.” *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2018: No. 95 (pp. 152–155).
2017 Attinger, Pascal and Anna Glenn. 2017. “Angim dimma (1.6.1).” Online publication: http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/amm_amp_va_personen/prof_dr_attinger_pascal/index_ger.html#panel22850.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2017–2018 DAAD Research Grant for Doctoral Candidates (4-month research grant, University of Tübingen, Germany)
2016–2017 Fulbright Fellowship/Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship for Foreign Scholars and Artists (1-year research grant, University of Bern, Switzerland)
2016 DAAD Research Grant for Doctoral Candidates (1-year research grant, declined)
2016 Max Kade Summer Travel Grant
2013–2014 Hortense G. Moses Scholarship for the Encouragement of Hebrew Learning

2013 Beulah Benton Tatum Endowment Award
 2011–2014 Owen Fellowship, Johns Hopkins University

CONFERENCE PAPERS

2019 “*Širgida* Hymns in Old Babylonian Ritual.” Graduate Symposium in Ancient Near Eastern Studies: Religion and Ritual. New Haven, CT, February 15–16
 2018 “Offering, Prayer, and Divine Blessing in Sumerian Hymns.” 64th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Innsbruck, Austria, July 16–20
 2018 “*Širgida*-Hymns and Royal Ritual in the Old Babylonian Period.” 228th Meeting of the American Oriental Society. Pittsburgh, PA, March 16–19
 2017 “The Old Babylonian King in *Širgida*-Hymns.” 63rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Marburg, Germany, July 24–28
 2017 “Towards a Definition of the Sumerian *Širgida*.” 2nd Berner Altorientalisches Forum. Bern, Switzerland, June 28–29

COURSES TAUGHT

2018 Advanced Sumerian, Johns Hopkins University
 2015 Elementary Sumerian I, Johns Hopkins University
 2013 Elementary Akkadian, Johns Hopkins University
 Elementary Sumerian II, Johns Hopkins University

RELATED WORK AND EXPERIENCE

2019 Johns Hopkins Teaching Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, May 29–31
 2018 Master Class in Cuneiform Epigraphy, University of Heidelberg, Heidelberg, Germany, January 29–February 2
 2015 Organizing committee, 2015 ANSHE Lecture, Johns Hopkins University
 2012–2014 Graduate Student Assistant, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore, MD
 2008 Iklaina Archaeological Project Field School (University of Missouri at St. Louis), Pylos, Greece, June 17–July 4

LANGUAGES

Modern

English Native speaker
 German Advanced (C1)

French Intermediate (reading only)

Ancient

Sumerian, Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew